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Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton (1767-1852)
as Patron and Collector

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PhD, The University of Edinburgh, 2008



THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

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Title of Thesis: Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton (1767-1852) as Patron and Collector

No. of words in the main text of Thesis: 99,530

This thesis examines the patronage and collecting of Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton, premier peer of Scotland, son-in-law of the maniacal collector William Beckford, and arguably the greatest collector in the history of Scotland. Using archival evidence from many sources, it begins with investigations of the Duke's early collecting of Italian Renaissance paintings and manuscripts, acquisitions associated with Russia between 1807 and 1814, involvement with Princess Pauline Borghese and the Bonaparte family, and purchases of porphyry and marble in Rome between 1817 and 1827. Chapters 5 and 6 focus on the extension and refurbishment of Hamilton Palace between 1822 and 1832 and parallel purchases of furniture, furnishings and applied art. Special attention is paid to motivation and the acquisition of items from the Fonthill sale, tapestries made for Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni, furniture owned by Marie-Antoinette, Napoleon's 1810 tea service, bronze statues (wrongly) associated with Francis I of France – which served to underline the Duke's status and "support" his claim to the French dukedom of Châtellerauld – and porphyry busts of Roman emperors that were "superior" to the bronze copies in the British royal collection. Chapter 7 reviews the last grands projets: the extremely expensive great black marble staircase, planned equestrian monument of the Duke as Marcus Aurelius, and Hamilton Mausoleum. The final chapter concentrates on the later purchases of Classical items and plaster copies, second marble bust of Princess Pauline, Thorvaldsen's Napoleon Apotheosized, and Old Master paintings, and discusses how the Duke displayed his collection, in colourways, running sequences, clusters, and "end statements". A "post mortem" conclusion sketches out the continuity of collecting Napoleonic material, as a consequence of the Duke's son and heir's marriage to the daughter of the adopted daughter of Napoleon and cousin of Napoleon III, and the dispersal of the collection and demolition of Hamilton Palace between 1880 and 1930.

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Introduction

This thesis examines Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton, who was mainly responsible for developing Hamilton Palace, in Hamilton, Lanarkshire, into the largest palace or country house in Scotland and filling it with a fabulous collection of superb French furniture and other works of art. The prime aim has been to establish exactly what the 10th Duke did, the chronological sequence and motivation. Establishing exactly what the 10th Duke did is absolutely essential because the activities of the Dukes of Hamilton after 1780 have received very little scholarly attention, and there is a persistent desire or willingness to give William Beckford, the Duke's father-in-law, the lion's share of the credit for the transformation of the collection.

The main difficulty in assessing the Duke, his forebears and successors has been the dispersal of most of the collection, chiefly in two series of great sales in 1882-84 and 1919, and the demolition of the palace in the 1920s. Much of the research has gone into finding and transcribing key inventories, letters, bills, lists and other documentary evidence, and locating and evaluating items that are now spread across Europe, North America, Australia and New Zealand. However, the author has also sought to map out the development of the 10th Duke's patronage and collecting and understand how the various stages were affected by the Duke's perception of his status, Whig politics, veneration of Sir William Hamilton, rivalry with Beckford, King George IV and other collectors, claim to the French dukedom of Châtellerault, and his interest in Napoleon and involvement with the Bonaparte family. During the first year of research, it became evident that the Duke was not as rich as people assumed: indeed, he was heavily in debt and kept solvent by an ever-changing assemblage of loans from private individuals and banks. The thesis therefore seeks to show how the Duke was constrained by a combination of debt and mortgages, but was able, from the early 1820s, to use the rising revenues from increasing sales of coal and later industrial rents to turn Hamilton Palace into a daunting "powerhouse" and an almost unbelievable treasure house, and then go on to build the Hamilton Mausoleum.

Amazingly, there has been very little study of the Duke's activities as the top-ranking Whig in Scotland, a territorial magnate with large coal deposits and links with leading iron and steelmakers, supporter of the Bonaparte family, or patron and collector. One reason has been the disappearance of the palace and most of the collection, along with the coal mines and iron and steel works. Another is that the majority of the relevant papers are still owned by the Hamilton family and are divided between Lennoxlove (with access to small batches being arranged through the National Register of Archives of Scotland) and Hamilton Town House Library, which houses inventories, letter books and other items which were not taken to Lennoxlove when the Estate Office at Hamilton closed. Moreover, two important sections of the Hamilton-Beckford archive, with "missing papers", have been sold and are now in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, and the Beinecke Library at Yale.

Thus, the principal publications about the Duke's patronage and collecting have been limited to A.A. Tait's short article on "The Duke of Hamilton's Palace" in the *Burlington Magazine* in 1983, with an appendix of letters relating to the commissioning and completion of Jacques-Louis David's portrait of *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries*; articles and notes on the French furniture owned by the Duke, written by Ronald Freyberger in New York between about 1981 and 1993; and the present writer's conference paper on Italian Old Master paintings and the 9th and 10th Dukes of Hamilton in the *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History* of 2003. There is also Michael Allan's 1976 final year dissertation on the Hamilton Mausoleum. In addition, Julia Poole's article on Napoleon's 1810 tea service in the 1977 *Burlington Magazine* provides some information about its acquisition by the Duke twenty years later.

This is an insultingly small coverage when set alongside the vast literature on Beckford. It is also marred by mistakes in Tait's article¹ and insufficiently redeemed by more general assessments and "appreciations" of Hamilton Palace, which may use

¹ Tait's article contains incorrect dates, viz. the dates of the Percier commission as 1822, instead of 1827 (first paragraph), and the Fonthill and Stowe sales as 1825 and 1849, rather than 1823 and 1848. He was also wrong about the della Lena sales of paintings to the Duke, believing that *Hercules and Telephus* were two statues, and stating that Thomas Campbell had begun work on the proposed full-size copy of the equestrian statue of *Marcus Aurelius* in 1848 and that it was destined for the first-floor Entrance Hall of Hamilton Palace – to mention just a few points.

nineteenth-century inventories and other sources but fail to explain what the items actually are and to “connect” them and explore themes.

The methodology used has been to go through as much as possible in the Hamilton archive, Hamilton Town House Library and the Bodleian; quickly check likely folders in the Beinecke Library; make connections; and develop all this with material in the Devonshire Papers at Chatsworth, Robert Brown Executory Papers in the Mitchell Library in Glasgow, Roscoe Papers in Liverpool Central Library, Newcastle Papers in the University of Nottingham, and other manuscripts in the British Library, Edinburgh University Library, National Archives of Scotland, National Library of Scotland and National Archives at Kew. Information from accounts of visits to Hamilton Palace, contemporary sale catalogues (including annotated copies in the Barber Institute of Art, Bodleian, British Library and National Art Library) and newspaper reports has been interwoven with the archival findings. Extensive use has also been made of the Witt Library at the Courtauld Institute, the Frick Library, New York, and the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.

The thesis and twenty appendices, with over a thousand pages of transcripts, annotated inventories and other supporting evidence, provide an enormous quantity of fresh material and interpretation and will, it is hoped, lead to articles and a book, as well as further contributions to the IT programmes of the Virtual Hamilton Palace Trust (on which the writer serves as one of the Directors).

I must end by acknowledging the present Duke of Hamilton and Brandon for his very kind permission to study and use the papers at Lennoxlove and Hamilton. I am also very much obliged to all the curators and librarians who have assisted me, and would like to record my special thanks to the following for all their help and support: Julia Armstrong-Totten, Dr David Caldwell, Odile and David Hughson, Helen Smailes, Joyce Smith, Professor Richard Thomson, Peter Wilmshurst and David Young. Others are acknowledged in the footnotes.

Note: Plans of the first and ground floors of Hamilton Palace will be found at the back of this thesis, on the last two pages.

Abbreviations

Bod Bodleian Library, Oxford
BL British Library, London
EUL Edinburgh University Library
GRI Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles
HA Hamilton Archive, Lennoxlove
HELB Hamilton Estate Letter Book
HTHL Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton
ML Mitchell Library, Glasgow
NA National Archives, Kew
NAS National Archives of Scotland, Edinburgh
NLS National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh
UNMSC Manuscripts and Special Collections, University of Nottingham
1882 HPSC 1882 Hamilton Palace sale catalogue
1882 HPSSC 1882 Hamilton Palace souvenir post-sale catalogue

The Formative Years, 1767-1806, and the Early Collecting of Paintings and Manuscripts

Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton (1767-1852), was the elder son of Lord Archibald Hamilton, second son of the 5th Duke of Hamilton, and his wife Harriet, a daughter of the 6th Earl of Galloway. Alexander only became duke because Douglas, 8th Duke of Hamilton, died without legitimate issue, at the age of only forty-three, in 1799 and the dukedoms of Hamilton and Brandon passed to his father. For the first thirty-one years of his life he was simply Master or Mister Alexander Hamilton. He would have had relatively little money prior to 1799 and must have been reliant upon his father and restricted in his actions until 1802, when the 9th Duke gave him (limited) control of the Hamilton estates in Scotland. In this chapter we examine the early development of Scotland's greatest collector, both to understand what took place during this formative period, and to be able to appreciate the extent of continuity and change in his later collecting and patronage.

Beginnings

Alexander Hamilton was born on 3 October 1767 and lived at Ashton Hall, his father's seat near Lancaster, and in London during his youth. He was educated at Harrow under the Reverend Samuel Henley, the friend and translator of his cousin, the future great collector William Beckford (1760-1844), and enjoyed reading Virgil (especially the death of Dido), Horace, Ovid and Catullus – as he informed Beckford.¹

Alexander and his brother Archibald visited Beckford at his family home, Fonthill Splendens in Wiltshire, on a number of occasions in the early 1780s and the adolescent Alexander developed a crush on his older (bisexual) relative. In one letter Alexander assured Beckford: "I am happy whenever with my Dear William".² In another, he confided: "I often think of our gambole that sunday night, but with great

¹ Bod, MS. Beckford c.20, f.7v, Alexander Hamilton to William Beckford, undated, postmarked 22 April.

² *Ibid.*, f.3r, Alexander Hamilton to William Beckford, undated.

regret, for you are now in a manner banished, and I fear I shall not see you for some time, and when we do meet, shall not have such a fine night".³

In April 1782 Sir Joshua Reynolds painted a portrait of Alexander (National Gallery of Scotland) for Beckford,⁴ which shows the fourteen-year-old with long curly hair and an open frilly shirt (Fig.1). It is a disturbing image, given Beckford's taste for young men and the scandal of his affair with William Courtenay in October 1784 and subsequent ostracism. Nevertheless, Alexander seems to have emerged unscathed, and was able to go up to Christ Church, Oxford (March 1786-February 1789), where most of the sons of the aristocracy were educated in the late eighteenth century.

Early Collecting: the Activities of Father and Son

Alexander was very conscious of his father's example. Lord Archibald had made a "Grand Tour" of France, Switzerland, Germany and what are now the Netherlands and Belgium between 1753 and 1757 and had lived in Rome, Venice and other Italian towns from 1758 to 1761. Alexander followed his lead and ended up spending most of the decade 1792-1801 in Italy. Moreover, Lord Archibald was a collector of paintings and prints, who was involved with the painter and dealer Gavin Hamilton, and Alexander wanted to act like him.

Lord Archibald and Gavin Hamilton had met in London in the early 1790s and begun to investigate a number of potential acquisitions, including a Veronese in Venice (which they failed to get) and a *Christ at Emmaus* attributed to Titian, that Hamilton advised Lord Archibald not to buy.⁵ But in June 1791 there was the prospect of no fewer than five good acquisitions: "four fine pictures of Vernet", for only £50 each, and an octagonal *Stoning of St Stephen* by the Roman painter Filippo Lauri (1623-94), for a further £50, which Hamilton asserted was "the finest thing I ever saw of the master".⁶

³ *Ibid.*, f.5v, Hamilton to Beckford, dated "Wednesday / August".

⁴ Mannings 2000, I, p.235, no.807.

⁵ HA, Bundle 3509, Gavin Hamilton to Lord Archibald Hamilton, 26 June 1791.

⁶ *Ibid.* A sketch enclosed with the letter, together with the measurements of 2 feet 1 inch by 1 foot 6 inches noted in the letter, reveal that this was almost identical to the *Lapidation de Saint Étienne* by Lauri now in the Musée des Augustins, Toulouse, and related versions and copies: see Paris, Grand Palais 1988, pp.258-9.

Lord Archibald duly ordered that the paintings should be sent to Britain, and his son set out on a “Grand Tour”. Rushing down from Geneva and Turin *en-route* to Naples at the end of 1791, the twenty-four-year-old would-be man of the world and aspiring collector stopped briefly in Rome, visited Gavin Hamilton and made an impulsive purchase. He was sorely tempted by two of the four “landskapes” attributed to Claude Lorrain that were available, but “as the price was immoderate”, he “confined” himself to just one: “a sea piece with a fine setting sun”.⁷ Alexander agreed to pay Hamilton £500, gave him a letter to the bank of Hoare & Company for £150 and promised to let him have the rest before the first of May. Almost immediately, Alexander realised that he had overreached himself and on 8 January 1792 wrote to his father for help and support.⁸

As chance would have it, six days earlier Lord Archibald had damned and refused to take the “four fine pictures of Vernet” and *Stoning of St Stephen* attributed to “Filippo Lauro” that had been sent by Hamilton:

The four Landscapes appear to me to be four bad copies of very fine designs as good are painted here & sold for 3 or 4 g[uinea]s each. S^t Stephen appears to be copied very carefully on a piece of mahog[a]ny & is a poor thin Painted thing with[ou]t any thing to recommend it, in short it appears to me a bad copy & not a very old one [...] The Pictures I can not think of Keeping at any price & I shall expect to be reimburs’d except y^e Freight from & back to Rome [...] ⁹

Soon after sending his letter, Alexander gave up the “Claude”. On 5 February he admitted to Lord Archibald: “I feel as tho’ I had done a very young thing”, and hoped that he would “profit by the lesson”.¹⁰ Eighteen days later, Alexander reflected upon his “folly” and the problem his father had had with the “Vernets” and the “Lauri” and observed:

I fear he [Gavin Hamilton] is rather a near person & will not upon any occasion lose an opportunity of gaining a little money; I shall therefore be very shy in any transactions we may henceforward have together _ He has written to me about two or three things, to which I have given vague

⁷ HA, Bundle 4336, Alexander Hamilton to Lord Archibald, 8 January 1792.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ HA, Bundle 3509, draft letter from Lord Archibald to Gavin Hamilton, 2 January 1792. At Gavin Hamilton’s request, the paintings were sent to Lord Camelford and Lord Archibald received reimbursement of £250, albeit in a way that offended him: see *ibid.*, Gavin Hamilton to Lord Archibald, 11 February 1792, and also Bundle 4336, letters from Alexander Hamilton to Lord Archibald, 16 March and 13 May 1792.

¹⁰ HA, Bundle 4336, Alexander Hamilton to Lord Archibald, 5 February 1792.

answers; but upon my arrival at Rome we must have a little conversation

¹¹

Although Lord Archibald seems to have been very understanding and supportive, Alexander was not to be swayed. On 16 March, he declared he was “so much frightened, & so suspicious”, both of the painting and of the dealer, that he was “resolved to decline the picture”.¹²

The fiasco over the “Claude” had a very chastening effect and seems to have constrained Alexander’s purchasing over the next six or seven years.

After leaving Rome, Alexander moved down to Naples, where he was treated with great kindness – as he repeatedly told his father – by Sir William Hamilton, the British envoy to the court of Naples and son of the seventh son of the 3rd Duke of Hamilton, and his second wife, Emma. In his letter of 28 March 1792, Alexander announced to Lord Archibald: “[Sir William] is the best man in the world, & I declare next to yourself I do not know where I could go to find so good a friend.”¹³

A few months later, Lord Archibald allowed himself to be persuaded to visit Naples by Alexander and Sir William and a bout of collecting ensued – encouraged, no doubt, by Sir William’s own activities. Lord Archibald subsequently moved north and, on 1 July 1793, engaged to pay John Udney, the British consul at Leghorn, £500 for unspecified items. These “goods” reached England that December,¹⁴ and Lord Archibald’s bank records payments of £483 18s for the items on 8 November and £16 2s, which had been “claim’d by His Lordship for Insurance”, on 18 December 1793.¹⁵

Nothing more is known about the Italian acquisitions, but the visit and collecting seem to have stimulated Lord Archibald to buy a succession of works from

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Alexander Hamilton to Lord Archibald, 23 February 1792.

¹² *Ibid.*, Alexander Hamilton to Lord Archibald, 16 March 1792. Like the “Vernets” and the “Lauri” rejected by Lord Archibald, Alexander’s “Claude”, along with the other three “Claudes”, was sold by Gavin Hamilton to Thomas Pitt, 1st Baron Camelford (1737-93): see Cassidy 2004, p.810, n.37. The four “Claudes” were included in Farebrother, Ellis & Company’s sale of the remaining contents of Dropmore, Burnham, Buckinghamshire, on 27 February 1939, as lots 207, 208, 215 and 216. Alexander’s “sea piece with a fine setting sun” must be the “large” painting of a “sea view with the setting sun”, mentioned by Anne Pitt, Lord Camelford’s daughter, and was therefore lot 208: “Claude Lorraine. A Court scene, with native dhow and merchants; in the centre a Temple, classic architecture on the left”, which measured 39 x 53½ inches.

¹³ HA, Bundle 4336, Alexander Hamilton to Lord Archibald, 28 March 1792.

¹⁴ HA, Bundle 3141, Lord Archibald Hamilton to Hoare & Co., 17 December 1793.

¹⁵ HA, Bundle 3141.

the London picture-dealer John Woodburn. To date, a dozen bills, drafts and receipts, along with allied documentation, have been found which reveal that “John Woodburn” received at least £660 2s 6d between January 1794 and April 1797.¹⁶

Very little correspondence has been discovered so far in the Hamilton archive about these purchases and Lord Archibald’s collection in the 1790s, but a letter from John Woodburn to Lord Archibald, dated 9 July 1795, records that Woodburn had “got the two Murillo’s, and the Old Woman, Rembrandt, to take off the Varnish”.¹⁷ They were probably the “Two of Beggar Boys [by] Murillo” and the “Old Woman cutting her nails [by] Rembrandt” listed on an inventory of eighty-five paintings annotated “Archibald Duke of Hamilton” that will be discussed shortly.¹⁸ Nothing more is known about the “Murillos”, but the “Rembrandt” may be the *Old Woman cutting her Nails* from the Altman Collection in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which was formerly ascribed to Rembrandt and is now attributed to the Dordrecht painters Nicolaes Maes, Karel van der Pluym or Abraham van Dijck.¹⁹

Woodburn goes on to mention that he had spent “more time than we expected” working on “the Venus attired by the Graces [by] Guido” (i.e. Guido Reni) and had not obtained the “Peterborough Rembrandt”.²⁰ He thanks Lord Archibald for granting permission for his son to copy “the Teniers”, begs “permission to copy the small Teniers and one or two more during your Lordships absence if agre[e]able”, and asks for the thirty pounds due to him. On the front of the letter, Lord Archibald notes that he paid the dealer the thirty pounds on 12 July.

The inventory annotated “Archibald Duke of Hamilton” (which appears transcribed and annotated in Appendix 1) is undated and lists paintings in “His Lordships Room”, the “Dining parlour”, “Back Drawing Room” and “Front Drawing

¹⁶ The payments to “John Woodburn” include:

14 January 1794	£31 8s 6d	23 May 1794	£36 14s
28 January 1794	£60	16 June 1794	£65
10 February 1794	£42	28 June 1794	£50
8 March 1794	£60	22 June 1796	£100
24 March 1794	£50	18 August 1796	£50
11 April 1794	£40	11 April 1797	£75

See HA, Bundles 1331, 3141 and 3683.

¹⁷ HA, M4/55, John Woodburn to 9th Duke, 9 July 1795.

¹⁸ HA, M12/25/1; see Appendix 1, entries 31 and 26 respectively.

¹⁹ See Appendix 1, no.26.

²⁰ HA, M4/55, Woodburn to 9th Duke, 9 July 1795.

Room”.²¹ It either records Lord Archibald’s paintings hanging in his London townhouse in the 1790s, when he was still “His Lordship”, rather than “His Grace”, or the paintings in his son’s room and adjacent rooms in London or at Hamilton Palace in the early 1800s, after he became Lord Douglas and “His Lordship”. It is still too early to come to a final conclusion about the location,²² but the list clearly includes many Dutch, Flemish and Italian paintings which must have been owned or actually acquired by Lord Archibald.

Some of the paintings are known to have been on the art market in the 1780s and 1790s,²³ when only Lord Archibald would have been financially and physically able to have bought them. However, the really compelling evidence that Lord Archibald was a serial collector is the collection of sale catalogues in the Hamilton archive. They leave one in no doubt that he was the man chiefly responsible for acquiring most of the paintings on the “Archibald Duke of Hamilton” inventory and

²¹ HA, M12/25/1 & 2.

²² The names of the rooms are very close to “My Lords Room”, “Dining parlour”, “Drawing Room” and “Back Drawing Room” on the 1790 inventory of Lord Archibald’s house in Grosvenor Place, London (see HA, Bundle 2152, *Inventory of the Household Furniture Belonging to the Right Honble. Lord Archibald Hamilton. No 11 Grosvenor place Taken June the 15th & 16th: 1790*, pp.3-5) and some of the titles on the list (e.g. Poussin’s *Lamentation over the Dead Christ*) were either definitely moved or were probably moved up to Hamilton Palace between 1799 and 1801. However, the association with the London townhouse and dating of the inventory to the 1790s appear to be compromised by the presence on the list of the painting of “King Edw.^d 6th. [by] Holbeins” (see entry 50 on the annotated inventory in Appendix 1). This seems to be the portrait that Dr S.H. Spiker, the librarian to the King of Prussia, saw at Hamilton Palace in 1816 and described as: “Edward VI., a whole length figure, by Holbein, the only portrait of that king I recollect having seen in England, and very powerfully painted” (Spiker 1820, I, p.248). Spiker’s comments suggest that this is synonymous with the portrait of *Edward VI* acquired by Queen Victoria after the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, which is now at Hampton Court and attributed to Scots (Millar 1963, p.66, no.49). The problem is that this portrait bears a *cartellino* of the type painted on pictures owned by John, 1st Baron Lumley (d.1609), and appears to be listed on the inventory of Lord Lumley’s collection, among the “Pyctures caryinge the fowrme of the whole Statuary”, as “The Statuary of his [King Henry VIII’s] sonne King Edward the sixt drawne by [left blank]” (Cust 1918, p.21). *Edward VI* was later recorded in the Lodging Rooms at Lumley Castle and was apparently sold at Thomas Dawson’s sale of the 5th Earl of Scarborough’s possessions at Lumley Castle on 18 December 1807 as lot 9: “Edward the 6th. a full length” (see Appendix 1, no.50, for further details and discussion).

²³ I associate the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* by Poussin with the “The entombing of Christ – A grand and noble composition, very capital”, attributed to “N. Poussin”, that was included in Coxe, Burrell and Foster’s sale of Michael Bryan’s collection on 18 May 1798 (lot 21): see Appendix 1, 78. Two of the Rubens paintings would also have been available to Lord Archibald. The “small landscape a Sketch [by] Rubens” on the “Archibald Duke of Hamilton” inventory seems to be the sketch of a landscape with a hanged man now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin, linked with the sale of P.J. de Waepenaert’s collection in Bruges on 30 May 1774; while the “Small head [by] Rubens” on the same inventory appears to be the grisaille portrait of Gasparo de Guzman, Count of Olivarez (now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels), believed to have been included in the auction of the collection of J.B. Horion in Brussels on 1 September 1788: see Appendix 1, 6 and 25 for further information about these works.

the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (which is published, also fully annotated, as Appendix 2).

This remarkable group includes copies of the sale catalogues of the collections of Sir Lawrence Dundas (29-31 May 1794),²⁴ Sir Joshua Reynolds (March 1795),²⁵ Charles-Alexandre de Calonne (23-28 March 1795),²⁶ Benjamin van der Gucht (11-12 March 1796),²⁷ John Barnard (16 April-12 May 1798),²⁸ Michael Bryan (17-19 May 1798),²⁹ John, Duke of Argyll (25-26 May 1798),³⁰ the duc d'Orléans (14 February 1800)³¹ and Robert Udny (18-19 May 1804),³² as well as the Reynolds studio sale (14-16 April 1796).³³ These catalogues definitely belonged to Lord Archibald, either because they are annotated by him or because the sales took place when Alexander was abroad. The catalogues of the Dundas, van der Gucht, Reynolds, Barnard and Udny sales are identified, on the fronts or along the sides of the spines, in Lord Archibald's large, bad, distinctive handwriting: "Dunda's Sale of Pictures", "Sale of Van Der Gucht's Pictures March — 1796", "S^r Jos^a. Reynolds Greenwood April 1796", "J: Barnard Esq^r.. Sale of Prints ap^l 16th 1798", and "M^r Udnays Collection Purchasers mark'd".

As plain, unannotated catalogues, they would indicate a serious interest in the art market and the acquisition of works of art. But they actually constitute a quite exceptional reference collection and working tool for a collector. Setting aside the Barnard catalogue, which is an unannotated catalogue of a massive assemblage of prints, all the other catalogues have handwritten prices beside virtually all the lots. Both the Reynolds catalogues and the Udny catalogue record almost all the buyers' names, while the Calonne catalogue has most of their names. Amazingly, the catalogues of the Calonne, Reynolds studio sale, Bryan and Udny collections also have handwritten entries about the lots that were added to these four sales.

²⁴ HA, M4/52.

²⁵ HA, M4/53.

²⁶ HA, M4/54.

²⁷ HA, M4/56. Van der Gucht and Bryan were dealers.

²⁸ HA, M4/58.

²⁹ HA, M4/59. There are apparently two more copies of the Bryan sale catalogue in the Hamilton archive, M4/60 and M4/61, but they have been missing from their correct locations for a few years.

³⁰ HA, M4/62.

³¹ HA, M4/64.

³² HA, M4/65.

³³ HA, M4/57.

It is a fascinating body of material and is made even more interesting because Lord Archibald himself seems to have annotated some of the catalogues with prices and sums. The belief that he was responsible for some of the annotations is confirmed by a sentence at the foot of a page in the Udny catalogue, in his unmistakable handwriting: “so I regularly sett d [i.e. settled] & now I can not [beat or bear] y^e trouble”.³⁴ Lord Archibald had been adding up the prices of the lots at the bottoms of the pages, and had got over two-thirds of the way through the catalogue. Gout, migraine or depression had overcome him, and he had been forced to give up, only four pages from the end.

The Marquis of Douglas begins to collect in earnest

During this time, Alexander had moved north and was living in Tuscany, Venice and the Veneto in the late 1790-early 1800s. He almost certainly acquired items in the late 1790s, but the lack of documentation in the Hamilton archive suggests that he only bought really important and expensive paintings, and manuscripts and books in quantity, after his father became 9th Duke of Hamilton in August 1799.

The 9th Duke responded to his elevation by ordering silver and silver-plated items. Between December 1799 and April 1800 John Stedman supplied him with additional silver and some silver-plated pieces worth £260 19s;³⁵ and in May 1800 Thomas Howard provided him with a silver-plated dinner service, engraved with ducal coronets and crests, costing £832 0s 6d.³⁶ This was actually very modest expenditure because a silver service of the same size would have cost over £5,000, and is in line with the 9th Duke’s purchases of furniture and furnishings from Gillows, the well-known makers in his home town of Lancaster.³⁷

The new duke also took possession of Hamilton Palace, at Hamilton in Lanarkshire, and the Hamilton estates and discovered a very tangled state of affairs. His predecessor had been divorced by his wife in 1794 and lived with an actress,

³⁴ HA, M4/65, p.15.

³⁵ HA, Bundle 3715, itemised bill from John Stedman to the 9th Duke of Hamilton for 16 December 1799 to 19 April 1800.

³⁶ HA, M12/5/15, itemised bill from T. Howard to the 9th Duke, dated 20 May 1800.

³⁷ Gillow’s itemised bills for 1801-4 are in HA, Bundles 3617 and 4471.

Harriet Esten,³⁸ who had given birth to the couple's illegitimate daughter, Anne Douglas Hamilton.³⁹ Duke Douglas had given and bequeathed money, lands, leases and belongings to his mistress and daughter. The 8th Duke had a perfect right to leave his personal estate to them, but there was confusion as to what was personal or entailed estate, and whether the entail had been broken, either completely or in some areas, with the death of the 8th Duke. In short, there was considerable scope for claim and counter claim and for legal action.⁴⁰

The 9th Duke was faced with the removal of paintings, furniture and silver from Hamilton Palace and the ducal apartments in the Palace of Holyroodhouse, in Edinburgh, and decided to settle with Mrs Esten and her daughter. The paintings in Hamilton Palace were valued at £5,139 18s and those at Holyroodhouse at £293 16s.⁴¹ The total value of the 8th Duke's moveable estate came to £13,742 4s 2d, and on 2 July 1802 the 9th Duke eventually paid £7,000, leaving a balance of £6,742 4s 2d "bearing Interest". Although this solved the immediate problem, the final settlement with the Duke's illegitimate daughter was not resolved until the 1820s and cost £60,000 plus interest.⁴²

Alexander was naturally exhilarated by his own advancement to Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale (the courtesy title used by the eldest sons and heirs of the Dukes of Hamilton) and the opportunity of becoming a major collector. He would probably have received an additional allowance or extra funds from his father, or have anticipated that more resources would be forthcoming, and must have quickly

³⁸ It was not unusual for the aristocracy to live with actresses in this period. The Duke of Clarence (later King William IV) and Mrs Jordan lived together from at least 1791 and the 12th Earl of Derby married his long-term love, Elizabeth Farren, a few weeks after the death of his first wife (the daughter of the 6th Duke of Hamilton) in 1797. However, the 8th Duke's widely publicized separation from his highly respected wife and subsequent activities led to much greater scandal, especially in Presbyterian Scotland. The scandal was reignited in February 1797 when Harriet Esten's former husband sought to prove, in a case heard before the Court of the King's Bench, Westminster, that the Duke had debauched, seduced, and had "criminal conversation" with his wife (see the law report in the *Times*, 23 February 1797). Harriet Esten married John Scott-Waring, a former MP for West Looe and Stockbridge and supporter of Warren Hastings, in 1812.

³⁹ The 8th Duke's daughter married Henry Robert Westenra, later 2nd/3rd Baron Rossmore of Monaghan, in 1820.

⁴⁰ For some of the 8th Duke's provisions between 1795 and 1799, see the undated "Case" prepared for the 9th Duke in HA, Bundle 1190. Legal opinions obtained by the 8th Duke in 1798 about leasing to his "female friend" are in NLS, Adv. MS. 24.2.8, ff.36-43.

⁴¹ EUL, La.II.509.722, *Value of Furniture &c at Hamilton Palace &c at the time of the late Duke of Hamilton's death*.

⁴² The final settlement was eventually agreed between Lord Archibald Hamilton (the 10th Duke's brother) and "Mr Westenra" in November 1820: see HA, Bundle 1767, draft letter Brown to Young, 26 November 1820, and Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, f.29, Brown to 10th Duke, 1 January 1822.

realized that he could now buy large paintings suitable for a palace. The great mystery is to what extent, over the next year, Douglas (as Alexander must now be called) was acting on his own initiative. He must have received some information from his father about the problems with the Hamilton estates and Hamilton Palace, and this may have spurred him on, but did he also receive encouragement and even direction from the 9th Duke?⁴³

In April 1800 – eight months after his father inherited the dukedoms – Douglas bought the colossal, almost 400-centimetre-high altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child with Saints* by Girolamo dai Libri, which now dominates the Early Renaissance Gallery in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fig.2).⁴⁴ It had been painted for the Augustinian church of San Leonardo nel Monte, outside Verona, about 1520, and is discussed and praised by Vasari.⁴⁵

The Girolamo dai Libri altarpiece fits in with Douglas's later concentrated collecting of Italian fifteenth-century and early sixteenth-century books, manuscripts and paintings and seems to be very much a personal "trophy" acquisition, but the attempt to secure an even more outstanding work – Titian's *Bacchus and Ariadne* (now in the National Gallery, London) – is more problematic.

The former soldier and dabbler-in-art Pryse Lockhart Gordon recounts in his *Memoirs*, written in the late 1820s and published in 1830, that he received "a commission" from the "Duke of Hamilton" to buy *Bacchus and Ariadne* from the Roman dealer Alexander Day while he was in Italy with Lord Montgomery, the son of the Earl of Eglinton, between 1797 and 1800.⁴⁶ At first sight, "Duke of Hamilton" would seem to refer to a direct commission from the 9th Duke of Hamilton, but it is important to note that the *Memoirs* appeared when Douglas was Duke of Hamilton

⁴³ To a large extent this question must be linked to how serious the 9th Duke was about rebuilding or remodelling the palace in 1800. A set of "Plans and Elevations for His Grace the Duke of Hamilton & Brandon for enlarging and improving the Palace at Hamilton" by Robert Burn, dated 14 October 1800 (whereabouts unknown), records a proposal to transform Hamilton Palace into an Adamesque castle, with a rusticated basement, Venetian windows on the first floor, and a small central drum with shallow dome and oculus, flanked by shallow domes at the corners. The existing evidence suggests that these plans were a response to the poor state of the existing palace and that the 9th Duke started to turn his back on the palace and the Scottish estates before the year was out. Nevertheless, during 1800 he was contemplating improving the palace and may have been willing, if not eager, to support his son's collecting.

⁴⁴ See Gardner 1972, pp.71-2.

⁴⁵ Bettarini 1976, pp.595-6.

⁴⁶ Gordon 1830, II, pp.12-3.

and that another reference to the “Duke of Hamilton” owning “specimens” attributed to Cellini definitely relates to the 10th Duke.⁴⁷ Moreover, it is hard to see how the 9th Duke could have commissioned Gordon, whereas Douglas was in Italy and much more aware of what was available and able to direct Gordon.

It therefore seems that Douglas commissioned Gordon to buy *Bacchus and Ariadne*. That, though, is not to say that the 9th Duke was totally uninvolved: he presumably held the purse strings and may have influenced Douglas in some way.

Gordon’s account of his visit reveals that he was in Rome between about October 1799 and April 1800 and establishes that he would have discussed the matter with Day during these months. Unfortunately, the “Duke” limited Gordon to £500 and this proved insufficient. Later, Gordon learned that £700 would have secured this stupendous work.

All things considered, it looks as though Douglas was the prime mover in trying to buy the Titian and that he was stymied by limited funds and his other interests and commitments.

Douglas also acquired a number of other smaller paintings around this time. “Una Cassetta contenente Due Quadri depinte in Oglio” was shipped on “L’Adamant” around 13 May, no year given.⁴⁸ They were sent with “Una Cassetta contenente un Violon con Carta di Musica”, which seems to equate with “1 Case Violins & Musick” from the “Adamant” received by Messrs Warren & Jenkins around early October 1800.⁴⁹

The following year, Douglas bought the *Portrait of a Man* by Antonello da Messina, dated 1474 (Staatliche Museen, Berlin) (Fig.3). In his book on Antonello published eight years later, in 1809, Puccini states that this was purchased from Giovanni Maria Sasso,⁵⁰ the central figure in the Venetian art market at this time, and it is clear that other works acquired by Douglas are also associated with Sasso. The Girolamo dai Libri altarpiece was sold to Douglas by Sasso’s friend, the Bolognese

⁴⁷ ‘The Duke of Hamilton also possesses various fine specimens of chasing by this great artist. His Grace has a noble collection of every thing that belongs to art, and may be considered “*un véritable connoisseur*”’: *ibid.*, II, p.81.

⁴⁸ HA, Bundle 3715, shipping note signed “Gug[liel]mo Watson”, dated 13 May. The crates were “Directed A Sua Eccellenza Il Duca di Hamilton”.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, bill from Robert Hotchon to Messrs Warren & Jenkins, dated 2 October 1800.

⁵⁰ Puccini 1809, p.13.

dealer Giovanni Antonio Armano, and is mentioned in their correspondence,⁵¹ while other paintings – such as the double-portrait of Lodovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua and his wife, Barbara of Brandenburg, which was then attributed to Mantegna and is now regarded as after the master (Fig.4)⁵² – have Venetian provenances and are referred to in Sasso's letters.⁵³

Douglas certainly managed to acquire some important paintings between 1799 and 1802, but the evidence in the Hamilton archive indicates that the 9th Duke was primarily responsible for the first enrichment of the Hamilton collection under the New Dispensation. The 2nd Viscount Palmerston dined at Hamilton Palace in October 1800 and noted that, while some of the best pictures, including the full-length portraits by Van Dyck and Rubens's *Daniel in the Lions' Den* in the Long Gallery, had been there a long time: "The remainder have been brought down by the present Duke, who as well as his son, the Marquis of Douglas, has been a considerable collector".⁵⁴ Regrettably, Palmerston does not elaborate, but the painter and diarist Joseph Farington (who visited the palace almost exactly a year later) states that the 9th Duke was responsible for introducing the Poussin of the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (now in the National Gallery of Ireland) into the palace.⁵⁵ Farington continues with the remark that the Duke "appears by the additions He has made to have a taste for pictures".

Douglas was certainly keen to acquire paintings, but the Hamilton archive indicates that he was much more active as a collector of manuscripts and books in this early period, and that we should see him, first and foremost, as a collector of manuscripts and fifteenth- and sixteenth-century books rather than as a connoisseur and collector of Old Masters.

Douglas's principal manuscript "trophy" during his first spending spree appears to have been the so-called *Golden Gospels* (now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), which was apparently produced by sixteen scribes in the

⁵¹ Gardner 1972, p.72.

⁵² The double portrait is discussed in Lightbown 1986, pp.473-4.

⁵³ In the life of Mantegna, in the 1849 Milanese edition of Vasari, the Marchese Pietro Selvatico cites a letter from Sasso to Giovanni de' Lazzara, which records that the double portrait was in Venice in the late eighteenth century, and notes that it was purchased by "Lord Hamilton": see Milanese 1849, V, pp.193-4

⁵⁴ Connell 1957, p.430.

⁵⁵ Garlick and MacIntyre 1979, p.1682.

Benedictine abbey of St Maximin, Trier, in the late tenth century, probably as a gift for the Emperor Otto III.⁵⁶ Such gold on purple manuscripts, with their purple/imperial associations, were highly prized, and the *Golden Gospels* had the added attraction that it was believed to have been presented to King Henry VIII by Pope Leo X, when the pontiff bestowed the title *Defensor Fidei* upon him in 1521.⁵⁷ Douglas celebrated and commemorated the acquisition of the *Gospels* by writing his name and the date – “Douglas & Clydesdale _ 1800 _” – in large, assertive, triumphant handwriting on the fly-leaf, over an erased reference to a previous owner, Ralph Palmer of Little Chelsea.⁵⁸

Douglas’s other early acquisitions include at least thirty manuscripts purchased in Italy between 1799 and 1801. The key sources of information are the list of over eighty “libri” packed in Venice for sending to London in July 1801⁵⁹ and the list of twenty-five “Maniscritti da me acquistati in Italia”, written by Douglas himself on paper watermarked with the date 1802.⁶⁰ Along with other lists and letters, they reveal that Douglas was principally interested, at this date, in Italian manuscripts and books of the fifteenth century, Classical texts, Venetian history, and Dante, Petrarch, and other Italian poets.⁶¹

The list of “libri” is extremely cryptic, ranging from seven words to an author’s name, and does not enable one to “match” more than a handful of entries to manuscripts and books formerly in the Hamilton collection with any certainty or conviction. However, Douglas’s own list is sufficiently detailed that we can identify

⁵⁶ For a discussion of the manuscript itself, see Lowe 1954, pp.266-79.

⁵⁷ I am most grateful to Dr William M. Voelke and Sylvie Merian for allowing me to study the “Golden Gospels” in 2002. The alleged provenance is given, in eighteenth-century handwriting, on the fly-leaf. The Gospels did belong to Henry VIII, but the high number 957 suggests that they were a later acquisition.

⁵⁸ It is far from clear how Douglas acquired the Gospels – presumably from an English source – as early as 1800. Another manuscript formerly in Palmer’s library – the early illuminated register of Furness Abbey, Lancaster (BL, Add. Ms 33247; formerly Berlin, Hamilton 269) – is recorded among the seventy-five manuscripts and books in Douglas’s possession published by William Clarke in his *Repertorium Bibliographicum* (London, 1819), pp.257-64 (see the fully annotated transcript of this list in Appendix 3 of this thesis, entry 62). In addition, Douglas also owned two other Palmer manuscripts: Guilelmus Redonensis, *Apparatus super summam de casibus*, English, second half of the thirteenth century (Berlin, Hamilton 30) and Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica*, late twelfth and fourteenth centuries (Berlin, Hamilton 503). He may therefore have acquired at least one other Palmer manuscript at the same time as the Gospels, from the same source.

⁵⁹ HA, M12/30/unnumbered, “Lista dei libri messi in una casse per Lond[ra or on] il di 22 Luglio 1801 Mestre”.

⁶⁰ HA, M12/30/38, list of manuscripts acquired in Italy by the Marquis of Douglas, written by Lord Douglas on paper watermarked “E & P / 1802”. Both lists are in Appendix 4.

⁶¹ Other lists, letters and notes are in HA, M12/30.

works now in the Berlin Kupferstichkabinett (hereafter cited as Berlin) and other collections.⁶²

The first entry on Douglas's list – "Il breviario della Regina di Cyprio del XI secolo un volume in quarto" – is indisputably the profusely illustrated Byzantine psalter of about 1300, Berlin, 78 A 9, which is inscribed on folio one verso: "Isto libro la Regina Charlotta de Jerousalem de Chipre et Armenie x."⁶³ Entry seven, "Pomerium Riccobaldi di Ferrara del XV secolo un bellissimo volume in foglio", is Riccobaldus Ferrariensis, *Pomerium Ravennatis ecclesiae*, Berlin, Hamilton 570,⁶⁴ which was produced in Venice around 1470, while entry nine, "Francesco di Butis Grammatica 8vo.", is the Italian late fourteenth-century manuscript, Franciscus de Butis, *libri grammaticales*, Berlin, Hamilton 124.⁶⁵ There are a number of other religious texts and entry sixteen, "Regulole St. Benedictus preciosissimo manuscritto [...] del secolo XI in 8vo", must be the Italian tenth-century *Rules of St Benedict*, Berlin, Hamilton 71.⁶⁶

Numbers and annotations on the manuscripts now in Berlin confirm that Douglas was benefiting from the recent secularization of Italian monasteries and other religious institutions and the dispersal of their libraries. The Byzantine psalter associated with the Queen of Cyprus came from the collection of Apostolo Zeno's manuscripts in the Dominican library of Santa Maria del Rosario, Venice,⁶⁷ while the "Francesco di Butis" and *Rules of St Benedict* had been in S. Michael de Murano.⁶⁸ This strongly suggests that other Hamilton manuscripts with Venetian monastic provenances – such as Cardinal Bessarion's *In calumniatorem Platonis liber* (Berlin,

⁶² The Hamilton Manuscripts, which also included manuscripts bequeathed by William Beckford to his daughter Susan, the wife of the 10th Duke of Hamilton, in 1844, were bought by the Royal Museum in Berlin in 1882. The majority are now in the Kupferstichkabinett in Berlin. However, the Museum authorities failed to obtain the necessary extra funds from the German government and were obliged to sell over a hundred manuscripts a few years after the purchase. Over two dozen were acquired by the British Museum in 1887. Most of the remainder were sold at Sotheby's in 1889 and are now widely dispersed. For further details about these sales, see the introduction to Appendix 3. Many of the Hamilton Manuscripts are described by Helmut Boese in *Die Lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin* (Wiesbaden, 1966), which will be referred to from now on as Boese. It should be noted that this thesis is the first attempt to use the Hamilton archive to understand the development of the 10th Duke's own collection.

⁶³ For a discussion of the manuscript itself, which was formerly Hamilton 119, see Havice 1978.

⁶⁴ Boese, pp.279-80.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.68-9.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.37-8.

⁶⁷ The psalter was number CLXXIV in the Zeno catalogue and is included on Clarke's list (see Appendix 3, entry 20).

⁶⁸ Boese, pp.37 and 68.

Hamilton 76),⁶⁹ Christophorus Bondelmontius, *Insularum archipelagi et Cretae descriptiones* (Berlin, Hamilton 108)⁷⁰ and the Italian thirteenth-century Virgil *Aeneid* (Berlin, Hamilton 678),⁷¹ which all come from the Zeno collection in Santa Maria del Rosario⁷² – were also acquired in this early period.

Collecting back in Britain, 1802-1807

These works whetted Douglas's appetite and he made many more acquisitions after his return to Britain in 1801 and election as an MP the following year.

In April 1802, Douglas purchased a collection of manuscripts from Angelo Moretti of Ferrara for £200. The initial moves involved the Abbé Eusebio della Lena in Vienna,⁷³ and the purchase itself was concluded by Douglas's good friend, Count Leopoldo Cicognara (1767-1834), with assistance from the Venetian dealer Pietro or Pierino Pisani.⁷⁴ Three lists of thirty-five or thirty-six manuscripts can be associated with this purchase and record that the works were individually priced from 25 to 120 Roman *scudi*.⁷⁵ The descriptions of a number of manuscripts – notably Nicholas de Cusa, *De Concordantia Catholica*, undertaken for Domenico de Dominichi, Bishop of Torcellano,⁷⁶ Franciscus Philelfus, *carminum libri V*,⁷⁷ Raphael de Pornasio, *De*

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp.39-40.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.58-60.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.326.

⁷² All three manuscripts, which were numbers CCIX, CLXI and CCXL respectively in the catalogue of Zeno manuscripts, are recorded on Clarke's list: see Appendix 3, entries 11, 19 and 74. There is at least one other Zeno manuscript on Clarke's list: the Italian fifteenth-century manuscript of Hyginus *De astronomia* and Macrobius, *in somnium Scipionis commentarii* (Berlin, Hamilton 338), which was Zeno catalogue number CLXIII (see Appendix 3, entry 8).

⁷³ HA, Bundle 909, Angelo Moretti to Douglas, 27 January 1802.

⁷⁴ The contract between Cicognara and Moretti, on behalf of "Milord Hamilton", for "Lire duecento Sterline", is dated Ferrara, 10 April 1802 (HA, M12/30/54).

⁷⁵ The most comprehensive list is a "Nota de Codici" (HA, M12/30/39), which has clear entries for thirty-five manuscripts, ranging in price from 25 to 120 Roman *scudi*, and follows these with a list of sixty-nine books, including two that are crossed out. The manuscripts are described in more detail, in slightly different order, as thirty-six manuscripts, but with no mention of the books, on a very well written list entitled "Elenco de Codici" (HA, M12/30/52). At the end of this Cicognara has written: "Riscontrato a norma di quanto è esposto nella suda nota, con moltissima pazienza da me Leopoldo Cicognara". There is also a list of the authors' names of thirty-five manuscripts (HA, M12/30/51), with the same prices as on M12/30/39. The total price of the manuscripts is given as "1820", and "accordato in Lire Sterline 200" is written beneath this.

⁷⁶ Boese, pp.100-1.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.245-6.

potestate concilii,⁷⁸ and Plutarch, *Apophthegmata*⁷⁹ – definitely describe manuscripts now in Berlin (i.e. Hamilton 198,⁸⁰ 511,⁸¹ 562⁸² and 519⁸³ respectively). The oval stamp of the University of Ferrara on these items indicates that they came from the university, and that other manuscripts in Berlin with the stamp of the university and/or associations with S. Paolo in Ferrara (e.g. Hamilton 131,⁸⁴ 161,⁸⁵ 213,⁸⁶ 502⁸⁷ and 634⁸⁸) are probably connected to this purchase. Most of the manuscripts identified to date were produced in Italy in the fifteenth century and suggest Douglas was buying quantity rather than quality in his special area of interest.

On his return to Britain, Douglas very sensibly approached the leading London bookseller James Edwards (1756-1816), who was well known to his Italian friends and agents. Edwards clearly regarded Douglas as an ill-informed amateur collector⁸⁹ but provided him, in 1802, with a list of manuscripts on vellum and a printed list of other manuscripts that were available from the Augsburg bookseller Franz Anton Veith.⁹⁰ By the time Veith was contacted, the vellum manuscripts had

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, pp.277-8.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p.250.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p.100.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p.245.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p.277.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p.250.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.71-2.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.83-4.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.105-6.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.237-8.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p.310.

⁸⁹ See HA, C4/928/3, James Edwards to Douglas, 30 September 1802. Edwards turned down Douglas's "kind offer of being usefull to my Bibliographic Amusem[ents] in Scotland", with the disparaging comment "at present I do not recollect any wants likely to be supplyd. from thence", and went on to answer his query "whether S. Augustin 1468 be valuable w[i]th us" with the very basic lesson: "every book with a Date before 1470 is a curiosity in the History of early Typography _ and worthy of consideration in any Collection _ but I recommend to your Lordship to hezitate when it is not an Editio princeps _ tis always mortifying when we look at or shew a curious Book to recollect that it is but secondary". Edwards then recommended Douglas to purchase Georg Wolfgang Panzer's *Annales typographici* (Nuremberg, 1793-1803), of which Edwards seems to have had nine of the eleven volumes, and Edward Harwood's *Degli autori classici* (Venice, 1793) – "the Grammar and Lexicon to Collectors in our Line" – if he was "not already possess[e]d of them".

⁹⁰ Edwards's letter to Douglas of 30 September 1802 (HA, C4/928/3) reveals that Douglas had been supplied with both lists before this date. According to the letter, Edwards had "writ [Douglas's] offer for the List of Vell[um] MSS." and had received an answer from Veith that they had been sold, but that the items on the printed list were still available. In the letter he tells Douglas "if you write soon or wish me to write to them you may have any of them you desire at the prices affix[e]d."

been sold, but Douglas was able to secure seven items on the printed list and the handwritten addition to the list, through Edwards, in March 1803.⁹¹

The following month Edwards wrote from the French capital to inform Douglas that he had “ransack[e]d all Paris to find something worthy of a place in your Cabinet” and offered him the following for about sixty pounds or guineas:

Dante the 3 parts MS. on Vellum with the obituary of a family to whom it belonged in 1347. _ about 26 years after the authors decease _ folio
 Bedæ Hist. Ecc. Anglicana. _ MS on Vell[um] of the 11th. or 12th. Centy along wth. the first Ed. of Beda 1550 wth. MS. Collations of the various reading of 9 diff^t. MSS. _ folio
 S^t. Pauls Epistles MS. on Eastern pap^r. in Coptic and Arabic thick folio
 Concilia &c in the ancient Lombardic Character w^{ch}. ceas^d. about the 8th. Century _ its date may be nearly ascertain^d. as the Councils have been continued in a diff Hand to the 9th Century
 Josephi Historia &c MS. on Vell[um] 2 vols very large folio wth miniatures in high preservation about the 14th Century⁹²

Douglas almost certainly bought all five manuscripts, along with the printed edition of Bede.⁹³ The purchase is of considerable interest because it corroborates the idea, based on the acquisition of the *Golden Gospels* and some of the entries on previous lists, that Douglas was seeking to assemble a much more wide-ranging collection of manuscripts than of paintings. His interest in paintings seems to have been confined in these years to “realistic” Italian fifteenth- and sixteenth-century

⁹¹ Veith’s printed “Catalogue de Manuscripts” (HA, C4/928/9/4) has handwritten crosses against entries 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12 and 14 and the handwritten entry relating to a manuscript of Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, at the end. Edwards’s letter to Douglas dated 8 March 1803 (HA, C4/928/7/1) requests payment for these manuscripts and lists them simply as: “3 Evangelia _ 50 / 5 Hieronymi _ 66 / 6 Cyprian _ 50 / 8 Lanctantius _ 66 / 10 Chrysostom _ 100 / 12 Gregory _ 55 / 14 Seneca _ 44 / Nonnus _ 100 / [total price] 531”. Edwards’s letter records that the manuscripts were charged, by Edwards, at £48. See Appendix 4 for the entries in Veith’s “Catalogue”.

⁹² HA, C4/928/4, Edwards to Douglas, 11 April 1803. Edwards records that he had bought the first four from the Abbé Tersan and the Josephus from a “Books[elle]r”. He informs Douglas that the bookseller Chardin “was making you out a List of the whole of his Manuscripts _ but without taking any I assisted him to make a choice of such as were ancient and most remarkable, of those he promises to make out a List & send you in a few days _ at my return I will give you freely my Opinion of them.” Edwards concludes by mentioning that he has been “tempted to purchase a few Cabinet Pictures” and has never seen Paris “so empty” in “fine Books”: “There is not a single Article of those Lord Blanford wants _ nor any MS in his Line of collection”.

⁹³ The 1550 edition of Bede was probably lot 230 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge’s sale of the Hamilton Library on 1 May 1884: “Bedaee Ecclesiastica Historia Gentis Anglorum, autograph of “Thomas Garrett 1658 Maii 15”, who has collated 8 Manuscripts and the Edition of Argent, 1550, noting the numerous various readings on the margins of this copy, half calf, folio. Antverpiae, 1550.

*An important and valuable copy, which ought to be secured for a public library.” It was bought by Quaritch for ten shillings.

treatments, but, as far as manuscripts are concerned, we can now see him willing and eager to form a much more comprehensive collection of “Western” texts, stretching from at least the early middle ages to 1600.

The purchases from Edwards range from the Coptic *Epistles of St Paul* (Berlin, Hamilton 484)⁹⁴ through a collection of Church canons produced in France in the early and mid ninth century (Berlin, Hamilton 132)⁹⁵ and an English eleventh-century manuscript of Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (Berlin, Hamilton 70)⁹⁶ to Josephus’s *Antiquitates Judaicae* and *De bello Judaico* (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, MS M.533 and 534 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 361)), written and illuminated in Dijon in the late thirteenth century.

While all this was going on, Pisani, Cicognara and others were trying to find items for Douglas in the north-east of Italy. There is a large surviving correspondence about possible acquisitions, but many attempts fizzled out in failure. After all this effort the main purchase – the paintings inherited by Sasso’s daughters after his death in March 1803 – is frankly disappointing, being both very “near to home” and poor in terms of artistic importance and quality. A painting of *St Jerome* attributed to Titian had already been acquired by Sir Abraham Hume (1749-1838), a close friend of Reynolds and a distinguished collector of Old Masters,⁹⁷ and it seems that Giacomo della Lena, the Spanish vice-consul in Venice, was offering Douglas – as a former customer and friend of Sasso – five of the best paintings that were still available.

In a letter dated 15 July 1803, della Lena lists the paintings as:

l’Adultera di Paolo	Z[ecchini]	100	_
il Ciro ferri	”	20	_
l’Adone, e Venere di Giorgione	”	120	_
e li due Schiavoni, uno ch’ era			
tenuto da Manfrin, e l’altro citato			
dal Ridolfi	”	80.	_
		320	⁹⁸

⁹⁴ Boese, p.228.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.72-5.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.36-7.

⁹⁷ HA, Bundle 1006, Giacomo della Lena to Douglas, 15 July 1803, and Bundle 1131, Francesco Aglietti to Douglas, 23 July 1803.

⁹⁸ HA, Bundle 1006, della Lena to Douglas, 15 July 1803.

The first painting is listed as “La Samaritana di Paolo Z[ecchini] 100” in della Lena’s letter of 10 October 1804, but the other entries repeat the same basic information.⁹⁹

Only one of these paintings has been identified to date: the *Adonis and Venus* attributed to Giorgione. This is described as the “bel Quadro dell’ Adone e Venere di Giorgione” in della Lena’s later letter of 12 December 1804,¹⁰⁰ and appears to be the work discussed at length in a letter from the Duke of Somerset to Douglas, dated 2 February 1806, which begins “Your Picture is, as we conjectured, the story of Myrrha and Adonis” and goes on to quote passages in Latin from Ovid to support the thesis.¹⁰¹

The Sasso painting is listed as the “Story of Myrza from Ovid [£]100 [by] Georgioni” on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory,¹⁰² when it hung in the First Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms, and as the “Storry of Mirrha from Ovid [by] Giorgione [£]200” on the 1835 inventory,¹⁰³ when it was in the New Sitting Room in the recently built addition to the palace. Dr Gustav Waagen saw the picture in the New Sitting Room in 1851 and described it as “Giorgione. – Hippomenes and Atalanta, accompanied by Cupid, in a landscape”,¹⁰⁴ but it retained its old title and was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale as “Giorgione, The Story of Myrrha”.¹⁰⁵ Bought by the National Gallery, London, at the auction for £1,417 10s,¹⁰⁶ it has slumbered for many years in the reserve collection as a “Mythological Scene by a Follower of Titian” (Fig.5).¹⁰⁷

The “due Schiavoni” are probably the two works by Schiavone also noted by Waagen in the New Sitting Room in 1851 and described as: “Schiavone. – The Ecce Homo, and Pilate washing his hands; half-length figures; one of his coarser and dark works.”¹⁰⁸ They were included in the 1882 sale, as consecutive lots. According to Christie’s catalogue, the *Ecce Homo* was 3 feet 7 inches by 4 feet 9 inches (109 x 145

⁹⁹ HA, C4/928/9/1, della Lena to Douglas, dated 10 8bre 1804.

¹⁰⁰ HA, Bundle 1129, della Lena to Douglas, dated 12 Xbre 1804.

¹⁰¹ HA, Bundle 928, Somerset to Douglas, 2 February 1806. Somerset was Douglas’s brother-in-law. The identification is confirmed by comparison with Somerset’s letter about political matters, dated 28 December 1801 (HA, Bundle 754).

¹⁰² HA, M4/70, 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.171.

¹⁰³ HTHL, 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.155.

¹⁰⁴ Waagen 1854, III, p.303.

¹⁰⁵ 1882 HPS, lot 383.

¹⁰⁶ 1882 HPSSC, lot 383.

¹⁰⁷ Gould 1987, pp.304-5.

¹⁰⁸ Waagen 1854, III, p.304.

cm.),¹⁰⁹ while *Pilate washing his hands* was 3 feet 7 inches by 5 feet 2 inches (109 x 157.5 cm.).¹¹⁰ The *Ecce Homo* was more highly regarded in 1882, selling to Colnaghi for £50 8s, while *Pilate* went to C.H. Waters for only £21.¹¹¹ Schiavone used the same basic horizontal compositions, with half-length figures, for a number of versions of these two subjects.¹¹² It therefore follows that the Hamilton *Ecce Homo* is probably a smaller version of the *Ecce Homo* in the Steffanoni collection in Bergamo (Fig.6),¹¹³ which measures 121 x 147 centimetres, while the Hamilton *Pilate* must be similar to the *Pilate* now at Hampton Court (Fig.7),¹¹⁴ which is 102 x 157 centimetres.

In addition to the paintings, Douglas also acquired forty-five manuscripts in the transaction with della Lena, for an additional 33 *zecchini*.¹¹⁵ They are itemised, in two groups, in della Lena's letter of 12 October 1804¹¹⁶ and include a number of identifiable manuscripts. The first list begins with five Classical texts – “Crispi Sallustii”, “Rettorica d’Aristotile”, “Favole d’Esopo” and manuscripts of Cicero’s *De Officiis* and *de Inventione* – and goes on, through “Codice Ebraico cartaceo”, “Cronaca Veneta” and other works, to end with “14. Promission Duc[a]le del Doge Leonardo Loredan _ 15. Detta del Doge Pasqual Malipiero 1461 _ 16. Detta del Doge Gio: Mocenigo 1480”. The latter are almost certainly the official illuminated appointments by Doge Leonardo Loredan of Pietro Capello, Podesta of Brescia, in 1501 (Berlin, Hamilton 224),¹¹⁷ by Doge Pasquale Maripietro of Andrea Venier, Count at Spoleto, in 1461 (Berlin, Hamilton 225),¹¹⁸ and by Doge Giovanni Mocenigo of Jacopo Marcello, Captain of Padua for a year, in 1480 (Berlin, Hamilton 222).¹¹⁹

¹⁰⁹ 1882 HPS, lot 366.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, lot 367.

¹¹¹ 1882 HPSSC, lots 366 and 367.

¹¹² See Richardson 1980, pp. 66, 155, 162, 170, 172-3, 185 and 194 and figs.144, 170, 182, 198, 217 and 220.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p.155, no.250.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.162, no.260.

¹¹⁵ The price of 33 *zecchini* appears in della Lena's letters of 10 October 1804 and 12 December 1804 (HA, C4/928/9/1 and Bundle 1129) and is confirmed by the total price of 353 *zecchini* for paintings, codices and manuscripts in his letters of 12 October 1804, 29 May 1805 and 7 August 1805 (HA, C4/928/10 and Bundle 1129).

¹¹⁶ HA, C4/928/10, della Lena to Douglas, dated 12 8bre 1804.

¹¹⁷ Boese, p.110.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p.109.

The second list includes many chronicles of Venice (e.g. “Cronaca di Marco Barbaro”, “Hist[ori]a veneziana di Zuane Querini, tomi 2” and “Origine delle famiglie Venete”) and underscores Douglas’s focus on Venice and Italy and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. “Cronaca delle famiglie venete, greco-venete” may be Berlin, Hamilton 662,¹²⁰ while “Serie de’ Giustiziati” seems to be the eighteenth-century manuscript, Berlin, Hamilton 664, which contains information about criminals and their executions.¹²¹

Douglas would have acquired other items and especially manuscripts from Italy between 1801 and 1806. There are certainly references to manuscript bibles in the correspondence,¹²² but they are difficult to associate with works formerly in the Hamilton Library. Nonetheless, it is surprising that Douglas did not acquire much more from Italy during these years. He had an extensive network of friends and dealers, which included Sasso, Pisani, Cicognara, Giacomo and Innocenzo della Lena, and Francesco Aglietti in Venice, Bossi in Milan, Matteo Luigi Canonici in Parma, and Moretti and J.B. de Chateaufneuf in Ferrara. They sent Douglas dozens of letters and were willing, and in some cases highly desirous, to send items and act on his behalf.¹²³

The resumption of war between Britain and France in May 1803 led to severe problems with post and shipping and impeded the international art trade. But this only partly explains why Douglas did not receive more items from Italy. The main reason seems to have been that he was increasingly obliged to concentrate on developments in Britain, to the detriment of his Italian correspondence and collecting.

Douglas’s father was largely responsible for this almost total reorientation. The 9th Duke suffered badly from gout and depression and refused to take on the

¹²⁰ Hamilton 662 was included in Sotheby’s 1882 *Catalogue of the Hamilton Collection of Manuscripts*, under 662, as “Venetia. Cronica delle Famiglie nobili Graeco-Venete[.] Manuscript, with Pedigrees (15½ by 10¼ inches) fol. Saec. XVIII”.

¹²¹ Hamilton 664 was described in Sotheby’s 1882 *Catalogue*, under 664, as “Venetia. Serie de Giustiziati (706-1791)[.] Manuscript (12½ by 9 inches) folio. Saec. XVIII[.] *A very important Manuscript, containing curious information respecting Criminals and their execution.”

¹²² E.g. HA, C4/928/11, Pisani to Douglas, 20 March 1802 (referring to “l’affaire della Bibbia”); Bundle 1131, Cicognara to Douglas, 26 January 1803; and Bundle 1130, Pisani to Douglas, 20 January 1804 (referring to the “Bibbia Estense”).

¹²³ Many of their letters are in HA, Bundles 928, 1006 and 1129-1133, M12/30 and C4/928. The great unknown is what Douglas received from Bossi. A letter mentions a case of manuscripts and various sums, including £52, but it is not clear what was involved, nor whether Douglas received these items: see HA, Bundle 1130, Bossi to Douglas, 16 June 1804.

leadership of the Whigs in Scotland, as requested by the Marquess of Bute and others. He left his sons to represent the House of Hamilton and both stood at the General Election in 1802. After a bruising contest, involving much alcohol and free drink for votes, Douglas was elected one of the two MPs for his father's old seat of Lancaster,¹²⁴ while his brother, Lord Archibald Hamilton, began his career as the radical MP for Lanarkshire (the Hamilton's "home county").

Douglas could easily have combined his parliamentary duties with correspondence with Italy, but another, more momentous development took place in 1802. Afflicted by illness and daunted by the task of meeting the claims of the mistress and illegitimate child of the 8th Duke, the 9th Duke decided to give up public life and the bother and responsibility of running the new estates. He appointed his elder son and heir "Commissioner" of the Hamilton estates in Scotland, made provision for his other children, and "retir'd" (his own word), to live out his last years at Ashton Hall.¹²⁵ Douglas was left to deal with the estates in Lanarkshire, Arran, Stirlingshire and Linlithgowshire (now West Lothian), take over as Lord Lieutenant of Lanarkshire, and serve as Colonel of the Royal Lanarkshire Militia. The first two would have been a challenge to anybody with little experience of management, but Douglas was also expected to respond to the government's urgent demands for the expansion of the militia to defend the United Kingdom from invasion by the French and "free up" regular troops.

In a letter dated West Barns Camp, 25 or 26 October 1803, Douglas wrote rather petulantly and in exasperation to his father:

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your very kind & obliging letter of the 23^d instant, and I should have acknowledged it sooner had it fallen into my hands, but you direct always to Hamilton Palace when I am constantly with the regiment, unless occasionally for a day or two, when I go there to receive the accumulated complaints, quarrels and misfortunes of the whole County ____¹²⁶

¹²⁴ John Dent (Tory) received the most votes. Douglas in second place, with 1152 or 1153 votes, easily defeated John Fenton Cawthorne (Tory), who only polled 777 votes.

¹²⁵ The 9th Duke seems to have handed over the running of the Scottish estates to his son in 1802 (see HTHL, General State of the Management of the Estates in Scotland, 31 October 1802 to 31 December 1803, and HA, Bundle 4351, Douglas to 9th Duke, 17 January 1803) and to have confirmed this in Articles of Agreement in early February 1804.

¹²⁶ HA, C4/581, Douglas to 9th Duke, 25 or 26 October 1803.

A series of letters about the Royal Lanarkshire Militia and other militias indicates that Douglas was zealously and enthusiastically dealing with the supply of muskets, other “deficiencies”, appointments and coal allowances between October and December 1803, and that he even offered – as the son of the official Keeper – to allow troops to be quartered in the “Privilege of [Holyrood] Palace”.¹²⁷

It seems that Douglas’s life revolved around the militia well into 1804 and that, when the danger of invasion receded, he turned to the delights of London and possibilities in Britain. Acquiring items from Italy required time and effort for very uncertain returns, while London and the provinces provided instant or near instant gratification. Not surprisingly, after the fear of invasion and death, Douglas realigned himself and the flow of items from Italy dried up.

There are few letters and bills relating to Douglas’s collecting in Britain between 1804 and 1806. A good deal has been destroyed, and reflects Douglas’s disorganisation before Robert Brown became his principal factor in 1812 and encouraged him to retain and order his papers.

The two most significant developments appear to be Douglas’s election to the Society of Dilettanti in 1803 and his close involvement with the miniature painter, collector and dealer Richard Cosway (1742-1821). The papers of the Society of Dilettanti record Douglas’s election, as the only member elected in 1803,¹²⁸ while the art dealer William Buchanan observes, in a letter of early May 1804, that Cosway “is very intimate with the Marquis D.[ouglas] and has much to say with him”.¹²⁹ In early July 1804 Buchanan remarks “as he [Cosway] is so well acquainted with Marq[ui]s Douglas he might mention” to him the possible purchase, from Buchanan, of portraits of King Charles I and Queen Henrietta.¹³⁰

The election to the Dilettanti Society brought Douglas into contact with the influential writer-collector Richard Payne Knight,¹³¹ and would have increased his

¹²⁷ See General Moira’s letters to Douglas, 6 November - 12 December 1803, in HA, Bundle 769, and Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, Pulteney Correspondence, Vol.5, p.243, Douglas to Major General Don, 7 December 1803.

¹²⁸ Cust 1914, p.282.

¹²⁹ NLS, MS 10275, f.141v, William Buchanan to David Stewart, 4 May 1804.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, f.161v, Buchanan to Stewart, 2 July 1804.

¹³¹ Payne Knight was the ruling spirit of the Society as far as Classical matters were concerned. Lord Elgin’s former secretary, William Richard Hamilton, who had superintended the removal of the Parthenon sculptures, and was later much involved with the 10th Duke, was not a member at this date.

interest in Classical antiquities, and particularly in cameos. Friendship with Cosway would naturally have led to the acquisition of miniatures by the artist¹³² and almost certainly of other miniatures.¹³³ These inferences are supported by Lord Archibald Hamilton's lament in 1816 for all the "dead Capital" his brother had expended on his "Collection of precious Stones, miniatures & manuscripts" over the years.¹³⁴

Douglas continued to collect manuscripts. He considered buying part of the collection of the late Dr Carlyle. Dr Carlyle's sister apparently sent him "all the Greek Manuscripts" and "the two or three Codices" that he also wanted to examine, when she got back to Newcastle,¹³⁵ but in the end he seems to have decided against acquiring any of them. Carlyle's sister thanked him for offering to dispose of the manuscripts and asked him to keep them until the Bishop of Durham could help her with this task.¹³⁶

In April 1805 Douglas decided to "keep the german manuscript" and sent "Mr Meyer" – the bookbinder Charles Meyer – ten pounds (which may have included payment for binding items and for other works, as well as the price of the manuscript).¹³⁷

Indeed, it was Douglas, along with Sir William Drummond, who proposed Hamilton for election to the Society, at the successful, third attempt in January 1811: see Cust 1914, pp.133-4.

¹³² The Hamilton collection at Lennoxlove still contains a drawing of a beautiful standing female figure with a putto on a cloud filling the cup in her raised left hand – presumably representing or alluding to Hebe – and a very impressive Neo-classical-style perfume-burner on the right, signed by Cosway and dated 1805, which may well have been acquired by Douglas around this time. A portrait of the 9th Duke by Cosway, on panel measuring 74.3 x 60.9 cm., also at Lennoxlove, serves as a reminder that both the 9th Duke and Douglas's brother, Lord Archibald Hamilton, knew Cosway and his wife.

The 1882 Hamilton Palace sale included three miniatures, lots 1546, 1548 and 1552, attributed to Cosway. A miniature in the Huntington Library (27.149), from the Tweedmouth collection, is said to represent the 10th Duke.

¹³³ The thirteenth day of the great Hamilton Palace sale, 15 July 1882, was devoted to auctioning over 200 miniatures (lots 1460-1667). Some can be identified as having come from William Beckford's collection, while others were bought by the 11th Duke. The only documentation so far discovered relating to Douglas's own activities is a letter from A. Gordon, dated Old Broad Street, 19 May 1815 (HA, Bundle 928), informing Douglas that "Mr Harman" had delivered a box containing miniatures, which was either to be "returned to him in 3 or 4 days, or shall be paid for by Your Lordship conformably to the spirit of the original Agreement."

¹³⁴ HA, Bundle 935, Lord Archibald Hamilton to Douglas, undated but probably written in February 1816.

¹³⁵ HA, Bundle 928, "Sus: Maria Carlyle" to Douglas, 9 July 1804.

¹³⁶ *Ibid.*, "Sus : Maria Carlyle" to Douglas, 25 August 1804.

¹³⁷ Yale University, Beinecke Library, Osborn d.194/82, Douglas to "Mr Meyer", 5 April 1805. The note reads: "Sir / I shall speak to you when I see you about the lettering of the two books in question _ Here enclosed I have sent the ten pounds, I shall therefore keep the german manuscript _ / Douglas & Clydesdale".

A few weeks later, we are given an extremely revealing account of Douglas which highlights his affected sophistication and foreign appearance and attitudes, at least in London, during these years. Writing to her son, Lord Granville Leveson Gower, Lady Stafford recounts on 31 May:

Your Cousin, Lord Douglas, Breakfasted with me Yesterday, and seem'd much pleased with this House. He could say little of the Furniture, as the House contains little, and that of the most plain Sorts. With his Love he desired me to say that *you must* chuse the only Essential Furniture in any House – that Piece of Furniture that either makes the Happiness or the Misery of a Man's Life, which gave me an Opportunity of talking seriously to him on that Subject. But he is so odd! so different from every other Man! that I could not find out whether or no he means to marry. His great Coat, long *Queue*, and Fingers cover'd with gold Rings are as you left them, and he in every particular as foreign as when he came first from Abroad.¹³⁸

The arrival of the Sasso paintings and the manuscripts aboard the *Bird* in 1805¹³⁹ may well have inspired Douglas to acquire another large Italian renaissance painting the following year.

One has to be very careful about the acquisition of the altarpiece of the *Circumcision of Christ* by Luca Signorelli (Fig.8), which was painted for the Oratory of the Holy Name of Jesus attached to S. Francesco in Volterra (now in the National Gallery, London),¹⁴⁰ because no documentation has yet been found in the Hamilton archive prior to its listing in the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory.¹⁴¹ However, it seems likely that Douglas bought the *Circumcision* either at the auction of the Marquess of Lansdowne's collection at Lansdowne House, London, on 19 March 1806 or shortly thereafter at a low price. The blank spaces to the left and right of the lot entry in the very well-annotated copy of the sale catalogue from the collection of the dealer William Segulier, who was later the first Keeper of the National Gallery, indicate that the altarpiece failed to sell at auction, and was "bought in".¹⁴² Other sale catalogues have "32. 11" against the entry, recording that the work was either sold or

¹³⁸ Granville 1917, II, p.75.

¹³⁹ See HA, Bundle 1129, della Lena to Douglas, 10 April and 29 May 1805.

¹⁴⁰ For the painting itself, see Davies 1986, pp.479-81, and Kanter and Henry 2002, pp.175-7.

¹⁴¹ HA, M4/67: "Circumcision [by] Simonelli", listed in the Breakfast Room in the (Old) State Apartments; Appendix 2, 34.

¹⁴² GRI, Peter Coxe, Burrell, and Foster, *The Catalogue of all that well-known valuable collection of Capital Paintings, the property of the late Most Noble Marquis of Lansdowne, [...] which will be sold [...] at Lansdowne House, Berkley Square, 19-20 March 1806*, lot 67.

“bought in” at £32 11s.¹⁴³ Either way, Douglas would have been able to pick up a bargain at this time.

The acquisition of the Signorelli in 1806 can be interpreted as an inexpensive celebration for getting the post of ambassador to St Petersburg and support of a Whig family by a fellow Whig. Acquisition in 1807-8, when Douglas was in Russia and Poland, seems highly unlikely, while purchase in 1809-10 would presumably have had to have involved a dealer who had bothered to keep the *Circumcision* – a large work, with limited appeal – in stock for three or four years, or else who had obtained it after only a few years in another collection. The latter seems to be a strained scenario, and a cheap, celebratory purchase in 1806, after a series of purchases of *cinquecento* paintings, looks more logical and convincing.

As we come to the end of the first chapter, and the first thirty-eight years of Douglas’s life, we need to pause and take careful stock of the achievements of the future 10th Duke of Hamilton up to 1806. Douglas had certainly managed to secure two important paintings – the *Madonna and Child with Saints* by Girolamo dai Libri and the *Portrait of a Man* by Antonello da Messina – and had probably also purchased the *Circumcision of Christ* by Signorelli, but he had also bought a number of “also rans”, including the “*Mythological Scene* by a Follower of Titian” and the copy of the Gonzaga portraits after Mantegna. His track record was probably a little better than this, when unknown acquisitions are taken into account. Nevertheless, it was not a brilliant start if assessed in “splendid isolation”, and does not reflect a “good eye” and real discrimination.

The main finding is that Douglas was a much more active and important collector of manuscripts than of paintings. Just adding the twenty-five manuscripts he himself acquired in Italy, the thirty-five or thirty-six bought from Moretti, the forty-five obtained from della Lena and the thirteen from Edwards reveals that Douglas owned well over 120 manuscripts by 1806 and that the total could have been significantly higher. They included the *Golden Gospels*, the Byzantine psalter

¹⁴³ These catalogues include the copies in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (on deposit from the Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap) and the anonymous copy – not the copy owned by Lord Ennismore – in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague.

associated with the Queen of Cyprus, and at least three dozen other good, if not great, manuscripts.

It seems likely that Douglas also owned Botticelli's illustrations of *Dante's Divine Comedy* (Berlin, MS Botticelli) by this date.¹⁴⁴ The Botticelli illustrations are recorded in his possession in 1819,¹⁴⁵ but a manuscript note pasted inside the front cover records that they had been verified for sale by the Parisian bookseller Giovanni Claudio Molini (1724-1812) on 27 April 1803.¹⁴⁶ James Edwards mentions "calling at Molinis a few days ago" in a letter to Douglas written from Pall Mall on "Monday",¹⁴⁷ possibly in late April or early May 1803, and it is quite conceivable that Botticelli's illustrations were purchased by Douglas in the wake of Edwards's visit. If they were acquired direct from France, it seems likely that they would have crossed the Channel prior to the end of the Peace of Amiens in May 1803, or have remained on the Continent until at least 1814. Douglas would buy many manuscripts from the Parisian bookseller Chardin between about 1815 and 1818, but Botticelli's illustrations are not recorded in the Chardin-related documentation discovered to date.

There was certainly ample opportunity to acquire Botticelli's illustrations in 1803, and their acquisition makes sense in the context of Douglas's concentrated collecting of Italian fifteenth-century manuscripts between 1799 and 1805.

If this speculation is correct, Douglas deserves to be commended for assembling quite a large collection, with some real "star items", at relatively little cost, within less than a decade. He was collecting with little money compared to other major collectors and erring towards quantity rather than quality, but it would not have been a bad start in the circumstances. The irony is that he would have done better on the paintings front if he had stayed in Britain and spent his money on the pictures listed in his father's collection of London sale catalogues. This is a very valid observation, but it fails fully to appreciate a salient point: that Douglas liked living and buying in Italy.

¹⁴⁴ The Botticelli manuscript was Hamilton 201 and is sometimes referred to as Cim. 33.

¹⁴⁵ Clarke 1819, p.260; see Appendix 3, 31.

¹⁴⁶ Molini's note is illustrated in Altcapenberg 2000, p.22.

¹⁴⁷ HA, C4/928/6, Edwards to Douglas, dated "Pall Mall / Monday".

A preference for living and buying on the Continent had fundamentally affected his collecting up to this date and would continue to affect it for the next forty years.

The Marquis of Douglas's Russian Acquisitions

Up to this point, we have been examining Douglas primarily as a private individual who combined his personal interests with a desire to demonstrate his new status as Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale and future Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, but in 1806 he became part of the Whig government as Ambassador to St Petersburg.

The story of how Douglas became ambassador and the political aspect of his diplomatic career are examined at the start of Appendix 5, which contains important letters relating to his involvement with Russia and his Russian acquisitions. This might be described as “straight history”, rather than art history, but one needs to appreciate that Douglas regarded the posting as a great adventure and that he was profoundly impressed with Russia. After a hazardous journey, during which he was almost killed in a coach accident in Sweden, Douglas arrived at St Petersburg around 23 January 1807 and was overwhelmed by the spectacle. As he informed his father:

I got here by moon light & was delighted with the appearance of the town; the magnificent buildings of which it is composed, partly illuminated by lamps, & partly by the contending light of the moon & the snow produced a glorious effect; I forgot that it was cold, stopt my drunken Russian postilions, a[nd] gazed around me with admiration – ¹

Four days later, a very flattering interview with Tsar Alexander I left Douglas in a state of rapture² and ensured that he would take the opportunity to collect Russian material and commemorate his involvement with Russia. Unfortunately, the ambassadorship was not a success. In large part, this was because the Russians wanted more support from the British against Napoleon than the Whigs were prepared to give and refused to renew the commercial treaty between the two countries, which was one of the two key objectives set by the Whig Ministry.³ Douglas was irritated by British and Russian criticism of his effectiveness, but chose to stay on in Russia after the “Ministry of All the Talents” fell in March 1807 and he was replaced by his cousin, Lord Granville Leveson Gower, the following month.

¹ HA, C4/534A, Douglas to 9th Duke, 4 February 1807.

² See *ibid.*

³ The other main objective was getting Russia to “guarantee” the return of Hanover, which had been captured by Napoleon, to George III.

This obviously enabled him to collect more material. However, the principal reason that Douglas stayed on in Russia was almost certainly to try to marry the Countess Zofia Potocka (1760-1822), a former courtesan who had become the third wife of Count Stanislaw Szczęśny Potocki, the richest Polish aristocrat and landowner in the Ukraine.⁴ Following his death in 1805, Zofia had moved to St Petersburg, to combat the claims of the Count's divorced wife and get a better education for her children. Douglas was drawn to this "old battered beauty" (as Lord Malmesbury ungallantly called her⁵) by her vast wealth and a taste for women with racy pasts. On 30 July 1807 Leveson Gower wrote to Lady Bessborough:

I am at this time living in the House of my Predecessor, whose civility to me is above all praise; he is supposed to be violently in Love, and it is said has made proposals of marriage to the object of his attachment. The person is a Countess Potocka, whose last husband, bearing that name, died about two years ago, and who left her an immense property [...] She is now gone – that is, yesterday – to her Estates in Poland, and It is Supposed that le marquis will follow her.⁶

Douglas did, indeed, follow the Countess to her extensive estates – mini-kingdom might be a more accurate description – at Tulczyn. Marriage and enormous wealth eluded him, but Douglas remained in contact with the Countess and her family after his departure from Russia in July/August 1808. More importantly, he continued to acquire items through agents in St Petersburg until at least 1814 and retained a strong interest in Russia, which influenced his patronage as late as 1850.

Douglas's Acquisitions

Archival research has proved that Douglas definitely acquired the three most important Russian items in the Hamilton Palace collection – the bronze busts of Peter the Great and the Empress Catherine the Great, and the tapestry portrait of the Empress – and also other Russian and European works of art, books and manuscripts. These items are only partly documented, and it is therefore worth trying to get some idea of the context in which they were commissioned or bought.

Douglas had been issued by the Lord Chamberlain's office with a large ambassadorial silver service made by the royal goldsmiths Rundell, Bridge and

⁴ For the Countess Zofia, see Howard and Szczerski 2001, and Howard 2001, pp.31-41.

⁵ Malmesbury 1844, IV, p.392.

⁶ Granville 1917, II, p.278.

Rundell (Fig.9)⁷ and would probably have had official state portraits of *King George III* and *Queen Charlotte*. But it is not clear when the service arrived,⁸ or what else was shipped from England.

In his letter to his father dated 4 February, Douglas announced he was “in the midst of every Species of confusion, as you may well imagine; a new house & a very large one not half furnished, with all the cargo of things I was obliged to send from England”.⁹ A month later, he informed the Duke: “I have taken a very large, and excellent house, which I have not yet been able to open not having received all my things”.¹⁰

The new ambassador needed to sort out his new residence as quickly as possible, and may well have bought furniture and furnishings, and decorative and functional pieces, during this period. One would have expected Douglas to have been very busy with official duties and unlikely to have really started collecting and acquiring things until after late April-May 1807, when he learnt that he was to be replaced, but this is too big an assumption to make. In the first place, Douglas evidently regarded the posting as a sort of “Grand Tour” and great adventure; in the second, Tsar Alexander and many other aristocrats had left St Petersburg to face Napoleon and the *Grand Armée* and Douglas was almost certainly courting the Countess Zofia during the second half of his posting.

In short, Douglas would probably have been active from the start and would have had more time and inclination from March onwards.

A fundamental consideration is that Douglas was in a very privileged position as an ambassador and ally of Russia to ask for items and help. He would have

⁷ NA, LC 9/350, ff.148v and 149r, Rundell, Bridge and Rundell’s bill to the Royal Jewel House for the ambassadorial service completed for the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, dated 10 June 1806. The bill, along with other lists and letters relating to the ambassadorial service and Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, will be found in Appendix 6. Douglas probably supplemented the official service. Writing to Lord Archibald Hamilton about Douglas’s debts on 15 January 1808, Alexander Young refers to a “large sum” for a “Service of Plate” as being “almost the only proper and legitimate article of that ruinous Expenditure” “contracted in the view of [i.e. in connection with] that Embassy”. In a letter to Douglas dated 5 December 1808, Young notes “a Balance of rather more than £5000. due to Rundell & Bridge”. Both letters are in HA, Bundle 603.

⁸ The ambassadorial service was handed over to Thomas Bidwell Junior, “Attorney”, acting for Douglas, on 1 January 1807: see NA, LC 5/207, p.46.

⁹ HA, C4/534A, Douglas to 9th Duke, 4 February 1807.

¹⁰ HA, C4/532, Douglas to 9th Duke, 5 March 1807.

received assistance from the Imperial family and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the many people who invited him to their dinners and fêtes.¹¹

Douglas would not have had to look far for aid, but the letter to his father dated 5 March 1807 contains the potentially very important information that “all the family of the Stroganoff’s are particularly kind & obliging”.¹² This seems to refer to the family of Count Alexander Sergeievich Stroganov (1733-1811), who would have been ideally placed to help with commissions and purchases. The connection between Count Stroganov and Douglas is confirmed by the presence in the Hamilton Library, in the early 1880s, of a copy of the 1807 catalogue of the Count’s Picture Gallery, which was only handed out as a present to friends and people the family wished to honour and favour.¹³ Count Stroganov was not only a great collector, with a superb collection of paintings, but the president of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts, chairman of the Committee for the Construction of Kazan Cathedral in St Petersburg, and director of the Imperial lapidary works at Peterhof, Kolyvan and Ekaterinburg.¹⁴

The correspondence in the Hamilton archive suggests that two other people in particular assisted Douglas. The first was his banker, Baron Rall, who not only paid manufacturers and others but acted as an agent and even as a dealer, and is likely to have recommended individuals and manufacturers and to have facilitated introductions.¹⁵ The second was Madame Gerebsov, the former mistress of Lord Whitworth, who was the British ambassador to St Petersburg from 1788 to 1800.¹⁶ Madame Gerebsov was well disposed towards the British and the number of references to her in the later correspondence – and especially the appearance of her name at the top of the lists of Douglas’s acquaintances in Richard Riga’s and Dr John Rogerson’s letters of 3 May and 14 December 1811¹⁷ – indicates that she played a significant rôle in 1807-8.

¹¹ See *ibid.*

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ The volume was lot 1898 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge’s sale of the Hamilton Library in 1884 and was described as: “Stroganoff (Comte A.) Galerie, proof plates, half morocco, uncut, very scarce folio. St Petersburg, 1807 * Privately printed for presents only.”

¹⁴ For further information about Count Stroganov, see Hunter-Stiebel 2000, pp.32-4, 76-91 and 115-89, and Jaeger 2007.

¹⁵ For Baron Rall as an agent, see HA, Bundle 1006, Rall to Douglas, 30 June 1811.

¹⁶ See Granville 1917, I, pp.281, 476-7, II, p.289.

¹⁷ HA, Bundle 698, Riga to Douglas, 3 May 1811, and Rogerson to Douglas, 14 December 1811.

The most sensible course is to begin with the items about which we have most information: the mirrors commissioned from the Imperial Glass Manufactory in St Petersburg in 1807. They were very attractive acquisitions because the Imperial glassworks was one of only a few in Europe that could make large pieces of mirror-glass at this time, and comparable high-quality mirrors could no longer be obtained from the two main glass-making centres, Venice and Paris, owing to the war.

An undated list in French of “Objets Commandés par Son Excellence M^e le Marquis Duglas” records a “table ronde”, costing 300 roubles, and five mirrors.¹⁸ The latter consisted of a very large example, 124 x 62 inches, costing 1,875 roubles; a pair of smaller vertical-format mirrors measuring 73 x 45 inches, priced at 237 roubles 50 kopecks each; and a pair of horizontal mirrors (possibly for use as overmantels) measuring 31 x 45 inches, at 62 roubles 67 kopecks each. A payment of 500 roubles is recorded directly below the total price of 2,775 roubles 34 kopecks.

Close by in the same bundle of letters and other papers is a receipt in Russian, dated 1807, which records payment from “Milord the Marquis Douglas on the day of his order to the Imperial Glass Manufactory of [a number of] mirrors for 500 Roubles”.¹⁹ The number appears to be seven, and the use of the genitive plural indicates that it is five or more, which creates a slight problem reconciling the two documents. Fortunately, Douglas has annotated the bottom of the receipt with a quickly pencilled scribble in French, referring to the 500 roubles as “d’avance”, and a later neatly written explanation in ink that the document is a “Receipt from the Glass fabric for Ro 500 on Accot” [i.e. Account]. It is a bit puzzling, but there can be no doubt that Alexander ordered all five mirrors – and possibly others – in 1807.

That the order for the five mirrors on the “French list” was completed is evident from the almost illegible annotations in Russian at the bottom of this list and on the reverse. They refer to a payment of 105 roubles to a coachman, a total bill of 2,880 roubles 34 kopecks (i.e. the 2,775 roubles 34 kopecks for the five mirrors and the 105 roubles for the coachman), and the receipt of the outstanding 2,380 roubles 34 kopecks by the Governor Ivan Lomonsov at an unspecified date.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, list of items ordered by the Marquis of Douglas, undated.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, receipt from the Imperial Glass Manufactory, dated 1807.

At least some – and possibly all – of the mirrors were presumably in the four crates of mirrors that C. Zecalewsky states were ready for shipment to Britain in October 1812.²⁰ There is no reference to a glass table in this letter, but Douglas includes “The glass Table S^t Petersburg” in a list of items “Left in the Church room” in August 1816,²¹ and this could be the “table ronde” or another table acquired from the Imperial Glass Works.

Moving on, we come to the bronze busts of Tsar Peter I (Peter the Great) and the Empress Catherine II (Catherine the Great) that are recorded in the Hamilton Palace inventories and were sold in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.²² The bronze bust of Peter the Great is illustrated in the 1882 sale catalogues (Fig.10) and was after the bronze bust of the Emperor, “in the new Roman manner”, modelled by Bartolomeo Carlo Rastrelli (1675-1744) in 1723 and finished in 1729 (State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg).²³ However, the inventories and sale catalogues are singularly uninformative about the bust of the Empress Catherine.²⁴

The archive of the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in St Petersburg records a payment, on 30 October 1807, “for the casting of a plaster bust of the Empress Catherine II, after the work of Gudon [i.e. Houdon] for the English envoy”.²⁵ This was almost certainly made using the “mould from the bust of the Empress Catherine II by Gudon donated by his Excellency Count Alexander Stroganov” that had been paid for on 30 April 1807,²⁶ and would therefore have been a reproduction of the marble bust of the Empress that Stroganov had commissioned from Jean-Antoine Houdon, which was exhibited in the Salon of 1773 and is now in the State Hermitage Museum. Thus, Douglas’s bust would have been similar to the bronze bust of the

²⁰ *Ibid.*, C. Zecalewsky to Douglas, 15/28 October 1812 and 24 October/5 November 1812.

²¹ HA, F2/1040, notebook used by Douglas in 1816-17 and 1820, unpaginated. The list is dated 7 August 1816 and appears to be of items left in London immediately prior to Douglas’s departure for Italy.

²² 1882 HPS, lots 1900 and 1901.

²³ For Rastrelli’s two busts of Peter the Great in the “old Roman manner” and the “new Roman manner” and their histories, see Arkhipov and Raskin 1964.

²⁴ The 1882 sale catalogue simply describes lot 1901 as “Bust of the Empress Catharine II. – the companion” [to the bust of Tsar Peter, lot 1900].

²⁵ St Petersburg, *Rossiiskiy Gosudarstvenniy istoricheskii arkhiv* [RGIA] [Russian State Historical Archives], fonds 789, inv. 19, dossier 217, f.183. I am most grateful to Dr Vyacheslav Fyodorov, of the State Hermitage Museum, and Dr Elena Karpova, of the State Russian Museum, St Petersburg, for all their help with Douglas’s busts of Peter the Great and the Empress Catherine, and particularly to Dr Karpova for alerting me to the material in the archives of the Academy.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, f.54.

Empress in the collection of Prince Lobanov-Rostovsky (1824-1896), that was transferred to the State Hermitage Museum in 1897 (Fig.11).²⁷

Surprisingly, there is no mention of a plaster bust or mould for a bust of Tsar Peter the Great on 30 October 1807. Instead, the entry about the bust of the Empress Catherine is accompanied by a payment “for the making of a mould from the statue of Venus without arms [i.e. the Tauride Venus] for the English envoy”.²⁸

It is not until January 1808 that payment was made “for the making of a mould from the bronze bust of the Emperor Peter I, the work of Mister Rastrelli” and “for the casting from the given mould for the English envoy”.²⁹ The date alone suggests that Douglas’s bust of *Peter the Great* was a separate order, and this is corroborated by the presence of Rastrelli’s bust of *Peter the Great* in the Academy in the early nineteenth century. The bust would therefore have been easily available to the mould-makers, if needed, and there is no question of them being delayed by problems to do with access.³⁰

Nothing more is known about Douglas’s two busts until Zecalewsky’s letter of 15/28 October 1812, which refers to “deux caisses avec les Bustes de Bronze de Pierre I. et de Catherine II.” awaiting shipment, with the mirrors, from St Petersburg.³¹

During the early stages of research, the existence of cast iron busts of the Empress Catherine after the Russian sculptor Fedot Shubin, dated 1809,³² and of Peter the Great after Rastrelli, dated 1810,³³ suggested that Douglas’s bronze busts might also have been made in Andrei Andreevich Batashev’s Gusevsky Manufactory. The Batashev foundries would have been able to cast in bronze and there is the possibility that Douglas’s bronze busts could have led to the cast iron

²⁷ State Hermitage Museum, inv. N H. ck. 501. I am much obliged to Anna Vilenskaya of the State Hermitage Museum for showing me the bronze in storage and for supplying photographs of it.

²⁸ RGIA, fonds 789, inv. 19, dossier 217, f.183.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, dossier 220, f.18.

³⁰ A mould had been taken from Rastrelli’s bronze bust and two plaster casts made from it in 1805. One of the casts was for Andrei Andreevich Batashev and the other for the Academy: see *ibid.*, dossier 211, f.70.

³¹ HA, Bundle 698, Zecalewsky to Douglas, 15/28 October 1812. Zecalewsky does not mention a copy of the “Tauride Venus”, and there is currently nothing to suggest that the work reached Britain.

³² An example, signed and dated “P.K.A.A.B.G.Z. 1809” (i.e. made by Andrei Andreevich Batashev’s Gusevsky Manufactory in 1809), is illustrated in Chouvalov and Kugel 1998, p.57, no.162.

³³ See the example in the State Russian Museum, St Petersburg (inv. no. CK-1916), which is dated 1810 on the left and inscribed on the back, in Russian: “THE WORK OF COLLEGE ASSESSOR I. KOVALYER” and “A.A.B.G.Z.”.

busts a little later. However, the link with Stroganov and the Academy, along with the discoveries that Batashev was supplied with a plaster model of Rastrelli's *Peter the Great* in 1805³⁴ and that Douglas's bust of the Empress was after Houdon, not Shubin, point in another direction.

Basically, there are now three possibilities. The most appealing is that the busts were actually cast in the Official Bronze Manufactory of the Academy, which had a tradition of casting busts of antique gods and public figures³⁵ and was often attended by spectators, who could see pieces being made by the lost-wax process.³⁶ This has the merit of being simple and straightforward, with everything being carried out "in house". But the second option is almost as neat and easy. It is that the plaster models could have been taken to the State Bronze Manufactory, which had been founded in 1804 on the initiative of Count Stroganov and A.F. Bestuzhev, the senior manager of the Ekaterinburg Lapidary Manufactory and Peterhof Stone Polishing Manufactory.³⁷ The Stroganov-Bestuzhev manufactory had been established to make bronze supports and mounts for the stone products of the other factories, but undertook outside orders to recoup the real cost of the work for the imperial court. Alternatively, the busts could have been cast in one of the private bronze workshops in the capital, possibly by somebody who had previously been employed in the first State or Imperial Bronze Manufactory, which had been closed by Tsar Paul I in 1797.³⁸

It is to be hoped that scholars in Russia will be able to pursue these possibilities, concentrating first on the Academy and Stroganov, and then, if need be, investigating the links between Stroganov's protégé Andrei Voronikhin, the architect of Kazan Cathedral, and the cathedral committee and independent foundries .

Much more needs to be done, but we have discovered two salient pieces of information. We now know that Douglas's bust of Catherine was after Houdon (rather than Shubin) and that it was commissioned first. The bust of Peter appears to have been an afterthought, a nice "pairing" of Russia's two great Westernisers and of

³⁴ See footnote 30. Batashev is also said to have exhibited a cast of Peter the Great at the Imperial Academy of Fine Arts in 1804.

³⁵ See Bondil 2005, p.195.

³⁶ See Hunter-Stiebel 2000, p.157.

³⁷ Sychev 2003, pp.90-3.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p.48.

two very fine portrait busts, and one that was easy to achieve because Rastrelli's original bronze bust was in the Academy. This is important because the priority that Douglas gave to the bust of Catherine underlines his fascination, indeed obsession, with the Empress.

We now come to what is unquestionably Douglas's principal Russian acquisition: the tapestry portrait of the Empress Catherine, commissioned from the Imperial Tapestry Manufactory in St Petersburg. This forgotten work was purchased by Joel Joseph Duveen, "the Tapestry King", at the 1882 Hamilton Place sale for £325 10 shillings and passed to the leading dealers, French and Company, in New York, who had it photographed. The excellent surviving print in the French and Company archive in the Getty Research Institute (Fig.12) shows that the Hamilton tapestry was a copy of the official oil portrait of the Empress by Fyodor Stepanovich Rokotov of about 1779-80³⁹ (which, in turn, was based on Alexander Roslin's less glamorous portrait of 1776⁴⁰), and that it was dated 1811, on the bottom left-hand side.

It is not known when the tapestry was commissioned but it was probably in 1807 or 1808, when Douglas was either a serving ambassador or still in Russia and able to make use of his diplomatic status and contacts. There would normally have been a considerable interval between commissioning and delivery, and this may have been increased if the Imperial Tapestry Manufactory had a lot of orders on its books and priority had to be given to state commissions.

The earliest reference to the commission in the Hamilton archive appears to be a letter of 3 May 1811, in which Richard Riga notes "The Tapestry Work (H: I: M Catharines Picture) I understand is quite ready".⁴¹ This is confirmed by a bill for 3,700 roubles from the "Inspecteur de la Manufacture Toupilleff", dated 6 June, which gives the cost as 2,000 roubles for the tapestry itself, 1,500 for the glazing and

³⁹ For Rokotov's portrait of the Empress in the State Hermitage Museum, see Bondil 2005, pp.10 and 268.

⁴⁰ For Roslin's portrait of the Empress in the Hermitage Museum, see the Nationalmuseum Stockholm exhibition catalogue *Catherine the Great & Gustav III* (Stockholm, 1998), p.103.

⁴¹ HA, Bundle 698, Riga to Douglas, 3 May 1811.

200 for packing.⁴² Writing on 30 June, Baron Rall also states that the tapestry was “ready” for collection.⁴³

Following work in the United States, it can now be proved that Douglas’s work is the tapestry of the Empress Catherine in the Musée Fondation Zoubov in Geneva (Fig.13), which has almost the same measurements as the Hamilton tapestry at the time of the 1882 sale – 264.5 x 182 cm. (approximately 8 feet 8 inches by 5 feet 11½ inches) as opposed to Christie’s 1882 dimensions of 8 feet 10 inches by 5 feet 10 inches – and the “right” date of 1811.

The Zoubov tapestry is one of only two known, surviving full-length tapestries of the Empress Catherine (the other is dated 1833⁴⁴) and is said, by the Zoubov Foundation, to have come from Pavlovsk Palace, outside St Petersburg.⁴⁵ However, there are no documents in the Foundation to support this,⁴⁶ and the curatorial staff now accept that this is an allegation, rather than a fact.⁴⁷

Thankfully, there is a very good “paper trail” in the United States that enables us to “square the circle” and confirm that the Hamilton and Zoubov tapestries are one and the same. In his books on tapestries published in 1913 and 1925, George Leland Hunter states that a tapestry of Catherine the Great was on loan to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, and he corrects Christie’s 1882 attribution of the Hamilton work to the Gobelins to the Imperial Tapestry Manufactory.⁴⁸ Hunter illustrates the tapestry in his 1913 book and notes in the caption (and in the text of the 1925 book) that it bears the date 1811.

⁴² HA, Bundle 1006, bill from the Imperial Tapestry Manufactory for the tapestry of the Empress Catherine II, 6 June 1811. “Toupilleff” was the Academician Ivan Tupylev, who became Inspector of the Manufactory in 1793 and its Director in 1818: see Bondil 2005, p.251. The fact that Douglas was charged for the tapestry proves that it was a private commission, rather than a diplomatic present, and that he would have had to wait until the Tapestry Works could fit the weaving in between more important and urgent orders.

⁴³ HA, Bundle 1006, Rall to Douglas, 30 June 1811.

⁴⁴ The 1833 tapestry is illustrated and catalogued by Korshunova 1975, as no.183, with measurements of 272 x 210 cm. (8 feet 11 inches by 6 feet 10¾ inches).

⁴⁵ Letter from Nadia Bot, Musée Fondation Zoubov, 18 April 2002.

⁴⁶ The Foundation has few, if any, letters and bills relating to the acquisitions of Count Sergei Platonovich Zoubov and his wife.

⁴⁷ Letter for Nadia Bot, 8 August 2002.

⁴⁸ Hunter 1913, pp.228-9, and Hunter 1925, p.227. The tapestry is also illustrated, as a product of the Gobelins workshop, in H.C. Candee, *The Tapestry Book* (New York, 1912), opposite p.133, but with no mention of its whereabouts.

A stock sheet in the French and Company archive in the Getty Research Institute records that the tapestry was bought from John Fenning on 27 March 1918 and that it came from the “Hamilton Palace Collection”.⁴⁹ French and Company lent the *Empress Catherine* to the major exhibitions of tapestries at San Francisco Museum of Art in 1922⁵⁰ and Detroit Institute of Arts in 1930⁵¹ and finally sold it to “N. De Koengsb[illegible]g” (i.e. Nicholas de Koenigsberg) on 8 October 1940.⁵² Nicholas de Koenigsberg’s parents were art dealers who concentrated on South America,⁵³ and it therefore seems reasonable to think that the tapestry could have passed to the Countess Zoubov, who came from a very wealthy family in Argentina.⁵⁴

The association of the Hamilton/French and Company tapestry with the Zoubovs is further strengthened by the presence in the Dining Room of the Zoubov Museum of the early eighteenth-century woodwork and a marble chimneypiece that are said to have come from Hamilton Palace.⁵⁵ Both the woodwork and chimneypiece passed through French and Company,⁵⁶ and underscore the basic point that the Zoubovs were buying items that were or had been in the United States.

The tapestry of the Empress was Douglas’s pre-eminent acquisition relating to the Empress, but it was certainly not his only one. As we have seen, he also commissioned a bronze bust of the Empress while in Russia, and a memorandum that he himself wrote and signed records that he returned to Britain with “A sable muff belonging to Catherine II Empress of Russia”. This was clearly a cherished memento

⁴⁹ GRI, French and Company archive, stock sheet 4656. I am grateful to Tracey Schuster for enabling me to read the complete text recording that the tapestry came from the “Hamilton Palace Collection”, which is underneath an added piece of paper.

⁵⁰ Ackerman 1922, pp.54-5, no.73.

⁵¹ Detroit Institute of Arts 1930, p.14, no.22, ill. p.33.

⁵² GRI, French and Company archive, stock sheet 4656. During the previous decade, the tapestry was also illustrated in H. Göbel, *Wandteppiche. III. Teil. Die Germanischen und Slawischen Länder* (Berlin, 1934), Vol. II, pl.196b, and H.C. Candee, *The Tapestry Book* (2nd edition, New York, 1935), opposite p.133.

⁵³ GRI, Burton Fredericksen card index.

⁵⁴ Bourlet and Bot 2001, p.40.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.14-5.

⁵⁶ GRI, French and Company archive, Woodwork/Interiors, Hamilton Palace box. French and Company bought many of the interiors from Hamilton Palace in 1920, in the wake of the 1919 Hamilton Palace sale. Unfortunately, there is no stock number on the relevant photograph of the room and chimneypiece and it is only related to Hamilton Palace by the annotation “Hamilton ?” on the reverse. The back also bears the number 19250, which is a photograph or negative number. Three related photographs, all inscribed “Georgian room (see Hamilton)”, show what appears to be the same

because Douglas records that he himself placed it in the charter room of Hamilton Palace in January 1809, along with “My full powers as Ambassador to the Court of Russia”.⁵⁷

Douglas probably also acquired two painted portraits of the Empress during his time in Russia. Both are recorded on the 1811 Hamilton Place inventory, with other paintings associated with the 9th Duke and Douglas. “Catharine 2^d.. of Russia” is listed in the Breakfast Room (the first room of the State Apartments on the first floor of the west wing),⁵⁸ while “Catharine 2,^d Empress of Russia” was in a “Drawing Room”, probably in the east wing.⁵⁹

Little is known about the other items that Douglas brought back to Britain in 1808, but a letter from Baron Rall of June 1811 reveals that Douglas returned to Britain with “three antique Cameos” belonging to the Roman banker Marin Torlonia, which Rall had allowed him to take at a price of 3,000 ducats.⁶⁰ Another letter from Rall records that neither Rall nor Torlonia had received payment by August 1812;⁶¹ and it transpires that the transaction was not resolved until February 1816, when Douglas’s brother was in Italy.⁶² After protracted and unpleasant negotiations, Lord Archibald paid £440, plus £225 interest, for the “Augustus Head” and returned the other two cameos to Torlonia.⁶³ The description, coupled with the very high price, indicates that the “Augustus Head” was probably the agate cameo portrait identified as the “Head of the Emperor Augustus” in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale catalogue,⁶⁴ which was sold to the dealer T.M. Whitehead for £882 and is now in the Art Institute of Chicago (Fig.14).⁶⁵

panelling with a different chimneypiece and are numbered 18098B, 18098C and 18098E. The latter is inscribed with the cross reference “see also S.29244 N.10901 [and] Rec 18779 for chimney alone”.

⁵⁷ HA, M10/179, memorandum written by Douglas, 10 January 1809.

⁵⁸ HA, M4/67; see Appendix 2, 44.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*; see Appendix 2, 130.

⁶⁰ HA, Bundle 1006, Rall to Douglas, 30 June 1811.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, Rall to Douglas, 16 August 1812.

⁶² All Lord Archibald Hamilton’s letters found to date relating to the cameos are in Appendix 7.

⁶³ HA, Bundle 935, Lord Archibald Hamilton to Douglas, 29 February 1816.

⁶⁴ 1882 HPS, lot 2164.

⁶⁵ The cameo is identified as the Emperor Tiberius in the post-sale souvenir catalogue (HPSSC, lot 2164) and is now regarded as Tiberius. For a discussion of the cameo itself, see McCrory 2000, pp.60-2. The head is mounted on a double-sided pendant with the Medici emblem of a pruned, sprouting laurel tree and the motto “It always flourishes” in Greek, but there is no mention of the pendant in the correspondence found to date.

Douglas certainly acquired books and manuscripts while in Russia and Scandinavia,⁶⁶ but there is no archival evidence to support William Clarke's claim in 1819 that "The Greek and Latin manuscripts obtained by his Lordship when on his diplomatic mission to Russia, are unrivalled specimens of early art".⁶⁷ As we saw in chapter one, Douglas obtained the "Golden Gospels" and over 120 other manuscripts between 1799 and 1806, and we will shortly find (in chapter three) that many of his other major Greek and Latin manuscripts were purchased between 1814 and 1819. There is therefore the possibility that Douglas encouraged Clarke to think that his manuscripts had more exciting provenances than dealers in Italy, London, Augsburg and Paris.

Douglas's acquisitions did not cease when he left Russia. He received items from his friends, notably two snuff boxes that were sent by Count Walicky in May 1811,⁶⁸ and also ordered and obtained further material from his agents.

The best recorded later order is for a parquet floor – a Russian speciality – that Douglas asked John Booker (who is described as "our English agent" at Kronstadt by Martha Wilmot⁶⁹) to acquire for him. The date of the commission is not mentioned, but it was clearly before the summer of 1811, because on Christmas Day 1811 Booker felt obliged to apologise "from motives of shame" for the "long time" that had elapsed between receiving the request and writing to Douglas about it.⁷⁰ Booker had entrusted the commission to others, including his nephew John Simpson, and it seems that they were unlucky. They failed to get one floor they ordered, and then, "after looking round the whole town, & only finding a few", chose another at 725 roubles 94 kopecks – about £49.⁷¹ This was sent to Kronstadt, the main port for St Petersburg, but it was too late in the year to be shipped, and had to remain in a

⁶⁶ In fact, there are surprisingly few obviously Russian-related manuscripts among the Hamilton Manuscripts. The most noteworthy appear to be the collection of thirteenth/fourteenth-century Russian religious writings, Berlin, Hamilton 381, which was bound by Meyer, and the nineteenth-century armorial, with fifty-two coats of arms of Russian nobility, Berlin, Hamilton 77 A 2 (formerly Hamilton 582): see Boese, pp.180 and 283, and Sotheby's 1882 *Catalogue of the Hamilton Collection of Manuscripts*, under 381 and 582.

⁶⁷ Clarke 1819, p.257.

⁶⁸ Richard Riga notes in his letter to Douglas dated 3 May 1811 that "Count Walitsky" "writes by this occasion, forwarding a Packet. (I believe 2 Snuff boxes)". They are probably synonymous with the boxes that Walicky mentions in his letters to Douglas of 12 December 1810 and 5 February 1811 as coming from "Comte Golofkin à Moscow". All three letters are in HA, Bundle 698.

⁶⁹ Londonderry and Hyde 1939, p.19.

⁷⁰ HA, Bundle 722, John Booker to Douglas, 25 December 1811.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, Booker to Douglas, 6 January 1812.

warehouse until sailings began the following year. Although this was disappointing, Booker congratulated Douglas “as the losses among the Ships, which sailed from Russia this autumn, are unprecedented”.

Douglas’s mirrors and busts of *Peter the Great* and the *Empress Catherine* seem to have been held up in St Petersburg by the Continental Blockade, and the instructions for shipping them appear to be linked to Napoleon’s invasion of Russia and the threat to St Petersburg. According to Zecalewsky, writing in French in October 1812, there were nine crates awaiting shipment:

four crates with the mirrors, two crates which Your Excellency sent me at the same time, but I am not aware of their contents, and two crates with the bronze busts of Peter I and Catherine II.⁷²

The ninth crate consisted of “une petit caisse avec la figure Antique representante Diane d’Effesse”⁷³ and did not belong to Douglas. It was a piece that Zecalewsky hoped he might buy:

On this occasion I took the liberty to send to Your Excellency’s address a crate with the Antique statue belonging to me which Your Excellency has seen at my house. It is the Diana of Ephesus, a Greek work, the Paros coarse grain marble being proof of its authenticity. All the connoisseurs and artists have admired this Antique piece, the head of which is well preserved. Princess Radzivell and afterwards the late Count Strogonoff wanted to have it, but then I was not willing to part with it, and now I have asked Madame de Gerebzoff to kindly find some Amateur willing to acquire it. I beg Your Excellency to have the kindness to show some interest in this piece.⁷⁴

All nine crates were sent to Kronstadt, where it turned out they were too large for the intended ships.⁷⁵ Eight crates were shipped aboard the *Nancy* (Captain Thomas Brooks), while the ninth – which would not go down the hatches – was put on the *Nelly* (Captain Hag[o or e]n). As the season was so far advanced, the *Nancy* wintered in a Swedish port, while the *Nelly* was frozen up in Kronstadt. Both ships

⁷² HA, Bundle 698, Zecalewsky to Douglas, 15/28 October 1812.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, Zecalewsky to Douglas, 24 October/5 November 1812.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, Zecalewsky to Douglas, 15/28 October 1812. There is no evidence that Alexander purchased the marble statue or statuette of Diana. It is not recorded by Michaelis in his reviews of the classical antiquities in – or formerly in – Hamilton Palace, in 1882 and 1885.

⁷⁵ HA, Bundle 1129, Anderson to Douglas, 22 January 1813.

eventually reached England the following year,⁷⁶ and it was subsequently discovered that the mirrors had been broken.⁷⁷

The tapestry of the Empress had apparently been evacuated, with other items from the Imperial Tapestry Manufactory,⁷⁸ and was shipped to Britain separately in 1813.⁷⁹

Another portrait of the Empress may also have been sent in 1813. On 22 January 1813 the Italian architect Giacomo Quarenghi (1744-1817) wrote to Douglas, in Italian, about a number of matters, including a “superb portrait of Catherine the Great, on horseback, in the military uniform of the day of the revolution”, which he believed was the sketch by the Danish painter Vigilius Eriksen for the “great portrait” at Peterhof.⁸⁰ Quarenghi was therefore referring to a small painting that followed the composition of Eriksen’s huge portrait of the Empress, on her horse Brilliant, in the Imperial palace of Peterhof, to the west of St Petersburg, which celebrates her *coup d’état* against her husband on 28 June 1762. On that day Catherine gained the support of the Imperial guards, clergy and senators in St Petersburg, assumed the rank of Colonel of the Preobrazhensky regiment, put on the uniform of Peter the Great’s élite regiment, and rode at the head of her army to Peterhof, where she forced Peter III’s abdication the next day.

Quarenghi followed this up four months later. In a letter to Douglas dated 16 May 1813, Matthew Anderson states that he is enclosing a “small note” relating to a “Portrait of the Empress Cathrine” “from one who is truly devoted to your Lordship”.⁸¹ The enclosure appears to have been either the hastily scribbled, undated

⁷⁶ On 11 October 1813 Douglas sent a draft for £10 13s 4d to pay for the shipping of the large crate aboard the *Nelly*: see HA, Bundle 680, W. Chappell to Douglas, 16 October 1813.

⁷⁷ See HA, Bundle 706, Anderson to Douglas, 22 April/4 May 1814.

⁷⁸ HA, Bundle 698, Zecalewsky to Douglas, 15/28 October 1812. Zecalewsky writes, in French: “it so happens that this portrait has been sent away a month ago, as a precaution, before I had the honour of receiving Your Excellency’s letter, with all the precious things of the Manufactory, to a safe place, in case of some mishap. Therefore this portrait will stay here till next spring when it will be possible to send it.”

⁷⁹ HA, Bundle 1129, Anderson to Douglas, 16/28 May 1813.

⁸⁰ HA, Bundle 698, Quarenghi to Douglas, 22 January 1813. Quarenghi writes about “un superbo ritratto della Grande Caterina a Cavallo in abito militare nel giorno della rivoluzione che è un capo d’opera e fatto appo l’originale cioè natura, del celebre [?Eri]son che ha servitor per il gran Ritratto che era a Peteroff, malgrado che sono tutto rovinato sono arrivato sino a mille e duecento Rubli, ma il propr[i]etario, ne vuole aver più.”

⁸¹ HA, Bundle 1129, Anderson to Douglas, 16/28 May 1813. Anderson left it to Douglas to decide whether it would “be desirable to make the purchase”. He goes on to note that “Signor Dilecati” had given him “a very pretty little Canone” to forward to Douglas. This provides a direct link with

note in French from Quarenghi to Anderson, which is in the same bundle, or a closely related missing note or letter from Quarenghi to Douglas himself. In the note, Quarenghi informs Anderson:

Mr. Delicati told me of a conversation you had with the Marquis of Douglas about a portrait of Her Majesty Catherine the Great. I would have liked this commission, and the letter you had the kindness of taking for him was about the same commission, having had the luck of finding a superb one [i.e. portrait] from nature in the costume of the Preobrazhensky Guards[, the] costume of the day of the revolution.⁸²

Nothing more has been found in the Hamilton archive about this proposed purchase, but Douglas must either have bought the painting or else he already owned a very similar portrait and did not need to take up Quarenghi's offer. The 1882 Hamilton Palace sale included an "Equestrian Portrait of the Empress Catherine of Russia", measuring 39 by 35 inches,⁸³ which was bought by the dealer Duncan for £115 10 shillings⁸⁴ and passed to the collector Christopher Beckett Denison (who bought dozens of Hamilton items)⁸⁵ and then on to Lord Rivers and Captain G. Pitt-Rivers. This portrait was included in Christie's catalogue for the Pitt-Rivers sale in May 1929,⁸⁶ with measurements of 39½ by 34½ inches, and a photograph of it is preserved in the photograph boxes in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York (Fig.15).⁸⁷

We may not be able to say, as yet, whether the Hamilton equestrian portrait came from Quarenghi or was one of the two paintings of the Empress listed on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, but it is clearly recorded – as the "Empress Catherine of Rusia on Horseback from S^t. Petersburg [£]50" – in the Breakfast

Quarenghi's note and the connection is confirmed by references in both Anderson's letter and Quarenghi's note to the death of Dr Pitt, the clergyman serving the British community in St Petersburg.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Quarenghi to Anderson, undated.

⁸³ 1882 HPS, lot 691.

⁸⁴ 1882 HPSSC, lot 691.

⁸⁵ Christie, Manson and Woods, *The Valuable Collection of Pictures, Works of Art, and Decorative Objects of Christopher Beckett Denison, Esq.*, London, 13 June 1885, lot 894.

⁸⁶ Christie, Manson and Woods, *Important Pictures by Old Masters*, London, 3 May 1929, lot 49, as "Van Loo" and "From the Hamilton Collection, 1885 [sic] From the Beckett Denison Collection, 1885".

⁸⁷ The illustration suggests that the painting is a copy after Eriksen.

Room in 1835,⁸⁸ and a drawing of a picture arrangement suggests it was hanging in the centre of the top line of paintings on the main wall around 1847.⁸⁹

The Consequences of Douglas's Visit to Russia

The obvious consequence of the visit was that Douglas had a great deal of impressive material to use and display in Hamilton Palace and elsewhere. He was allowed to keep the ambassadorial silver service as a "perk of office" and it formed the basis of the main silver service of the 10th and 11th Dukes of Hamilton. Letters, bills and inventories record that additions were made to the "St Petersburg" service in the early 1810s and early 1830s, and it ended up weighing over 12,000 ounces.⁹⁰

Following his return from Russia, Douglas set up a throne at the east end of the 120-foot-long Gallery. Dr Spiker's account of his visit to the palace in 1816 and the 1825 inventory raise question marks as to what was on display in the 1810s and '20s,⁹¹ but by 1835 there is general acceptance that what can be seen in the photograph taken by *Country Life* in 1919 (Fig.16) were the 10th Duke's ambassadorial throne and canopy.⁹²

The 1825 inventory records the bronze busts of *Peter the Great* and the *Empress Catherine* in the Breakfast Room, on Russian granite columns that must have been the columns imported through Leith from St Petersburg in 1807.⁹³ Displayed in the same room was a portrait of "Cathrine 2^d.. of Russia", valued at

⁸⁸ HTHL, 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.159.

⁸⁹ HA, Bundle 665, arrangement of pictures in or for the Breakfast Room, c.1847.

⁹⁰ A discussion of the service and all the main inventory descriptions of it between 1806 and 1853 will be found in Appendix 6.

⁹¹ Spiker records "a throne with the ducal arms over it" (Spiker 1820, I, p.246), rather than a throne with the arms of Great Britain over it, while the 1825 inventory lists "A Throne [£]10 10 .. / A Large gilt Chair [£]7 7 .. / 3 Footstools Gilt [£]5 10 .. / 2 Embroidered Cushions [£] 5 5 .. [...]" (HA, M4/70, p.1).

⁹² In July 1835 the Reverend William Patrick states "At the upper end of the gallery is the present Duke's ambassadorial throne, brought from his embassy at St Petersburg" (*The New Statistical Account of Scotland. Vol. VI. Lanark* (Edinburgh and London, 1845), p.274. The 1835 inventory follows the 1825 inventory in referring to "A Throne £10 10 .. / A Large Gilt Chair covered with Crimson Damask 7 7 .. [...]" (HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.129).

⁹³ A copy of a letter from Alexander Young to Bell, Rannie & Company, dated 24 October 1807 (HA, Bundle 603), records that two columns sent by Booker from St Petersburg, with some of Douglas's baggage and goods, were being held up at Customs in Leith and that there was confusion as to whether they were made of marble or granite. Young refers to a letter from Booker and the bill of lading and tells the agents that the columns were granite.

£50.⁹⁴ Two rooms further along, in the State Bedroom, hung another portrait of “Cathrine 2^d.. of Russia”, estimated at £25.⁹⁵

As we shall see in the next chapter, the tapestry of the Empress almost certainly inspired the commissioning of Jacques-Louis David’s portrait of *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries*, and would eventually be placed in the final, most private room in the New State Rooms, the Boudoir, with other prized items.⁹⁶

Douglas continued to be inspired by Russia long after his return, and it is important to recognize the influence of Giacomo Quarenghi upon him and the new north-facing addition to the palace, which was designed and built between 1822 and 1831. Quarenghi had arrived in Russia in 1780 and transformed St Petersburg over the next twenty-five years. As the Empress Catherine observed, the whole city was “stuffed” with his architecture as early as 1785;⁹⁷ by one modern estimate, Quarenghi was responsible for forty-five major buildings in the centre and a further twenty-five in the suburbs and outskirts.⁹⁸

Douglas’s letter of 5 March 1807 testifies to his approval of Quarenghi’s style of Italianate Neo-classical architecture:

I am delighted with the beauty and magnificence of this town _ I could not have believed that so near the Pole I should have found all the elegance & Simitry of Italian architecture _⁹⁹

Douglas would naturally have focused on Quarenghi’s Imperial commissions – the “English Palace” at Peterhof,¹⁰⁰ the theatre and library in the Hermitage and the Alexander Palace at Tsarskoye Selo – but Quarenghi was also responsible for many large palaces for the leading aristocratic families, including the Stroganovs,

⁹⁴ HA, M4/70, p.167; Appendix 2, 44.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.170; Appendix 2, 130.

⁹⁶ See Waagen 1854, III, pp.304-5, and HA, Volume 1228, p.117. It is interesting to see that Waagen was under the illusion that the tapestry had been “Presented to the Duke during his residence in St. Petersburg.”

⁹⁷ For Catherine’s comments about Quarenghi, see Hamilton 1975, p.213.

⁹⁸ Lincoln 2000, p.49.

⁹⁹ HA, C4/532, Douglas to 9th Duke, 5 March 1807.

¹⁰⁰ Quarenghi’s design of the front, with a layout of the park, in the Biblioteca Civica, Bergamo, is illustrated in Alfieri 1991, p.46.

Sheremetievs, Isupovs, Gagarins and Lanskois.¹⁰¹ Douglas must have viewed the exteriors and many of the interiors of these palaces, because he claimed the Stroganovs as his friends and mentioned that many people had invited him to dinners and the “most magnificent fêtes”.¹⁰² He would also have learnt that Quarenghi had designed a villa for Lord Whitworth, the former British ambassador.¹⁰³

Quarenghi was unquestionably the most successful architect in Russia in 1807-8. The ambassador and architect duly met and, at some point, Douglas commissioned Quarenghi to design a “Casa”, or house, for him. This was probably in 1807 or 1808, but we cannot be certain. All that we know at present is that Quarenghi wrote a third letter to Douglas in April 1810, seeking details and measurements that would enable him to complete his designs.¹⁰⁴ Unfortunately, the designs for the “Casa” are not preserved in the Hamilton archive. What survive are Quarenghi’s designs for baths in the Neo-classical¹⁰⁵ and Turkish styles¹⁰⁶ and a riding school.¹⁰⁷ The latter are related to the riding school for the Imperial Horse Guards Regiment, undertaken between 1800 and 1804, and appear to have inspired or influenced the 10th Duke’s riding school, which was built much later and is now part of Low Parks Museum, Hamilton.

Before he departed to visit his native town of Bergamo in 1810, Quarenghi left a “Vol[ume] of his works” for Douglas with Matthew Anderson.¹⁰⁸ This would have been the first part of *Edifices construits à St Pétersbourg d’après les plans du chevalier de Quarenghi et sous sa direction*, published in St Petersburg that year. Anderson failed to find anybody who could be relied upon to convey the gift safely, but was finally able to give it to Mr Politica, the new Secretary of Legation to the Russian Mission in Spain, to hand over to Douglas.¹⁰⁹ It was sent with Quarenghi’s

¹⁰¹ For a review of Quarenghi’s work, see Hamilton 1975, pp.212-6. Like most accounts, this is very weak on Quarenghi’s non-royal palaces, which were used by various institutions during the Communist period, and are still difficult to visit and study.

¹⁰² HA, C4/532, Douglas to 9th Duke, 5 March 1807.

¹⁰³ For the Whitworth project, see Angelini 1998, pp.96 and 99.

¹⁰⁴ Quarenghi wrote to Alexander from St Petersburg on 3 April 1810: “Questa é la terza lettera che ho l’onore di scriverle, doppo averle mandato il piano della sua Casa senza averre avuto alcun riscontro per poter continuare a fare il resto de disegni” [etc] (HA, Bundle 1129).

¹⁰⁵ HA, drawing 184.

¹⁰⁶ HA, drawings 185-188.

¹⁰⁷ HA, drawing 195. There are also two engravings of designs after Quarenghi for “botteghe” near to the Anichkov Bridge, in St Petersburg (drawings 191 and 192).

¹⁰⁸ HA, Bundle 1129, Anderson to Douglas, undated.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, Anderson to Douglas, 3/15 October 1812.

“profound respects, requesting you would do him the honor to accept the same as a token of his respect & high consideration”.

Douglas does not seem to have given Quarenghi any more work after 1812, but Quarenghi's very plain, simple, conservative style of Palladian-Neo-classical architecture must have encouraged him to look favourably upon the (old-fashioned) designs that William Adam had drawn up for a new addition to Hamilton Palace in the 1730s for the 5th Duke of Hamilton. They were published in *Vitruvius Scoticus* in 1812 and form the real starting point for the new north block.

The extent of Quarenghi's influence on Douglas is open to debate, but there can be no doubt that the assistance Douglas gave William Allan was crucial to the painter's development. Although we have few details, Douglas was clearly responsible for arranging for Allan to travel to Tulczyn in 1807 and to benefit from the Countess's patronage over the next six years.

In an unpublished letter, dated 16 January 1812, Allan acknowledges Douglas's assistance:

But your Lordship best knows, your friendship to me has been such that I cannot find language adequate to express my feelings for your uncommon interest in my welfare, therefore I can only offer you the plain language of my heart, my sincerest thanks.¹¹⁰

Douglas's main service was to get the artist to Tulczyn and in a position to explore the lands and peoples of the Black Sea area and find subjects that excited him. Allan's letter to Douglas reveals the destruction that he witnessed and also the large construction projects planned by his patron, the Countess:

Since your Lordships departure from Toulczin [i.e. Tulczyn], I have travell'd a great deal, in the Crimia and around the sea of Azoff along the Covban, as far as Sircassia, I have made a few sketches but not so many a[s] I could have wish'd our journey in the Crimia was very interesting and agreeable, I regreted your Lordship was not of the party as I am confident the journey would have afforded you much pleasure, We were six days on horse back in passing the south side of the Crimia, the Countess withstood it astonishingly but the scenery repaid our fatigue t'was beyond all description we were in number not less than fifty including they Tartars and Greeks that went along with us. The Countess intends building a town on the south side at a place call'd Yealta and the new town is to be call'd Sophiopolis, each house will

¹¹⁰ HA, Bundle 698, William Allan to Douglas, 16 January 1812.

cost eight thousand roubles. Her Ladyship has already a great number of subscribers that intend to build according to the plan____. The Countess has been much employed lately in rebuilding three towns that were burnt last year. Toulczen Nemiroff and Humaine, In Toulczen four hundred and fifty houses and one woman were consum'd. Nemiroff not a house left a great number of Jews that went into their cellars to be out of danger were suffocated, Humain about sixty houses were reduced to ashes, Almost every town in this part of the World has suffered by fire, Kioff one thousand houses and thirteen Churches when I passed through it was burning in three different places, supposed to be done on purpose, numbers have been taken up for it and sent to S^t Petersbourg The Countess has been ill this same time with a bad cold and fever what with her journey from Toulczen and the bad weather, but its expected will soon be reestablish'd in good health. The Children send their complements to you, and in the mean time I am with the greatest regard

My Lord

Your faithful humble servant

W^m Allan¹¹¹

By a strange quirk of fate, Allan's best paintings of his Russian experiences and travels – *Bashkirs* and *Frontier Guards*, undertaken directly after his return to Edinburgh in 1814 – were purchased by Tsar Alexander I's brother, the future Nicholas I, during his visit to Edinburgh in December 1816 and are now in the Hermitage in St Petersburg.¹¹²

According to Jeremy Howard, Douglas assisted Allan to get the painting *Russian Peasants keeping their Holiday* exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1809.¹¹³ Allan sought Douglas's help again at the beginning of the letter that has just been quoted,¹¹⁴ but nothing more by the artist was shown until the 1815 Royal Academy exhibition.

Douglas received two paintings by Allan from Zofia Potocka in 1813. In a letter from the Russian capital dated 30 March 1813, the Countess tells Douglas she is sending him "deux Tableux que Mr Alen a fait a Petersbourg", and comments, in

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹¹² See Allen and Dukelskaya 1996, pp.190-1. A third painting acquired at the same time, *Haslan Gheray conducting Alkazia across the Kuban*, was transferred from the Hermitage to the Museum in Makhachkala, Daghestan, in 1930.

¹¹³ Howard 2001, p.46.

¹¹⁴ HA, Bundle 698, Allan to Douglas, 16 January 1812: "I am extremely sorry I had not an opportunity of sending the picture before this time, but M^r Morgan merchant in this place, going to London has taken it in charge and is to deliver it carefully to your Lordship. If it meets your aprobation and worthy of a place in the exhibition ____".

French: “he is an excellent man and I thank you for him”.¹¹⁵ In another letter, dated 24 July, a man called Labensky informs Douglas that he is sending a case containing two paintings, on the “Edouard, Capitaine Coll[?ie]r”, addressed to the London merchants Sussmann & Company, as a present from the Countess.¹¹⁶ A delivery note from Sussmann’s dated 23 September 1813, addressed “To the Steward or House Keeper of the Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale” for “a Chest [...] containing Pictures”, records the delivery of the paintings,¹¹⁷ and Sussmann’s bill, dated two days later, confirms that the paintings had been sent on the “Edward, Collier, from St. Petersburg”.¹¹⁸ Allan’s paintings appear to have been the “2 Pictures, Russian Villagers by Wm Allan”, valued at £40, listed in Lord Aboyne’s bedroom on the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventories,¹¹⁹ and the “Pair of Interiors, with Russian peasants”, measuring 10½ by 14 inches, which were sold to W. Permain at the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale for £31 10s.¹²⁰

The Countess’s letters of 1813 and 1814,¹²¹ including a request for Douglas to pay Allan “trois cent #”¹²² and a statement of her financial position,¹²³ indicate that Douglas and Zofia Potocka remained friends after they went their separate ways. In 1831 the 10th Duke would receive a request for financial help from Charlotte Léon, one of the governesses employed by the Countess in 1807-8,¹²⁴ and the Duke and his friends seem to have known members of the Potoccy family in Paris in the 1830s and ’40s. The clearest evidence of later contact is the malachite tazza given to the Duke’s sister and her husband, the Earl and Countess of Dunmore, by Count August Aleksandrovich Potocki and his wife, Countess Alexandra Stanislavovna Potocka, to

¹¹⁵ HA, Bundle 706, Potocka to Douglas, 30 March 1813.

¹¹⁶ HA, Bundle 1072, Labensky to Douglas, 24 July 1813.

¹¹⁷ HA, Bundle 680, delivery note from Sussmann and Company, 23 September 1813.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, “Account of Charges of one Case of Pictures, received p^r Edward, Collier, from S^t., Petersburg”, from Sussmann and Company, dated 25 September 1813. The account notes duty on 2 feet 4 inch frames.

¹¹⁹ HA, Volume 1223, p.55, and HTHL, 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.71.

¹²⁰ 1882 HPSSC, lot 1081.

¹²¹ See HA, Bundle 706.

¹²² *Ibid.*, Potocka to Douglas, 22 June 1814.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, “Etat de ma Situation”.

¹²⁴ HA, Bundle 760, Léon to 10th Duke, 20 February 1831.

express their thanks and commemorate their stay at Dunmore Park, near Airth, in 1840.¹²⁵

The 10th Duke's life was conditioned by his experiences in Russia and Poland and he continued to react to stimuli from these quarters. As late as 1839 Charles de Beauvau, Prince of Craon, would tease his friend about the "seduction Polish ladies exert on your eyes and on your senses".¹²⁶ More pertinently, in 1850 – more than forty years after leaving Russia – the Duke would respond to comments about a copy of Ghiberti's *Gates of Paradise* having been made for the Tsar¹²⁷ by ordering a reduced copy for his own Mausoleum from John Steell.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ The tazza was included in Christie's sale of *Furniture, Silver and Porcelain from Longleat*, held in London, 13 June 2002, as lot 399. The Countess was a granddaughter of Count Szczęśny Potocki and his second wife.

¹²⁶ HA, Bundle 968, Charles de Beauvau to Duke, 29 May 1839.

¹²⁷ HA, C4/843A/16, Samuel Woodburn to Duke, 26 June 1850.

¹²⁸ HA, Bundle 665, B. Primrose to David Bryce, 7 November 1850.

Ambition, Marriage and Debt: Douglas's Patronage of Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, Jacques-Louis David and Raeburn and his Later Purchases of Manuscripts, 1809-1819

Douglas returned from Russia and Poland in 1808 inspired by the patronage and collecting of the Empress Catherine the Great, the leading Russian aristocrats and the Count and Countess Potoccy, and sought to emulate them. This chapter examines his response and sets it in a firm financial context. It is often assumed that the future 10th Duke of Hamilton was extremely wealthy and could indulge in expensive purchases and commissions without any real problem, but this was not the case. Douglas had large debts and limited resources and his ambitious collecting and patronage between 1809 and 1812 led to severe financial difficulties and retrenchment, followed by a return to the cheaper pursuit of collecting manuscripts.

Collecting and Purchasing Luxury Items, 1810-1812

Having failed to win the hand and fortune of the Countess Zofia, Douglas needed to marry another rich woman or heiress. He had come back to Scotland with substantial debts, which Alexander Young, one of his Edinburgh lawyers, arranged under three headings: debts that would “be paid in full whenever funds could be Commanded for the purpose”, debts for which “partial payments might be promised at stated periods”, and those that would “lye over, bearing Interest if demanded”.¹

Douglas did not have to look far for a suitable lady, because he was almost served up with Susan Euphemia Beckford on a platter by her father, William Beckford, and her carer, Douglas's unmarried sister, Lady Anne Hamilton. It was unquestionably an arranged marriage, with Douglas, at forty-two, gaining funds, and Susan, at only twenty-three, becoming a Marchioness and prospective Duchess (and Beckford himself acquiring enhanced status).

The basic marriage settlement was approved by the lawyer John Skynner “on behalf of all parties” on 23 December 1809.² Upon the solemnization of the

¹ HA, Bundle 1602, Young to Douglas, 26 October 1813.

² Bod, MS. Beckford c.89/1, draft indenture between William Beckford, Alexander Hamilton and Susan Euphemia Beckford, dated 23 December 1809. A more developed draft indenture, dated March 1810, survives as MS. Beckford c.89/2.

marriage, Douglas would receive Susan's investments of £4,000 3 per cent consolidated Bank Annuities and £2,100 3 per cent reduced Bank Annuities, and £10,000 from Beckford "for his own use". He would also get "a perpetual annual Sum or yearly rent charge of £2000 Sterling" from Beckford's plantations and estates in Jamaica, and, after the death of Rebecca Rowden of Chilmark, Susan's inheritance from her grandmother, Maria Beckford, of £2,000 3 per cent reduced Bank Annuities.

Despite his debts, Douglas began to spend the settlement even before it had been finalized. Following the example of the spendthrift Prince of Wales (later King George IV), he became a good customer of the royal goldsmiths Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, who had supplied his ambassadorial service.³ On 15 September Douglas purchased a "very fine Pearl Necklace" with fifty-five large pearls, from Rundell's, for £808 10s;⁴ and on 4 December he was charged for "3 Pair of very richly chased large size silver Candlesticks with chased triangular Branches".⁵ Weighing 1,138 ounces 5 pennyweights and engraved with the Hamilton "Crest & Coronet", the candelabra came to £998 10s 4d.⁶

In March 1810 – a month before his wedding – Douglas went on an even bigger spending spree. On 14 March Rundell's provided him with "a remarkably fine Brilliant Comb" (a hair ornament set with diamonds), a "large Brilliant Drop to play over the Centre", and a "pair of very curious India Cut drops to play on each side of" the comb.⁷ They were obviously for Susan and were priced at £2,409, £400 and £1,155 respectively: a total of £3,964. At the same time, Douglas also bought a

³ Rundell, Bridge and Rundell were unquestionably the leading British goldsmiths. Between 1798 and 1812 the Royal Jewel House paid the firm over £54,000. The Prince of Wales, "the engine of fashion", was acknowledged by Rundell's as their "greatest Patron & best Friend" as early as 1807. His orders led up to a 4,000-piece service costing £61,340 1s 2d in June 1811 and on to purchases totalling more than £105,000 during his reign in the 1820s. See Hartrop 2005, pp.15, 85 and 87-8.

⁴ HA, F2/1030, invoice from Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to the Marquis of Douglas for 1809-10. All the bills and letters relating to Rundell's are in Appendix 6.

⁵ HA, M12/5/18, invoice from Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale for 1808-11. The candlesticks and branches were still being made in late May 1810: see HA, M12/31, *Inventory of a rich shell & gadroon'd Service of Plate, made for The Most Noble The Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale, by Rundell, Bridge & Rundell, June 1806*, dated 30 May 1810.

⁶ These candelabra are almost certainly the six included in the 1919 Hamilton Palace sale of silver: "Six Candelabra, chased with scale-pattern trellis-work, shells and foliage, and supporting branches for four lights each – 25 in. high – by Paul Storr, 1810 1127 [oz.] 15 [dwt.] In two oak chests" (Christie, Manson and Woods, *Fine English & Foreign Silver Plate*, London, 4 November 1919, lot 33).

⁷ HA, F2/1030.

“remarkably fine” 22-grain emerald costing £150, apparently for himself.⁸ On 26 March he was charged for another two candelabra. Described as “a Pair of richly chased Candlesticks & Branches, with 3 lights in Centre”, they weighed 307 ounces 5 dwt. and cost £277 5s 6d, including engraving “Crest & Coronet”.⁹

These purchases were not Douglas’s only extravagances prior to his wedding. At Christie’s on 31 March, Douglas bought Rubens’s oil painting of *The Loves of the Centaurs* (now in the Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon) (Fig.17), in his own name, for 610 guineas (£640 10s).¹⁰ The same day, Mease Sutton and Son of Wilton invoiced him for three crimson Brussels carpets and borders costing £436 1s.¹¹

There can be little doubt that Douglas purchased *The Loves of the Centaurs* as a triumphal wedding present to himself. It was an insensitive and also an extremely illuminating act. In the first place, it reveals Douglas’s own (unexpected) interest in the great Flemish painter and belief that *The Centaurs* would complement Rubens’s *Daniel in the Lions’ Den* and the oil sketches already in Hamilton Palace.¹² More importantly, the purchase demonstrates Douglas’s continuing respect for Sir William Hamilton, both as a man and as a collector. Sir William had been obliged to sell *The Centaurs*, with many other paintings and drawings, in 1765,¹³ but had managed to buy it back at Coxe’s sale of John Nesbitt’s collection on 25 May 1802 for 260 guineas.¹⁴ It was a very determined act because Sir William had been forced to disperse most of his later collection of paintings at Christie’s in March and April 1801 and was short of money. He evidently admired the work very much and felt that it was a rueful comment on the fraught relationship between his wife, Admiral Nelson and himself. After Sir William’s death the following year, *The Centaurs*

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ HA, M12/5/18.

¹⁰ Christie, *Catalogue [...] of the Pictures, Original Drawings and Articles of Ancient Sculpture of the late Hon. C.F. Greville*, 31 March 1810, lot 95. Christie’s clerk’s copy of the catalogue is annotated “95 ~ 640.10 Marq. Douglas. [tick with line through it]”.

¹¹ HA, Bundle 679, copy of bill from Mease Sutton and Son, dated 31 March 1810. The order was probably placed earlier as a copy of a letter dated 4 May 1810, below the bill, records that the carpets and borders were actually shipped from London to Leith that day.

¹² The Rubens sketches will be discussed later in the chapter, but see the entries on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, Appendix 2, numbers 36, 39, 54, 74 and 128.

¹³ Jenkins and Sloan 1996, pp.80-1.

¹⁴ Writing on 25 May 1802, Farington says “Sir Wm. Hamilton bought [*The Centaurs*] for 260 guineas” (Garlick and MacIntyre 1979, p.1781). Annotated copies of the sale-catalogue record that the painting was purchased by the dealer William Segulier acting for Sir William.

passed, with a few other pictures, to his nephew Charles Greville.¹⁵ Greville died in 1809, and at the sale of his collection in late March 1810, Douglas pulled out all the stops and paid a very large amount of money to secure Sir William's celebrated work. As a rake, he presumably savoured the "appropriateness" of the title and subject-matter to Sir William and himself.

An isolated letter from the 4th Duke of Portland, dated 3 July 1810, sheds light on another aspect of Douglas's prodigality and also upon his veneration of Sir William.¹⁶ It reveals that either just before or, more likely, shortly after his marriage, Douglas made a "very liberal offer" to purchase the Portland Vase (which has been in the British Museum since 1810). The Duke of Portland had turned down the offer, probably because he was already committed to lending the vase to the Museum. Douglas had written to apologise, and Portland had replied again, on 3 July, ending with the promise: "If ever I should determine to part with the Vase Your Lordship may depend upon having the refusal of it."

This is a fascinating discovery. Douglas was being amazingly ambitious to try to gain possession of such a "treasure".¹⁷ The Portland Vase was not only acclaimed as the largest and finest example of Roman engraved cased glass, but was thought to have been the funerary urn that contained the ashes of either the Roman Emperor Alexander Severus (222-235 A.D.)¹⁸ or – as Sir William Hamilton argued – Alexander the Great.¹⁹ The attempted purchase confirms Douglas's interest in Classical antiquities and particularly in cut cameo work, and also his desire to acquire first-rate items with distinguished provenances – and especially items that had been owned by Sir William Hamilton. As Douglas would have known, at least in general terms, Sir William had bought the vase from the dealer James Byres, in Italy,

¹⁵ Jenkins and Sloan 1996, p.89.

¹⁶ HA, Bundle 956, "Scott Portland" to Douglas, 3 July 1810.

¹⁷ The natural home for the Portland Vase would have been a royal or imperial collection. As R.P. Knight noted: "The Duke of Portland has not given the Vase; but only deposited it in the British Museum. Should he however be disposed at any time to sell it, you will have a most formidable Competitor in the Prince of Bavaria, who is a most eager Collector of Antiquities; and as much enraptured by it as any of us": HA, Bundle 1004, Knight to Douglas, dated "27th" and on paper with the watermarked date 1812. A reference to the Towneley sale suggests the letter was written in 1814.

¹⁸ See Harden 1987, pp.58-65.

¹⁹ Writing to Josiah Wedgwood, Sir William declared: "I have no doubt of this [the Portland Vase] being a work of the time of Alexander the Great, and was probably brought out of Asia by Alexander, whose ashes were deposited therein after his death" (Fothergill 2005, p.150).

in the early 1780s for £1,000²⁰ and had sold it to the Dowager Duchess of Portland, in London, in 1784.²¹

The purchase of *The Centaurs* and the attempt to buy the Portland Vase show Douglas trying to improve the Hamilton collection, radically and dramatically, by the addition of exceptional items that had the added kudos of having been owned by very eminent collectors. However, there is more to it than this, because the ownership and display of works associated with Sir William would have also demonstrated that the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale had the taste and the resources to restore major “Hamilton” items to Hamilton ownership and was – visibly – the dynamic, effective head of the House of Hamilton.

At this point in his life, Douglas was content to draw on the achievements of Sir William and enjoy the benefits of “reflected glory”, or glory by association. Later, as 10th Duke, he would employ other Hamiltons to design the new addition to Hamilton Palace, make important acquisitions and generally further his interests. Douglas’s activities in 1810 are therefore the first clear signs of a definite pattern or policy of using the extended Hamilton family to promote both the head of the House of Hamilton and the House or Clan of Hamilton.

Marriage to Susan Beckford on 26 April 1810 did not calm Douglas down, but fuelled his desire to demonstrate his taste and status.

On 14 March 1811 Rundell’s supplied him with “A very fine Emerald” costing £630.²² This seems to have been an “upgrade” of the £150 emerald bought the month before his wedding, which was returned to the goldsmiths the following year, and connected with the birth of Douglas’s son and heir, William, a month before, on 19 February.²³ One might have expected the emerald to have been a “thank you present” to Susan, but Douglas’s own love of rings and the return of the £150 emerald raise a question mark. The next entry on the invoice, under 17 May 1811 – “Setting your Lordships Emerald in a Ring to open, with Brilliants round, and

²⁰ Haynes 1975, pp.9-10.

²¹ Anson 1925, pp.154-8.

²² HA, M12/5/18.

²³ The emerald supplied in March 1810 was returned to Rundell’s in 1812. It was described as “A large long square Emerald” and Douglas was credited with £130 for it on 15 February 1812: see HA, M12/5/19, copy of invoice from Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to the Marquis of Douglas for 1808-18.

at the Sides, with diamond shank as the pattern [£]47”²⁴ – does not resolve the identity of the intended wearer, but underlines the importance of the piece.

On 17 May Douglas also obtained “A very curious opal Brilliant” worth £63, which was set “in plain gold for a Ring” for another £1 18 shillings;²⁵ and on 27 June Rundell’s furnished him with an even more obvious status symbol: a massive silver inkstand weighing over 48 ounces, with gadrooned decoration, costing £33.²⁶

Mobilising the Collection

Many alterations and improvements followed Douglas’s and Susan’s marriage. These included alterations to the interior and exterior of Hamilton Palace by the architect James Gillespie, the improvement of the interiors by the wrights Gavin and John Rowat and the supply of black marble chimneypieces, tables and other items by David Hamilton and Company;²⁷ but the most interesting development and the one with the most far-reaching consequences in the short term was the rehangings of paintings in Hamilton Palace. We can glean that this took place from Louis Simond’s remark that when he visited the palace on or around 22 August 1810, Poussin’s *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* was hanging “By the side of” Rubens’s *Daniel in the Lions’ Den* (National Gallery of Art, Washington) and with “Several excellent Portraits by Vandyke”.²⁸ This would mean that the Poussin was displayed in the Gallery, where the Rubens and Van Dycks had hung since the seventeenth century. Yet, a year later, the *Lamentation* was one of the two principal paintings in the Drawing Room in the State Rooms, on the first floor of the west wing.²⁹ The inclusion of the two paintings of the Empress Catherine the Great,

²⁴ HA, M12/5/18.

²⁵ HA, M12/5/18 and M12/5/19.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ For many of these improvements, see HTHL, Hamilton Estate Vouchers and Accounts, Bundle 20/6. It is extremely interesting to find that, as early as 1810, David Hamilton and Company supplied Douglas with ‘A full Black Marble Chimney Piece with a Black Marble Hearth and Covings for Drawing Room’, black marble pieces for a ‘Chimney Piece in Dining Room’, ‘Six Black Marble Tables for the Gallery’, ‘2 Black marble Chimney pieces for bed rooms’, and other black marble parts: see Bundle 20/6, bill from David Hamilton and Company to the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, dated 1 August 1810, and Bundle 23, bill from Gavin and John Rowat to the 9th Duke of Hamilton for work carried out in 1810. This seems to be an unparalleled amount of black marble for this period and a particularly revealing indicator of Douglas’s high opinion of his own status and of the scale of aggrandisement in the palace and policies around 1809-10.

²⁸ Simond 1815, I, pp.280-2.

²⁹ Appendix 2, 62.

discussed in the last chapter, on the 1811 inventory,³⁰ and the taking of the inventory itself in 1811, corroborate the deduction that a re-hang had taken place in the wake of all the restoration and improvements.

The 1811 inventory shows Douglas making very effective use of the old Hamilton collection and the paintings acquired by his father and himself and focusing attention on the newly introduced works.

Visitors to the palace were immediately impressed and intimidated, as they climbed the main staircase, by three huge paintings: *The Expulsion of the Unwanted Guest* by Fra Semplice da Verona, which had been acquired from King Charles I by the 1st Duke of Hamilton and had hung in the “Crimson Room” in the 1790s;³¹ the altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child with Saints* by Girolamo dai Libri, bought by Douglas in 1800;³² and a scene of stag hunting attributed to Frans Snyders.³³ A smaller painting of the *Circumcision of Christ* ascribed to Giulio Romano³⁴ reinforced the awesome and, indeed, frightening effect.

The pre-eminent pictures in the historic Hamilton collection – Rubens’s *Daniel in the Lions’ Den* and the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century full-length portraits by Van Dyck, Mytens, Kneller and others – continued to be displayed in the Gallery,³⁵ but the connecting rooms in the west wing were largely given over to works acquired by the 9th Duke and Douglas.

The first half-panelled room, the Breakfast Room, contained twenty-five paintings. Douglas’s recent acquisition, *The Circumcision of Christ* by Signorelli (Fig.8), was on the short wall to the right of the entrance.³⁶ Almost all the other paintings were on the next wall, opposite the two windows. The dense “hang” was based on two large paintings: the *Resurrection of Christ* by Tintoretto and his workshop, then assigned to Giorgione (Ashmolean Museum, Oxford) (Fig.18),³⁷ on

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 44 and 130.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 1.

³² *Ibid.*, 4.

³³ *Ibid.*, 2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 3.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 5-32.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 34.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 48.

the left, and a *Triumph of David* (Fig.19), attributed to Domenichino³⁸ but by another as yet unidentified contemporary Italian artist, on the right.

Most of the smaller pictures were Flemish or Dutch. There were no fewer than three oil sketches ascribed to Rubens. “Germanicus haranguing his Soldiers” was either the *modello* of *Decius Mus addressing the Legions* now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (Fig.20) or a closely related work.³⁹ “Resurrection (a sketch)” (Fig.21) was a study for the painting of *Christ Triumphant over Sin and Death* that used to hang over the tomb of Jeremias Cock in St Walburga, Antwerp,⁴⁰ while “Battle (a sketch)” (now in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne) (Fig.22) was the *modello* for the unfinished painting of *The Battle of Ivry*.⁴¹ A “Cattle piece [by] Berghem”⁴² was probably *The Ford* by Berghem, signed and dated 1654, in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.⁴³ The “Landscape [by] Hobbens” was the signed Hobbema *Landscape with a Water-mill* now at Elton Hall, near Peterborough (Fig.23).⁴⁴

The only other Italian painting that stands out is the very fine *Portrait of a Young Man* signed by the rare Venetian painter Alessandro Oliverio (National Gallery of Ireland) (Fig.24), which was described as “Duke of Olivares [by] Leonard de Vinci”.⁴⁵ However, a “Portrait” may have been the Venetian Admiral belonging to the Contarini family, now attributed to Veronese, in Philadelphia Museum of Art.⁴⁶

The next room, the Drawing Room, contained sixteen pictures. A large “Queen of Sheba before Solomon” attributed to Tintoretto hung on the short wall to the right of the entrance.⁴⁷ Two outstanding additions were given pride of place on the main wall opposite the windows. First came Poussin’s late masterpiece *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (Fig.25).⁴⁸ Further along on the left was “Jacob and his Flock [by] Bassan”,⁴⁹ which can now be identified as *The Departure of Abraham for Canaan* by Jacopo Bassano and his son Francesco (National Gallery of

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 38.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 36.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 39.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 54.

⁴² *Ibid.*, 37.

⁴³ 1882 HPS, lot 38.

⁴⁴ Appendix 2, 45.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, 55.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 46.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 61.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 62.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 67.

Canada, Ottawa) (Fig.26).⁵⁰ They were cleverly deployed to surprise visitors with a rise in quality after the already high standard in the first room, and to carry them through the next room in a buoyant mood.

The *Lamentation* and *Departure* were supported by *The Martyrdom of St Sebastian* by Guido Reni (Auckland Art Gallery) (Fig.27)⁵¹ and the full-length portrait of *King Edward VI* then ascribed to Holbein and now attributed to his successor, William Scrots (Hampton Court) (Fig.28).⁵² Smaller works of note included “Neptune & Amphitrite [by] Rubens”,⁵³ which was the oil sketch for a basin decorated with the birth of Venus by Rubens, with Neptune and Amphitrite at the top (National Gallery, London) (Fig.29),⁵⁴ and the *Sibyl* by Guercino subsequently owned by Sir Denis Mahon (Art Fund) (Fig.30).⁵⁵

The third room, the State Bed Room, contained eight works, including an “Entombing of Christ” ascribed to Titian⁵⁶ and a “Christ in the Garden” optimistically attributed to Michelangelo.⁵⁷ A large painting of the “Prince of Guelders menacing his Father [by] Rembrandt”⁵⁸ was an old copy of Rembrandt’s *Samson threatening his Father-in-Law* in Berlin.⁵⁹ By today’s estimation, the main painting in the room was probably the “Portrait [by] Georgione”,⁶⁰ which seems to

⁵⁰ This is the most exciting “discovery” made during this exercise. The work is listed as “The Creation [by] Bassan” on the inventory inscribed “Archibald Duke of Hamilton” (Appendix 1, number 7) and as “Jacob and his Flock [by] Bassan” on the 1811 inventory. It appears as “Jacob and his Flock [by] Bassan”, valued at £200, in the same room, the Drawing Room, on the 1825 and 1835 inventories (HA, M4/70, p.169; HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.165) and was recorded by Waagen in 1851, in the “Second Room” (the Drawing Room), as: “Giacomo Bassano. – 1. The Almighty appearing to Noah after the Deluge [...]” (Waagen 1854, III, p.301). The picture was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 763) as “G. Bassano. Jacob’s Vision. 8 ft. 5 in. by 6 ft. 3 in.” and came up again at Sotheby’s on 2 December 1964 (lot 97) as “Jacopo Bassano. God showing Moses the Promised Land”, with dimensions of 75 x 100 inches. Alessandro Ballarin discussed the painting itself when it was in a private collection in Montreal. He renamed it *The Departure of Abraham to Canaan*, attributed it to Jacopo and Francesco Bassano, and dated it c.1569 and later c.1570-71. See Appendix 2, number 67, for further details and discussion.

⁵¹ Appendix 2, 71.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 73.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 74.

⁵⁴ Like many entries, this is the first clear reference to a work in the Hamilton Palace collection (and, indeed, in Britain). It is almost twenty years earlier than John Smith’s note of the sketch in the collection (Smith 1830, p.250, no.848). It is possible that the *Birth of Venus* is “An historical Sketch. Circular. [By] Rubens” on the “Archibald Duke of Hamilton” inventory (Appendix 1, 8).

⁵⁵ Appendix 2, 59 and 63.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 77.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 78.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, 81.

⁵⁹ Bredius/Gerson 1971, p.412 (Br.499).

⁶⁰ Appendix 2, 82.

equate to the full-length portrait of a *Man in Armour*, now attributed to the young Veronese, sold from the Field Collection in 1991.⁶¹

The First Dressing Room contained seventeen pictures, including the *Coronation of the Virgin* by Bartolomeo Schedoni,⁶² which was acquired by the American painter John Trumbull and sold at Christie's on 17 February 1797⁶³ (Art Fund) (Fig.31), and the *Flight into Egypt* by Paul Potter,⁶⁴ that seems to be the work, signed and dated 1644, advertised by the Newhouse Galleries, New York, in 1968.⁶⁵

Douglas appears to have filled the last room in the State Apartments in the west wing with pictures from the old Hamilton collection. He concentrated his father's and his own remaining works in the Billiard Room,⁶⁶ placed two others in a "Drawing Room"⁶⁷ with thirty-seven miniatures from the old collection,⁶⁸ and decorated the last two rooms on the inventory, a "Dressing Room" and a "Bed Closet", with items mainly from the old collection.⁶⁹

The twenty-one pictures in the Billiard Room include many fine and unexpected works. "Eeres & Autumn [by] And. Montigna"⁷⁰ were the *Vestal Virgin Tuccia with Sieve* and *Sophonisba drinking Poison* by Mantegna (National Gallery, London) (Fig.32),⁷¹ while "Lewis Carnaro"⁷² obscures *St Jerome as Cardinal* by El Greco (National Gallery, London) (Fig.33), which used to bear the inscription "L.

⁶¹ Christie's, *Important Old Master Pictures from the Frederick W. Field Collection*, London, 5 July 1991, lot 4.

⁶² Appendix 2, 88.

⁶³ Christie, *A Catalogue of A most Superb and Distinguished Collection of Italian, French, Flemish, and Dutch Pictures, A Selection formed with peculiar Taste and Judgement by John Trumbull, Esq. during his late residence in Paris, from some of the most Celebrated Cabinets in France*, London, 17 February 1797, lot 37.

⁶⁴ Appendix 2, 92.

⁶⁵ This painting, which is also listed on the "Archibald Duke of Hamilton" inventory (Appendix 1, 76), was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 1011) as "Paul Potter. A Landscape, with the flight into Egypt. 18 in. by 24 in." The Newhouse Galleries's painting was advertised in *The Connoisseur* in 1968 (photograph in the Getty Research Institute) and apparently measures 47 x 63.5 cm., or 18½ x 25 inches. It was previously included in a Fischer sale in Lucerne, 13-17 June 1950 (lot 2460).

⁶⁶ Appendix 2, 109-129.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 130-131.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, 132-168.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 169-190.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 110. The writer of the inventory should, of course, have written Ceres.

⁷¹ Both works are listed on the "Archibald Duke of Hamilton" inventory as "A Pair of the Seasons [by] Montegna" (Appendix 1, 13). These are the earliest references to these paintings in Britain found to date.

⁷² Appendix 2, 113.

CORNARO / AEt suae 100 1566” on the book.⁷³ “The Descent from the Cross (a sketch) [by] Rubens”⁷⁴ was the *modello* for the high altarpiece of the Church of the Capuchins in Lille (both now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille) (Fig.34).⁷⁵ “Henrietta Lotharinga Princess of Psabburgh [by] Vandyke”⁷⁶ is immediately recognisable as Van Dyck’s full-length portrait of Henrietta of Lorraine, Princess of Pfalzburg and Lixheim, from the collection of the duc d’Orléans (now at Kenwood) (Fig.35).⁷⁷

Finally, we may note that the two paintings in the “Drawing Room” towards the end of the inventory consisted of Tintoretto’s *Moses striking the Rock* (Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt) (Fig.36) and the second of Douglas’s portraits of Catherine the Great.⁷⁸

Bringing the Collection up to date: The David and Raeburn Commissions

What emerges from the 1811 inventory, when read in conjunction with the 1759 and 1793 Hamilton Palace inventories⁷⁹ and the inventory annotated “Archibald Duke of Hamilton”, is that Douglas had a very large collection of Old Master paintings, which included many important and interesting works, and that he did not need to buy pre-1800 pictures as a priority.

The striking deficiency exposed by the 1811 inventory is the dearth of recent and contemporary art. Indeed, only two such works – a “Landscape [by] Gainsborough” and a sketch of “Hercules” by Sir Joshua Reynolds – are listed among the 9th Duke’s and Douglas’s paintings on the 1811 inventory.⁸⁰ There were

⁷³ This entry, together with the listings in the 1825, 1835 and 1853 Hamilton Palace inventories noted in Appendix 2, 113, totally contradict the old belief that this painting was acquired by the 11th Duke of Hamilton from the Thirlestane House sale on 28 July 1859 (lot 237): see MacLaren/Braham 1988, p.35.

⁷⁴ Appendix 2, 128.

⁷⁵ The entries in the 1811, 1825 and 1835 Hamilton inventories (see Appendix 2, 128) clearly demonstrate that the sketch is not the work included in Christie’s William Wilkins sale, 7 April 1838 (lot 6), as suggested, with a question mark, by Richard Judson (Judson 2000, p.194).

⁷⁶ Appendix 2, 115.

⁷⁷ The references in the 1811 and 1825 inventories, and Samuel Woodburn’s letter of 1850 about the acquisition of this work (HA, C4/843A/9), reveal that John Smith was mistaken in believing that *Henrietta* was in the collection of the Earl of Carlisle in the 1820s/early 1830s (Smith 1831, pp.94-5, no.327). The provenances given in Bryant 2003 (p.47) and Barnes *et al* 2004 (pp.329-30) need to be revised.

⁷⁸ Appendix 2, 130-131.

⁷⁹ HA, M4/48 and M4/51 respectively.

⁸⁰ Appendix 2, 96 and 126.

other “modern” paintings – notably Gavin Hamilton’s vast canvas of *Hector’s Farewell to Andromache* (Hunterian Museum, Glasgow), which was commissioned by the 8th Duke of Hamilton during his “Grand Tour” in the mid 1770s,⁸¹ and Anne Forbes’s life-size portrait of the 8th Duke (Lennoxlove), both in the Long Gallery in 1811⁸² – and there were probably more portraits of the 8th Duke by Gavin Hamilton,⁸³ George Garrard⁸⁴ and other artists elsewhere in the palace and at Holyroodhouse.⁸⁵ However, they would have only emphasized the pressing need for Douglas to commission and acquire contemporary portraits and other pictures.

The undertaking of a full-length portrait of Susan Beckford by Thomas Phillips, for Beckford, in 1810⁸⁶ probably led Douglas to think seriously about a full-length portrait of himself, but he evidently decided against a single commission and a solitary portrait. Douglas seems to have reflected on the full-length portraits of his predecessors in the Long Gallery and noted that the portraits of the early Dukes were shown with full-length portraits of *King Charles I on Horseback* after Van Dyck (now at Ardgowan) and *King Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden*.⁸⁷ The inclusion of these portraits showed his forebears honouring Charles I for creating the dukedom of Hamilton and Gustavus of Sweden for championing the Protestant cause, and gave explicit visual expression to the sympathies and allegiances of the seventeenth-century Hamiltons.

Douglas may already have owned the state portraits of *King George III* and *Queen Charlotte* by Allan Ramsay (British Government Art Collection and Musée

⁸¹ See the *National Art-Collections Fund Review 1986* (London, 1986), pp.173-4, and Lloyd Williams 1994, p.11.

⁸² Appendix 3, 33 and 30.

⁸³ *National Art Collections Fund Review 2000* (London, 2001), p.117.

⁸⁴ *Treasures from Lennoxlove*, catalogue of the exhibition held at Lyon & Turnbull, Edinburgh, 1-18 August 2006, no.48.

⁸⁵ It is unclear whether the portrait of the 8th Duke by Jean Preud’homme (National Museums Scotland) was in the collection in 1811. It is associated with the portrait in the Northwick sale at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, on 26 July 1859 (lot 81), but this is questionable: see *National Art Collections Fund Review 1992* (London, 1992), pp.148-9.

⁸⁶ Christie, Manson and Woods, *Fine Historical Portraits and Ancient and Modern Pictures, The Property of the Trustees of His Grace the late Duke of Hamilton*, 6 November 1919, lot 41. According to the catalogue entry, the portrait measured 94 x 57 inches and depicted Susan wearing a “dark blue dress, with lace scarf, standing by a table on which is a vase of flowers”.

⁸⁷ Appendix 2, 17 and 24. The portrait of Gustavus Adolphus was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, as lot 79, with an attribution to “Mireveldt” and measurements of 6 feet 9 inches by 3 feet 4 inches, and sold to F. Davis for £320 5s. It may have been presented to the 1st Duke of Hamilton by the King, when the Duke was serving with him in the early 1630s, or by Elizabeth of Bohemia.

du Louvre, Paris, respectively),⁸⁸ which would later be displayed either side of his ambassadorial throne in the Long Gallery.⁸⁹ But, more importantly, as we saw in chapter two, he had a real interest in the Empress Catherine the Great. Two small portraits of the Empress were already on display in Hamilton Palace in 1811, the bronze bust of the Empress after Houdon was awaiting shipment from St Petersburg, and in May 1811 it was announced that the Imperial Tapestry Manufactory had completed the full-length tapestry of the Empress, commissioned by Douglas.⁹⁰

Catherine the Great was unquestionably one of the outstanding rulers during Douglas's early life. Over the course of her enlightened, thirty-four-year reign, Catherine introduced many economic, legal, administrative and educational reforms⁹¹ and expanded the Russian empire into eastern Poland, the Crimea and other lands surrounding the northern shores of the Black Sea. She patronized Falconet, Quarenghi, Cameron and many other artists and architects, transformed St Petersburg and the Imperial residences around the capital, and assembled enormous collections of paintings, cameos and other items by buying over twenty major collections, either *en bloc* or as selected chunks, including Pierre Crozat's and Sir Robert Walpole's collections.⁹² Douglas evidently fully accepted Catherine's importance and decided to "partner" or "pair" the tapestry portrait of the Empress with a portrait of the Emperor Napoleon, the acknowledged "Colossus of the Age".

That Douglas should have acquired a portrait of Napoleon is not really surprising. He was a Whig: Francophile, in agreement with many of the ideals of the French Revolution, determined to see Napoleon as their saviour and continuator, and keen to institute a *rapprochement* between Britain and France. Furthermore, a large portrait of Napoleon would have shown that he was a fully committed Whig and defiantly opposed to the Tories.

The seminal point is that Douglas only wanted the very best in 1811 and was throwing caution to the winds to get it. Britain was at war with France, Napoleon's control over Europe was at its zenith, and the birth of the King of Rome (on 20 March 1811) looked likely to ensure the continuation of the Napoleonic dynasty and

⁸⁸ Smart 1999, pp.90 and 113.

⁸⁹ HTHL, 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.135, as by Lawrence.

⁹⁰ For the latter, see chapter 2, notes 41-43.

⁹¹ For Catherine's reforms, see Madariaga 2002 and Cronin 1996.

⁹² On Catherine as a collector, see Allen and Dukelskaya 1996 and Bondil 2006.

its domination of the Continent. It was definitely not the moment to place an important commission for a portrait of Napoleon, but Douglas went ahead. He could have purchased James Northcote's *Napoleon on Horseback*, of 1800-1 – "as large as life", showing (a young) Napoleon mounted on a rearing white horse, with sword on shoulder⁹³ – which would have complemented *King Charles I on Horseback* and the portrait of himself with his horse, by Raeburn, that we will come to shortly. Northcote's *Napoleon* was on sale by private treaty from the European Museum, in London, from 1808⁹⁴ and was offered at Christie's on 18 February 1809,⁹⁵ as the last lot in the sale, and by Farebrother on 24 May 1811.⁹⁶

Douglas probably rejected Northcote's painting as too out of date, poor and militaristic, but he presumably also knew that it had been executed for the London print-seller John Jeffryes, and exhibited by Jeffryes, the European Museum and the auction houses, and was an over-exposed, stale work, which would have brought little glory to its owner.

Instead, Douglas decided to commission a portrait of Napoleon by Jacques-Louis David, the Emperor's own painter, which would "match" the official tapestry of the Empress Catherine by the Imperial (Russian) Tapestry Manufactory.⁹⁷ The tapestry of the Empress only cost 2,000 roubles (less than £200), but by the time

⁹³ See footnote 95 for the quotation and Simon 1996, p.72, no.370.

⁹⁴ The European Museum, in King Street, St James's Square, tried to sell the painting from 1808 to 1816.

⁹⁵ Christie, *A Catalogue of a Valuable Collection of Original Pictures [...] lately exhibited and so much admired at the European Museum*, 17-18 February 1809, lot 93: "Northcote [...] Portrait of Napoleon Bonaparte on Horseback, as large as life, universally allowed to be the best painted, as well as the most striking likeness, of this extraordinary character."

⁹⁶ Farebrother, *A Catalogue of the Splendid Collection of Original Pictures [...] lately forming the Grand Exhibition at the European Museum*, 23-24 May 1811, lot 117: "NorthcoteNapoleon Bonaparte on Horseback, as large as life, in the Consular Uniform; allowed to be the most striking Likeness of that extraordinary Character". The copy of the sale catalogue in the Getty Research Institute records that the painting was "bought in" at £157 10s. Northcote's *Napoleon* was subsequently included in a Stanley sale on 3 July 1816, as lot 93, with unknown result. It was apparently purchased by a London dealer and had passed to the broker James Burt in Exeter by April 1829 (see Gear 1977, pp.225-8). Northcote's *Napoleon* resurfaced at Sotheby's sale of British paintings held in London on 16 November 1983, as lot 82, with measurements of 272 x 239 cm., and is illustrated in colour in the catalogue.

⁹⁷ The correspondence regarding the commission was published, in edited form, using original and copy letters, by A.A. Tait, as an appendix to his article on "The Duke of Hamilton's Palace" (Tait 1983). During the preparation of this thesis, copies of David's letters to Douglas dated 20 October 1812 and 30 April 1813 and Douglas's draft letter acknowledging the arrival of the painting were found in HA, Bundle 1129. For a discussion of the painting, concentrating on David, see Bordes 2005, pp.113-21.

Douglas came to commission David, in August 1811,⁹⁸ he was prepared to pay a great deal more – in the end, 1,000 guineas⁹⁹ – and to give David *carte blanche* to produce what became *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries* (now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington) (Fig.37).¹⁰⁰

Around this time, Douglas must have commissioned Henry Raeburn to paint a larger full-length portrait of himself (Trustees of the Cowdray Settled Estate), with his horse, which seems to allude to his own participation in the Napoleonic Wars and great events (Fig.38). Writing to Alexander Young, Douglas's lawyer and "man of business", on 8 September 1812, Raeburn records that the "portrait of the Marquisses Horse is not yet finished".¹⁰¹ Raeburn explains that he was being delayed by the lack of instructions about the composition from Douglas: "As I somehow understood that the Marquis himself was to have been painted either on him or standing beside him." Raeburn sounds peeved by the delay, but it is impossible to gauge how many months he had been kept in limbo. Interestingly, the second part of the letter refers to Raeburn's willingness to undertake a portrait of the Marchioness and her son, and the citation of his current charge of 100 guineas for a full-length portrait implies that it was a full-length picture that was under discussion.

Reviewing all the information assembled here, one wonders whether the David and Raeburn commissions were stimulated by the tapestry of the Empress and precipitated by a combination of "momentous times" and the birth of sons and heirs to both Douglas and Napoleon within thirty days of one another. Douglas was clearly enjoying himself as a collector and patron, but it seems reasonable to think that the birth of his son affected him and that he was keen to pass on his admiration of Catherine and Napoleon to his heir, William, and future generations of his family.

⁹⁸ David mentions that the letter Douglas wrote to him, which was handed to him by the painter-dealer Bonnemaïson, was dated 3 August [1811]: see HA, Bundle 768, third copy of letter from David to Douglas, dated 8 May 1812.

⁹⁹ Writing to Douglas on 25 September 1811, Bonnemaïson says that "David did not wish to discuss a price", but that he had made enquiries and found that "he is usually paid 20-24,000 francs" for a full-length portrait (HA, Bundle 768). In his letter of 22 June 1812, written after he had completed the portrait, David asked for 1,000 guineas: "Your Lordship wishes me to price the work; I do so out of respect, and the sum of a thousand guineas was what I had quoted to Mr John David, in the event of your asking. It is what I have always received for this type of work [...]" (Bundle 768).

¹⁰⁰ See David's first letter to Douglas, demonstrating this point, printed at the end of Appendix 8.

¹⁰¹ *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 31, 1962, p.173. All the letters relating to Raeburn discovered to date are in Appendix 8.

Financial Problems and Retrenchment

Unfortunately, Douglas's expensive patronage and collecting increased his financial problems. An aide-memoire, written in his own hand,¹⁰² reveals that his gross income in 1810 came to only £34,189¹⁰³ and that over £18,000 of this disappeared in annuities to his brother, sisters and Lady Exeter, the divorced wife of the 8th Duke (£6,000), and the payment of interest (£2,500), taxes (£4,500), factors and agents (£3,000) and stipends (£2,100). A further £9,857 was swallowed up on "Improvements" to the estate, while £3,835 was "spent at Hamilton". Once "Sundries" of £600 had been deducted, only £1,797 was "clear".

By 1812, the situation had worsened and was being exacerbated by Douglas's decision to buy old houses in the vicinity of Hamilton Palace.¹⁰⁴ Alexander Young was becoming increasingly concerned about the prompt half-yearly payments of the annuities to Douglas's brother and sisters,¹⁰⁵ and worried about the withdrawal of £8,000 in loans from Guernsey¹⁰⁶ and the probable need to find funds to pay parties associated with the purchase of lands on Arran from the Marquess of Bute.¹⁰⁷

Douglas's financial embarrassment is reflected in an irate letter from his Russian banker, Baron Rall, dated 16 August 1812. Rall had provided large sums to Count Walicky to use on Douglas's behalf and had just learnt from Harman and Company that Douglas was now querying the arrangement with Walicky and his own payments to Rall. Rall was surprised "to an high degree & in a very disagreeable manner" and vented his annoyance in very forthright terms:

My name being inserted in the bond, is a clear proof that it was not a secret for me & surely since I was to receive the funds, I was fully authorized tho think it as good as security as could be, for the advances which Count Walicky requested upon it, trusting as I did to the honor of your Lordship & to the sacredness of your word & signature. My advances to Count Walicky on this bond being considerable & lying heavy on me, I very naturally wished to receive the interests which your Lordship had engaged to remit annually & if possible a part of the Capital. The latter I know I cannot demand but the interests which are due & which ought to be remitted either to

¹⁰² HA, F2/1042/27, note about income in 1810 written by Douglas.

¹⁰³ According to the note, £22,381 came from the Hamilton estates, £6,566 from Arran and £5,242 from Kinneil.

¹⁰⁴ See HA, Bundle 1581, Young to Brown, 16 September 1812.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, Young to Brown, 25 September 1812.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, Young to Brown, 15 September 1812.

¹⁰⁷ See HA, Bundle 1602, Roger Aytoun to Brown, 26 October 1813.

Count Walicky or to me, I had a right to consider as money which must come in at a moments warning. Your Lordship surely could not expect me to take a voyage to England merely for the purpose of settling this affair & I committed no indiscretion whatever in entrusting it to Messrs. Harman, whose integrity, honor & altogether unexceptionable character are sure warrants of their keeping it a secret for the whole world if you desire it. The affair, therefore, cannot by any means, be said to have been made public, and, in no point of view, whatsoever, can you, My Lord, have a right to disclaim your bond, because it has gone through the regular course of business, & I cannot conceive any reason that could justify your retracting a positive engagement with your signature; especially when your Lordship considers that my high opinion of your honor & punctuality has enduced me to advance upon it a sum of fifty eight thousand Rubles, which makes much more than the Capital at the present course of exchange. I trust that a moments reflection will have brought your Lordship to a more equitable determination & that you will have paid at least the interests already due to Messrs Harman & Co. for my account.¹⁰⁸

Rall was not the only person annoyed with Douglas at this time. Alexander Young was also fed up with his client. Writing to Robert Brown, the new principal factor who had begun employment on Whitsunday 1812, Young commented with considerable candour on 25 September:

It is but too obvious that the detail of Improvements, and the management of old houses and Excambions about Hamilton Palace will consume a great part of your time, and prevent you from rendering the Marquis those essential Services which you are qualified to perform for him, human life is too short for the execution of plans of every kind, I have great doubts if any thing that is done or projected at Hamilton Palace be really an improvement, but granting it were, the Marquis would act wisely if he were to prefer the utile to the dulce; I am sick of writing or thinking on the Subject and Shall only say that if you do not succeed in diverting his Lordships attention from trifles to matters of importance your best talents and exertions will avail him nothing.¹⁰⁹ _

By this date, Douglas's debts apparently came to around £90,000,¹¹⁰ and even Douglas seems to have recognized that he could not continue in such a profligate manner. During an earlier meeting, he had given Young "such a picture of the state

¹⁰⁸ HA, Bundle 1006, "Duplicate" of letter from Rall to Douglas, 16 August 1812.

¹⁰⁹ HA, Bundle 1581, Young to Brown, 25 September 1812.

¹¹⁰ HA, Bundle 1767, draft letter Brown to Young, 26 November 1820: "In the year 1812 The Dukes debts were about £90,000".

of his finances” that even the stern-hearted lawyer “could not avoid sending him any money which I had at my command”, and had sent him an order for £800.¹¹¹

Douglas did not stop buying items, but his really expensive purchasing seems to have ground to a halt, at least for a few years. He had already returned the emerald and the pair of candelabra acquired from Rundell’s in March 1810 and been credited with £130 for the ring on 15 February 1812 and £256 10s 6d for the candelabra on 6 March 1812. His major acquisitions from the goldsmiths end with the purchase of “An Enamelled foot of a very richly chased gold Custodia”, weighing over 38 ounces and costing £241 18s 6d, on 17 July 1812.¹¹² From then on, money that would previously have gone on new purchases was used, instead, to reduce Rundell’s bill, which stood at almost £7,500 in August 1812.¹¹³ By the summer of 1815, payments of £500 in September 1812, £1,000 in May 1814 and £2,000 in March and July 1815 had almost halved the debt to £3,982 5s 11d, plus interest.¹¹⁴

Success and Failure as an Early Patron

Douglas’s first major act of patronage resulted in David’s brilliant propaganda painting of *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries*, working early into the morning on the *Code Napoléon* for the benefit of France and Western civilization. Douglas was delighted with the portrait – as well he should. In an unpublished draft letter, in French, he informed the painter:

I must tell you of my arrival in London and the pleasure I felt in finding there the portrait you had the kindness to make for me of your Emperor. ~~I am extremely pleased with it~~ It arrived in the best possible condition, not a stain or a scratch – It seems just out of the artist’s hands, without having suffered the perils of the sea and long journey. I have great pleasure and pride in showing it to our English artists, especially Mr West.

¹¹¹ HA, Bundle 1581, Young to Brown, 6 September 1812.

¹¹² HA, M12/5/19.

¹¹³ *Ibid.* A debt of £7,897 11s 5d offset by returned items and a “trade-in” credited at £418 14s 6d.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.* Interest was definitely being charged in this period: see HA, Bundle 1629, Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Brown, 5 December 1814, referring to “additional Interest to this day” of £112 5s 3d. John Bridge, one of the partners at Rundell’s, was renown for his diplomacy and his polite persistence in getting payment is clearly evident in the firm’s letters in Appendix 6. In November 1815 Douglas must have tried to return the “large Onyx and the Emerald” he had acquired from the firm, but they declined to credit him with the £1,500 he was wanting: see HA, Bundle 1649, Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Brown, 21 November 1815.

If you could have heard their observations you would have been very pleased.¹¹⁵

The portrait of Napoleon seems to have been regarded as such a high-profile success, and such a credit to Douglas, that it was kept in London. Douglas's letter establishes that it was definitely on display in London – presumably in the Grosvenor Place house – in 1813, and it seems likely that it is the first entry – “My N _ picture” – on the list of items that Douglas left in the “Church room” on 7 August 1816 before departing for Italy.¹¹⁶

Unfortunately, the portrait of Douglas by Scotland's leading portrait painter was very far from a success. Indeed, as far as Douglas was concerned, it was a failure, if not a disaster. This, though, was in large measure due to Douglas himself. As we have already observed, David's letters clearly record that he had been given a free hand over the treatment of *Napoleon*. However, such a lack of direction can cause real difficulties and Raeburn seems to have been left struggling without adequate instructions and with a patron who had spoken about two very different compositions. Raeburn's letter to Young of 8 September 1812 refers directly to the lack of a clear brief and highlights the unresolved problem: “My portrait of the Marquisses Horse is not yet finished. As I somehow understood that the Marquis himself was to have been painted either on him or standing beside him.”¹¹⁷

The composition may never have been sorted out to Douglas's satisfaction and he may have found Raeburn's treatment too “broad” and at variance with the meticulous finish of David's *Napoleon*. Whatever the reason or reasons, Douglas seems to have taken an aversion to the Raeburn portrait and refused to cooperate in its completion. A letter from Raeburn's son dated 16 January 1824 states categorically that he failed to attend all the necessary sittings and that Raeburn only completed the work – on his own initiative, and with the exception of the buttons on Douglas's coat – in the spring of 1823 (shortly before his death on 8 July):

¹¹⁵ HA, Bundle 1129, draft letter Douglas to David, undated but almost certainly a draft of his letter to David of 31 March 1813. This is referred to in David's letter of 30 April 1813 (in which the draft was found) and David's letter of 30 April, which thanks Douglas for confirming the safe delivery of the portrait and for his praises, is a natural and logical response to it (see Tait 1983, p.402, no.11). Not surprisingly, Douglas declined in the draft, in a very round about way, to pay David the shortfall between the 18,650 francs he had received in exchange for the 1,000 guineas and the 25,000 francs he had been expecting. For the correspondence over the payment, see the end of Appendix 8.

¹¹⁶ HA, F2/1040, notebook used by Douglas in 1816, unpaginated.

¹¹⁷ *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 31, 1962, p.173.

That the Portrait was not finished 9 or 10 years ago, was not owing to my Father, he did not touch it for many years in expectation of his Grace sitting again, but seeing no likelihood of that, he at length determined to finish it, & accordingly, [...] in the Course of last Spring, brought it to its present state, with the trifling exception explained of 8th ult[im]a _¹¹⁸

The breakage of the Russian mirrors during shipment in 1812-13 and the failure to obtain a really good full-length portrait of himself seem to have dispirited Douglas, and he ended up placing both the tapestry of the Empress Catherine and the parquet floor supplied by Booker into storage.¹¹⁹ The tapestry was probably sullied – at least in the short term – by association with Baron Rall and Rall’s aspersions on his honour. Nonetheless, it is surprising and worrying that Douglas seems to have displayed the David in comparative isolation. Even if he did not have a satisfactory portrait of himself, he could have shown the portraits of Catherine and Napoleon in close proximity, with other Russian and recently acquired “contemporary” items, to visual and personal advantage. He was content to stockpile for the future and this indicates a lack of imagination and initiative.

Douglas returns to the cheaper pursuit of collecting Manuscripts

During 1813 and early 1814 Douglas recovered from these setbacks and also from the anxiety, problems and distractions associated with his wife’s poor health following the births of their two children. His return to ambitious collecting is discernible in a letter from R.P. Knight, written around 20 July 1814, which enclosed a “Specimen of Palaeography to console you for the disappointment of the Mss Iliad”.¹²⁰ Knight was referring to one of the main lots in the sale of the library of the late John Towneley, held in June 1814,¹²¹ and it is evident that Douglas was annoyed

¹¹⁸ HA, M4/55, Raeburn to Brown, 16 January 1824. Raeburn’s letter of 8 December 1823 has not been found, but “the trifling exception” is explained by H.D. Dickie’s letter to the 10th Duke, dated 28 October 1823 (HA, M4/55), which records that Sir Henry had finished the portrait “with the exception of the Buttons, on the Coat”. Both letters are in Appendix 8.

¹¹⁹ The 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records the “Russian Flooring” and “Russian Tapestry”, the latter valued at £60, in the “Room above Back Kitchen”: HA, M4/70, p.137.

¹²⁰ HA, Bundle 1004, Knight to Douglas, franked 20 July [1814].

¹²¹ R.H. Evans, *Bibliotheca Towneleiana. A Catalogue of the Curious and Extensive Library of the late John Towneley, Esq.*, 8-15 June, 1814, lot 884. The 40-line catalogue entry ends: “The purchaser of this inestimable treasure will be congratulated by future critics and bibliographers on the acquisition of the BEST MANUSCRIPT OF THE NOBLEST OF POETS.” John Towneley was the uncle of Charles Townley (d.1805), the owner of the Townley Marbles now in the British Museum.

that Dr Charles Burney had purchased the *Iliad* (now British Library, Burney Ms 86) for £620.¹²² It was obviously something that he coveted but had failed to buy because of lack of funds. Knight could not understand Douglas's preoccupation with the manuscript, which dates from the thirteenth century and contains numerous glosses and scholia.¹²³ He thought his gift

the most trifling Consolation sufficient: for after all [the Towneley *Iliad*] is a mere Rarity or Curiosity, which has no Excellence or even Peculiarity of Art to recommend it; nor any Information to bestow after having been once carefully collated. It is, however, an Object for a public Library, where learned Men may refer to it [...]¹²⁴

But Knight had failed to appreciate that Douglas had a long-standing desire to acquire an early example of Homer and was trying to assemble a very comprehensive, scholarly library, even if he did not intend to study the texts in detail himself. Douglas's prior interest in Homer is mirrored in a letter from Count Wallmark, dated Stockholm, 25 October 1808, which begins "Enfin j'ai l'honneur de Vous faire passer l'Homère" and goes on to give likely auction prices of 300 to 450 *livres* for a complete Homer, with an average price of 375 *livres*, and half that – 188 *livres* – for the *Odyssey*.¹²⁵

Douglas had much more success in 1815. A very well-annotated sale catalogue in the Bodleian Library¹²⁶ reveals that he bought four manuscripts – lots 310, 798, 822 and 824 – in his own name, at the sale of the library of his old dealer and mentor James Edwards in April 1815. They comprised the French ninth-century *Gospels*, Berlin, Hamilton 248;¹²⁷ the Greek-Latin *Psalter*, Berlin, Hamilton 552,¹²⁸ written in Milan in the second half of the ninth century; Prudentius, *Carmina*, Berlin, Hamilton 542,¹²⁹ produced in St Gallen in the late ninth century; and the Koran,

¹²² The price of £620 is recorded in many annotated sale-catalogues (e.g. Bodleian Library, Douce CC. 294 (3), Mus. Bibl. III. 8° 468, and Mus. Bibl. III. 8° 665).

¹²³ Forshall 1840, pp. iv and 37, and British Library 1985, p. 348.

¹²⁴ HA, Bundle 1004, Knight to Douglas, franked 20 July [1814].

¹²⁵ HA, Bundle 928, Wallmark to Douglas, 25 October 1808.

¹²⁶ Bod, Hanson 115.

¹²⁷ Boese, pp. 119-20; Appendix 3, 37.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 269-70; Appendix 3, 58.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-2; Appendix 3, 57.

Berlin, Hamilton 378.¹³⁰ The prices of £57 15s, £110 5s, £23 2s and £52 10s respectively amounted to £243 12 shillings.

Douglas subsequently acquired two other manuscripts in the Edwards sale.¹³¹ The Reverend T.F. Dibdin, the secretary of the Roxburghe Club, had bought Horace's *Odes* (now Berlin, MS 78 D 14),¹³² which was probably written in Naples by Gianrinaldo Mennio of Sorrento and illuminated by Giovanni Todeschino around 1490-95, in order to make a facsimile of one of the details. Once this had been done, Dibdin sold the *Odes* to Douglas for £125 – the same price he had paid for them at the Edwards sale.¹³³

Douglas also succeeded in securing the Byzantine Greek *Gospels* of about 1125-50 AD, now in the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 244),¹³⁴ which Payne had bought at the Edwards sale for £210.¹³⁵ This was more than double what Douglas had paid for his most expensive purchase at the auction and suggests that he came to appreciate the unique importance of this manuscript – which is the only Byzantine manuscript to have been written, illuminated and donated by the same individual (the monk Theophanes) and also has a self-portrait of the writer-illuminator – and that he went out of his way, and well passed his normal price range, in order to own this exceptional work.

Many more manuscripts flowed in after the Edwards sale, notably from the Parisian bookseller Charles Chardin. A list of “manuscripts de la Bibliotheque de Mons^r M^cCarthy” in Douglas’s own handwriting¹³⁶ and Chardin’s bill for “Les Livres suivant a la vente macarty”¹³⁷ reveal that Douglas bought lots 455, 2541, 2814, 3955, 4455 and 5475 from the very large and highly regarded collection of the Comte MacCarthy Reagh for 933 francs.¹³⁸

¹³⁰ For a description and comment, see Sotheby’s 1882 *Catalogue of the Hamilton Collection of Manuscripts*, under 378; Appendix 3, 44.

¹³¹ Lots 263 and 821.

¹³² Formerly Hamilton 334. Boese, pp.163-4; Appendix 3, 41.

¹³³ Dibdin 1817, I, p.cxiv, with the detail reproduced on the opposite page.

¹³⁴ On the manuscript itself, see Manion 2005, pp.22-97; Appendix 3, 36.

¹³⁵ Bod, Hanson 115, lot 821.

¹³⁶ HA, M12/30/15, undated list of manuscripts in the MacCarthy Reagh sale, written by the Marquis of Douglas on paper without a watermark (see Appendix 4).

¹³⁷ HA, M12/30/14, list of manuscripts purchased from Chardin by the Marquis of Douglas (see Appendix 4).

¹³⁸ The MacCarthy Reagh catalogue entries, confirming the “matches” of the lots with the Hamilton manuscripts, are included in a note at the end of Appendix 4.

The selection was even more serious and “specialist”, “comprehensive” and “universal”, than before, and smacks of a college or university library, rather than that of a private individual. The new acquisitions included a ninth-century manuscript of the acts of the council of Aquisgranensis or Aachen in 815 (Berlin, Hamilton 31)¹³⁹ and early histories decorated with 149 portraits of kings of France and England (Berlin, Hamilton 527);¹⁴⁰ the *Life of the Virgin* in French verse, with the metrical Bestiary of William the Norman, written in northern France or Ghent around 1323 (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS.20);¹⁴¹ and manuscripts of Leonardo Bruni’s *De Bello Italico adversum Gothos* (Berlin, Hamilton 37),¹⁴² dated 1444 (only three years after its completion), and Virgil’s *Works*, written by Johannes Baptista de Lancis in Rome in 1468 (Berlin, Hamilton 676).¹⁴³ His most pleasing purchase was probably the Roman historian Valerius Maximus’s *Factorum et dictorum memorabilium*, with commentary, owned by the poet Charles, duc d’Orléans (1394-1465) (Berlin, Hamilton 648/I and II).¹⁴⁴ The text (in volume one) had been written by Franciscus Nutis around 1423 and had been given to the Duke by the Bishop of Bayeaux in 1440, while the commentary (in volume two) had been undertaken by Charles’s secretary and completed in 1453.

Chardin’s bill records that Douglas acquired a further six manuscripts and a set of maps “de mon Catalogue Laymonius”, numbered 37, 75, 130, 145, 147, 454 and 468. The two most significant appear to be “145 Breviarum Coleniense”, at 1,200 francs, and “454 Le Beau Mst des blasons”, at 2,400 francs. The latter is probably either Moyer’s *Blason d’Armoires et Berneil de Noblesse* (Hamilton 449),¹⁴⁵ with 326 armorial shields, which was presented to Francis I of France and was later in the Lamoignon collection, or the fifteenth-century armorial of the Knights of the Round Table (Berlin, Hamilton 48),¹⁴⁶ with 1,540 drawings of coats of arms.

¹³⁹ Boese, pp.15-6.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.254-6.

¹⁴¹ Formerly Berlin, Hamilton 273, the manuscript is decorated in the style associated with Jean Pucelle’s Paris workshop: see Wormald and Giles 1966, p.22.

¹⁴² Boese, pp.19-20.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp.324-5.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp.316-7.

¹⁴⁵ Sold in 1887 and untraced. For a description, see Sotheby’s 1882 *Catalogue*, under 449.

¹⁴⁶ For a description, see Sotheby’s *Catalogue*, under 48.

The bill does not record when these manuscripts were chosen, but a letter from Chardin to Douglas dated 23 August 1818 refers to both the MacCarthy Reagh acquisitions at 933 francs and the other manuscripts at 3445 francs 10 centimes (including a 25 per cent discount) and gives a total price of 4,401 francs 60 centimes, including packing.¹⁴⁷ It also notes “La caisse est [sic] partie Le 17 Juillet” and allows us to infer that Douglas probably finalized the selection and purchase during his passage through Paris in July 1818, *en-route* from Italy to England.¹⁴⁸ Chardin received payment of the 4,401 francs 60 centimes on 2 September 1818.¹⁴⁹

A note in French in Douglas’s own handwriting, on paper watermarked “RUSE & TURNERS / 1815”,¹⁵⁰ suggests that around this time Douglas acquired the manuscript of Cicero’s *Letters*, dated 1472, with the initials “FR. VI.” for Francesco Visconti of Milan (Berlin, Hamilton 167),¹⁵¹ which was probably produced for Visconti’s predecessor Galeazzo Maria Sforza (1466-76), and the *Book of Hours of François de Guise*, illuminated about 1420 by followers of the Boucicaut Master and the Master of Egerton 1070 (Chantilly, Ms. 64 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 313, and Chantilly, Ms. 1671)).¹⁵²

A list of manuscripts subsequently annotated “List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816”¹⁵³ appears to record that most of the manuscripts on Clarke’s list of Douglas’s manuscripts published in *Repertorium Bibliographicum* in 1819 were in Douglas’s possession by July 1816. Thus, if the annotation is correct (which seems likely, given that Douglas set off for Italy the following month and was away for much of the next three years), both the 1472 Cicero and *Hours of François de Guise* had been acquired by July 1816.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁷ HA, Bundle 1000, Chardin to Douglas, 23 August 1818.

¹⁴⁸ See Chapter 4, p.84.

¹⁴⁹ HA, Bundle 660, receipt for money supplied by Laffitte and Company, dated 2 September 1818 and signed “Chardin”.

¹⁵⁰ HA, M12/30/9, note of manuscripts apparently acquired by the Marquis of Douglas between 1815 and 1819.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*: “M. Tullii Ciceronis epistolae avec le chiffre de Ferdinand VI _ la date vide _”. Boese, pp.88-9.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*: “Recueil de prieres mSS sur velin contenant 30 grands miniat et environ 100 petites et plus de 200 sujets satyriques contre la cour de Rome – provient de la bibliotheque de Charles de Lorraine”. Chantilly Ms. 64 is inscribed: “Ce volume appartenait à Charles de Lorraine, duc de Guise, gouverneur et lieutenant général pour le Roy de Provence, admiral des mers du Levant”.

¹⁵³ HTHL, list of manuscripts arranged in shelf order, on paper with the watermarked date 1815.

¹⁵⁴ They are recorded as “Missal[e or l] Guise in a Case” and “Ciceronis Epistolæ 1472 crimson velv” [i.e. velvet]. For the 1819 entries on these manuscripts, see Appendix 3, 25 and 49.

The list indicates that by July 1816 Douglas already owned some of his best or most interesting French manuscripts – including *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* and two other allegorical poems by Guillaume de Deguileville, written and illuminated for René I, duc d'Anjou, as a gift for his councillor and chamberlain (Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia, MS 241/2 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 286))¹⁵⁵ and Gace de la Bigne, *Le Roman des Oiseaulx*, undertaken for René II of Lorraine at the end of the fifteenth century (Château de Pau (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 392))¹⁵⁶ – and that he had also managed to secure the Missal of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici (Berlin, MS 78 D 17) by this date.¹⁵⁷

The 1816 list therefore contains much food for thought. It seems to be an acceptable record that Douglas had acquired most of the manuscripts on Clarke's 1819 list before he set off for the Continent and, therefore, strongly suggests that many of his currently otherwise undocumented acquisitions must have been obtained in Britain. This leads one to think that future research should concentrate on Douglas's other British acquisitions and whether he gradually amassed these manuscripts and early books or purchased them in concentrated periods of activity, with a really large and crucial burst of activity in 1814-16. The research on manuscript and book auctions in London incorporated in Appendix 3 would certainly seem to support the likelihood of further British acquisitions in 1814-16.

As we come to the end of chapter three, we can reflect on a very turbulent period. The first six years saw the commissioning and delivery of the 10th Duke's greatest Napoleonic work, David's *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries*, and the Duke's first real shortcomings as a patron – namely his failure to brief and assist Scotland's leading portrait painter to produce a spectacular “swagger” portrait of himself and to make immediate use of the tapestry portrait of Catherine the Great. Then comes a return to collecting manuscripts and early books, in 1814 to 1818, and Clarke's publication of 1819 and the Hamilton papers reveal the

¹⁵⁵ Described on the July 1816 list as “Pelerinage de la Vie Humaine”; for more information, see Appendix 3, 55, and Tanis 2001, pp.205-7.

¹⁵⁶ Entered on the July 1816 list as “Roman des Oiseaux”; for further details, see Appendix 3, 73, and Sotheby's, *Bibliothèque Marcel Jeanson, Première Partie, Chasse*, Monaco, 1 March 1987, lot 247.

¹⁵⁷ Recorded on the July 1816 list as “Missal[e or l] Medici fam.”; for further details, see Appendix 3, 48, and Reiss 1991.

quality and extent of the Duke's collection by the time of his father's death in February 1819. By this date, the 10th Duke definitely owned the "Golden Gospels", Botticelli's illustrations of Dante's *Divine Comedy*, and the Missal of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, as well as a dozen early medieval manuscripts and over fifty significant Italian and French late medieval and renaissance manuscripts. His collection of early books included copies of Landino's 1481 edition of Dante¹⁵⁸ and a 1528 edition of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, bound by Jean Grolier (now in the Danske Kunstindustrimuseet, Copenhagen).¹⁵⁹

These works formed the foundation and "ground floor" of the Duke's library of manuscripts and books and represent a very considerable achievement.

At the same time, we need to note that Douglas was moving away from a sole interest in Italy and things Italian to a belief that Italian and French manuscripts were of equal importance and that he needed to build up his collection of French fifteenth- and sixteenth-century manuscripts. He bought manuscripts from Paris and began to realize that Paris was still, unquestionably, *the* leading maker and supplier of "modern" decorative art in Europe and that he would have to buy and commission French works if he was going to be acknowledged as a great collector and patron. A major "sea change" was underway, and in the end Douglas's fame would rest on his ownership of French manuscripts, furniture and silver, and on his connections with the Bonaparte family, rather than on his purchases of Italian paintings and manuscripts.

¹⁵⁸ Appendix 3, 32.

¹⁵⁹ Zahle 1956, pp.109-12 (illustrated as the frontispiece); Appendix 3, 23.

The 10th Duke of Hamilton's Involvement with Princess Pauline Borghese and His Collecting in Italy, 1816-1825

In August 1816 Douglas and his family left London for Italy. The main reasons seem to have been Susan's poor health and a belief that the beauty and dry heat of southern Italy would help her recovery. However, Douglas was undoubtedly keen to resume collecting in Italy and probably thought that he could save money by living in Naples and even in Rome, where costs were less and he could cut down on his British expenditure. Whatever Douglas's and Susan's initial intentions, the couple ended up spending almost half of the next six years in Italy, mainly in Rome. This chapter examines Douglas's friendship with Napoleon's sister, Princess Pauline Borghese, and his purchases of porphyry, marbles and *pietre dure*, which profoundly affected his life and also the nature of the Hamilton Palace collection.

The Relationship with the Bonapartes, 1817-1819

Douglas, Susan and the children travelled down to Naples, via Paris, Lausanne, Milan, Bologna, Florence and Rome, and "wintered" there between late November 1816 and mid March 1817.¹ Then, duly refreshed, they moved back to Rome, where there was much more to see and do. Almost immediately, Douglas arranged to buy two important items that demonstrated his stature as a serious and wealthy collector. In June 1817 he concluded the purchase of two huge ancient porphyry slabs from San Pancrazio fuori le Mura for 1,600 Roman *scudi* (Fig.39).²

At the same time, Douglas was beginning to mix with Roman high society and forge a relationship with Napoleon's family. Like most men, he would have been primarily interested in the Emperor's once very beautiful and notorious sister, Princess Pauline Borghese (1780-1825), who had separated from her husband Prince Camillo Borghese, but he also cultivated Napoleon's uncle, Cardinal Fesch, and mother, Madame Mère. For their part, the Bonapartes were keen to develop good relationships with top-ranking British aristocrats who might have been able to help

¹ The family's travel itinerary and whereabouts are recorded in Douglas's notes about his banking transactions between 1816 and 1819 (HA, F2/1036).

² The receipt from the "Presidente" of the "Convento", dated "Roma Giugno =1817", is in HA, Bundle 1129. The slabs had probably been used for altars and were being sold to help the restoration of the church. A copy of the seminary's request to sell porphyry and stone and the authorisation, signed by "Card. Braschius de Honestis" and dated 24 July 1807, is in HA, Bundle 1130.

the former Emperor and themselves, and Douglas was soon on good terms with the three principal members of the family living in the Eternal City.

The clearest evidence of this is to be found in Cardinal Fesch's correspondence with Douglas. A letter written in early September 1817 discourages Douglas from visiting the Cardinal at Albano on a day of abstinence, when the food would have been poor, and goes on to discuss Fesch's trip with Madame Mère to Frascati, to recommend that Douglas stays overnight when he comes to Albano (to avoid being waylaid by thieves), and to note the enclosure of a "manuscrit imprimé" from Princess Pauline.³ In November, Fesch sent Susan a crate of Medoc and another of Cassis Blanc "for the oyster season".⁴

Fesch would write many more letters, but there is not such good documentation about the early relationship between Douglas and the two women. Nevertheless, we can piece together a good deal from various sources. The duchesse d'Abrantès (a Corsican and former member of the Napoleonic court who maintained contact with the Bonapartes in Rome) observed that Douglas "was very assiduous in his visits to Madame Mère, who was extremely partial to him".⁵ One reason for this was Douglas's practical help: Baron Larrey (Madame Mère's main nineteenth-century biographer) records that, during one visit, Douglas found that a cook called Chandelier was about to be sent out to St Helena and, "moved by the generous enthusiasm of the new employee, offered him his purse full of gold".⁶ As a result of this and other acts of assistance, Douglas received very preferential treatment. Barry Edward O'Meara (the Royal Navy doctor who looked after the Emperor from August 1815 to July 1818 and was dismissed by the Governor, Sir Hudson Lowe, for siding with the French) states, in his book on Napoleon first published in 1822: "I believe that the Duke of Hamilton and myself were the only Britons, who had dined at her table."⁷

³ HA, Bundle 769, Fesch to Douglas, 5 September 1817.

⁴ HA, Bundle 955, Fesch to Douglas, 21 November 1817.

⁵ Abrantès 1834, p.7.

⁶ Larrey 1892, II, p.168. Chandelier apparently declined the offer, saying he was going out of devotion to Napoleon not self interest.

⁷ O'Meara 1822, II, p.100.

Douglas was called back to Britain by his brother in May 1818, when it seemed that his father was dying.⁸ He left Rome in late June,⁹ apparently taking a letter from Madame Mère for Napoleon,¹⁰ and seems to have escorted Princess Pauline at least part of the way to the baths at Lucca.¹¹ Douglas was back in London by 23 July.¹² He wrote to Fesch two days later and again on 6 August¹³ and sought information about Napoleon from the British government.¹⁴ Fesch sent a series of letters on 20 August and 5 and 6 September,¹⁵ congratulating him on his father's recovery and assuring him that "Your letter of 25 July gave us much pleasure, your usual friendship is unfailing".¹⁶ The Cardinal ended his last letter: "May all the feelings of your great soul make you always happy and may my wishes assure you of the constancy of my devotion and the truth of my attachment with which I am your very affectionate servant and friend [...]".¹⁷

Douglas must have also written to Madame Mère and she replied:

Your solicitude in writing to me what could alleviate my suffering is worthy of you and reinforces my confidence in the interest you will take later in such a fine enterprise, in spite of distance and the dwindling concern that normally ensues. Your excellent heart would not forget an afflicted mother, to whom you have shown so much kindness.¹⁸

Douglas returned to Italy, via Paris (8 September), and was drawing money from the banker Torlonia in Rome on 13 November 1818.¹⁹

By this stage Douglas was a firm friend and supporter of the Bonaparte family and also a very ardent admirer of Princess Pauline Borghese. The extent of his infatuation is indicated by an anecdote in the duchesse d'Abrantè's short biography of the Princess:

⁸ See HA, Bundle 900, Lord Archibald to Douglas, 22 May 1818.

⁹ HA, F2/1036.

¹⁰ Madame Mère wrote to Napoleon: "I am taking advantage of the departure of the Marquis of Douglas for England, where he is called by a grave illness of his father, the Duke of Hamilton, to give you news of myself and all the family [...] Pauline is leaving today for the spa of Lucca" (Larrey 1892, II, p.176).

¹¹ See footnote 10; Kühn 1937, p.256; and Dixon 1964, p.197.

¹² HA, F2/1036.

¹³ See Fesch to Douglas, 6 7bre 1818 (HA, Bundle 981).

¹⁴ See unidentified writer to Douglas, dated Downing Street, 1 September 1818 (HA, Bundle 775).

¹⁵ HA, Bundle 981, Fesch to Douglas, 6 7bre 1818.

¹⁶ HA, Bundle 1072, Fesch to Douglas, 20 August 1818.

¹⁷ HA, Bundle 981, Fesch to Douglas, 6 7bre 1818.

¹⁸ Larrey 1892, II, pp.186-7

¹⁹ HA, F2/1036.

The Marquis of Do...s was, as everyone knows, madly in love with Princess Pauline and his stay in Rome has given complete certitude to anybody who could have had any doubts. In any case he did not deny it. One day the friend I have just mentioned, the Count of Ch...n, said to the Princess, by whom he was well loved and respected: "How can you receive so many English people, even flatter them and welcome them with so much kindness? Have you therefore forgotten St Helena?"

In an instant the Princess's face changed, and was transformed into a beautiful but most terrible expression. Her teeth chattered and her pale trembling lips could only let out a few words.

"Forget St Helena!" she cried at last. "Forget St Helena! No, no. Have you not seen how much he suffers, this Marquis of D...s, when he is there each morning, standing more than an hour attending my being dressed, handing pins to my women, serving as a court jester, and all this with his cruel rheumatic pains, whilst he thinks of himself as a lover? And in the evening, when I use him as a stool, do you not believe that I think with a kind of joy that I have beneath my feet one of the greatest lords of Great Britain and foremost peers of England? And yet, it is the very sister of the unfortunate prisoner they are assassinating that treats them thus."²⁰

It is an extraordinary passage, but there is no reason to doubt Douglas's foolish behaviour or the way that Pauline reacted to Auguste de Châtillon and extricated herself from the charge of disloyalty to Napoleon.

Douglas's father finally died on 16 February 1819 and he became the 10th Duke of Hamilton, 7th Duke of Brandon and premier peer of Scotland. The 10th Duke began his return home shortly after 20 April and was back in London by 3 June.²¹ While there he was able to help the three Corsicans – the Abbé Antonio Buonavita, the physician Dr Francesco Antommarchi and the Abbé Ange Vignali – who had been sent by Madame Mère and Cardinal Fesch to tend to Napoleon's medical and spiritual needs on St Helena.

Buonavita kept the Duke informed about his dealings with Lord Bathurst (the Colonial Secretary, who was responsible for Napoleon) and Lord Holland (the leading Whig supporter of Napoleon in London) and correspondence with Rome; and the Duke provided him with funds, as well as helping send letters to Italy.²² The Duke

²⁰ Abrantès 1833, pp.194-5.

²¹ HA, F2/1036, Douglas/10th Duke's notes about his banking transactions and expenditure, 1818-19.

²² See HA, Bundle 1072, Buonavita to Duke, 24 June 1819 and 1 July 1819.

gave Buonavita £250 on 1 July and another £100 four days later.²³ A later letter from Fesch indicates that this was at the request of Madame Mère and that she was going to order reimbursement of “350 louis” through Torlonia.²⁴

Another of Fesch’s letters records Princess Pauline’s appreciation of the “friendly care you took of her business in Paris” and an offer the Duke had made, in September, to underwrite Madame Mère and Fesch’s credits for two or three months. According to Fesch, the offer filled all of us “with the most vivid feelings of gratitude”. However, Madame was advised against accepting an arrangement involving the Duke and the “Banquier holmes”, and it was very politely declined: “So you also have done a good deed and are relieved of it all.”²⁵

Italian Purchases, 1817-1819

Over the past two years, the Duke had acquired many items in Rome. A list of pieces made of stone and other materials that were apparently sent to Scotland in January 1819 includes “Un Busto di Marmo Moderno” and “Quattro Vasi di Porcellana di Roma”,²⁶ but the most interesting entries relate to two porphyry tables or table-tops and three marble supports and a large marble table-top. The “Due Tavole di Porfido” are probably the porphyry slabs from San Pancrazio, while the “Tre Zampe di marmo per il Tavolone” and “Un Tavolone di Marmo grande” seem to refer to the great table of marble inlaid with alabaster and *pietre dure*, measuring almost 380 centimetres long, on three carved marble piers, which was made for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese between about 1566 and 1573 (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (Fig.40).²⁷ The Farnese Table is clearly recorded in the “Philosophers’ Hall” in the Palazzo Farnese in seventeenth- and

²³ HA, F2/1046, the 10th Duke’s personal record of his banking transactions with Hoare and Company, 1819-28. Buonavita’s receipt for the £100, dated 5 July 1819, is in HA, Bundle 1072.

²⁴ HA, Bundle 1129, Fesch to Duke, 18 7bre 1819.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, Fesch to Duke, 16 8bre 1819. The “Banquier holmes” was William Holmes, who O’Meara describes as “Napoleon’s respectable agent in London” (O’Meara 1822, I, p.xii). Holmes was based at 3 Lyon’s Inn, The Strand: see *ibid.* and the review of O’Meara’s book in the *Quarterly Review*, 28, 1823, pp.224-6.

²⁶ HA, F2/1069/6, “Lista dei marmi mandati &c & nella scozia da Roma nel Gennajo 1819” (in Appendix 9).

²⁷ The Farnese Table is believed to have been designed by the Cardinal’s chief architect Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola and to have been carved by Guglielmo della Porta and the Farnese Palace workshop. The *pietre dure* top is attributed to the French master Jean Ménard, who was called the “Maestro Giovanni Franzese” and Giovanni Mynardo in Italy, and was regarded as the best specialist marble-inlayer in Rome in the 1560s: see Raggio 1960; Raggio 1994, p.8; and Kisluk-Grosheide, Koeppel and Rieder 2006, pp.23-5.

eighteenth-century guidebooks and in the 1767, 1775 and 1796 Farnese Palace inventories, and then “disappears”.²⁸

This precious table, which was envisaged as a focal point in the state rooms of the Farnese Palace, was definitely part of the 10th Duke’s collection. It was damaged during transit and only restored in the 1840s. The association of the two entries on the 1819 list with the Farnese Table is strengthened by Robert Brown’s reference to a breakage in 1819, when he wrote to the Duke on 23 June 1821, begging for more information to avoid damage to another consignment: “I need not call to your Grace’s recollection the trouble we were put to two years ago at Port Glasgow for want of the necessary information[,] nor the loss you suffered from the breakage that took place”.²⁹ The 1853 Hamilton Palace inventory records the Farnese Table in the new Dining Room and the entry was subsequently annotated

got from Convent at Verona on condition of Duke’s repairing Convent which cost him between £4000 and £5000 . The freightage to Greenock amounted to £800, there broken . mended and put up about four years ago by M^r Grant .³⁰

William Grant, the Duke’s second main clerk of works, definitely supervised the restoration of the table in 1844,³¹ but there is currently nothing to substantiate the link with Verona.

The Duke, Princess Pauline and Thomas Campbell

The 10th Duke continued to correspond with Cardinal Fesch, Madame Mère and Princess Pauline during the remainder of 1819 and 1820³² and was planning – at least by May 1820 – to return to Rome “before the winter”.³³ Despite Fesch’s belief that he would be too busy, he kept to his intention and was back in Rome by mid January 1821, when he invited Fesch to dine with the Duchess and himself.³⁴

²⁸ Raggio 1960, pp.214-5.

²⁹ Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, f.12, Brown to Duke, 23 June 1821.

³⁰ HA, Volume 1228, opposite p.98.

³¹ See HA, C4/141, Grant to Duke, 25 July 1844. Grant’s background was in upholstery and the actual restoration seems to have been done by the Edinburgh firm of stone masons Wallace and Whyte: see HA, Volume 1261, pp.262 and 284.

³² For Cardinal Fesch’s and Princess Pauline’s letters to the Duke during this period, see HA, Bundles 708, 968, 1072 and 1129.

³³ HA, 1072, Fesch to Duke, 22 July 1820. Fesch notes: “I was pleased to know you still keep the plan to return to Rome before the winter; but I am not convinced.”

³⁴ HA, Bundle 968, Fesch to Duke, 14 January 1821.

During the next few months the Duke commissioned the Scottish sculptor Thomas Campbell (1791-1858) to undertake a marble bust of himself, which was almost certainly intended for Princess Pauline, and also a marble bust and a statue of Princess Pauline.³⁵ We learn about the former in a letter from the sculptor to his early patron, the banker Gilbert Innes of Stow, dated 31 March 1821: "I am at present engaged with the Busts of the Duke of Hamilton, Sir Wm: Drummond, Sir James Erskine, and Mr. Hamilton under Secretary of State."³⁶

The commissioning of the bust and statue of the Princess were evidently regarded as a very private matter and were partly cloaked in secrecy. Little has been found about them in the Hamilton archive, and, once again, the key source is one of Campbell's letters to Innes. On 1 November 1821 Campbell informed his benefactor:

I continue to study on as extensive a scale as my means will permit, my having been kept in suspense almost the whole summer by the Princess Borghese who was to have sat to me for her Bust, I have not been able to execute a very extensive Order with which the Duke of Hamilton honored me, Not only a Bust but a Statue of the Princess Borghese to be done in Marble and sent to Scotland, but the death of her Brother has postponed it for a time, The Duke wished this to be kept secret therefore I would not wish it to go much further _³⁷

Later in the same letter Campbell mentions that the order for the two works was worth £400.

Sadly, the death of Napoleon on 5 May 1821 put paid to the double commission, at least as far as the 10th Duke was concerned.³⁸ When news at last reached Rome of Napoleon's death, Pauline lashed out at the British for killing her brother and the 10th Duke suffered her grief and wrath. On 5 August she severed their relationship:

³⁵ All the letters relating to Thomas Campbell, gathered to date, are in Appendix 10.

³⁶ NAS, GD113/5/30F/4/1, Campbell to Gilbert Innes, 31 March 1821. I am extremely grateful to Helen Smailes for alerting me to the references to the 10th Duke in the Innes archive. At this time, Campbell was working and studying in Rome.

³⁷ NAS, GD113/5/480/42, Campbell to Innes, 1 November 1821.

³⁸ It is very interesting to discover that a special appeal was made to the Duke by Pauline's companion and secretary, Sylvie d'Hautmesnil, to stop the Princess joining Napoleon on St Helena. Following the return to Rome of the Abbé Buonavita on 7 July, with bad news about Napoleon's health, Pauline appealed to the British Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, on the 11th, requesting that Napoleon be removed to a healthier place, or, if the government would not agree to this, that she be allowed to join her brother on St Helena (see Kühn 1937, p.264, for her letter). On 15 July Sylvie d'Hautmesnil wrote to the Duke (who was on his way back to Britain), in strictest confidence, begging him to intervene with the British government, and employ any means he could, to ensure that the Princess was not allowed to visit the "infected island": HA, Bundle 1072, Sylvie d'Hautmesnil to Duke, 15 July 1821.

What can I say to you! I am in despair. Nothing in the world can describe my deep despair! My health is cruelly affected by my bad fortune but at present what is life doing to me! I am obliged to talk to you frankly. I cannot continue any close relations with individuals of this nation _ with these executioners, no I cannot. I have promised never to see an English person again, except for Lord and Lady Holland, less for him but to give a mark of remembrance and friendship to the latter. I am sorry to give you this sorrow but this will be the last letter I write to you. Do be assured that the happiness of yourself and your family will always be of interest to me.

But all is said. I cannot like anything which reminds me of that country. Do not write to me anymore. I do not reply to the Duchess either. Show her my letter.

Alas! my heart never was known to you! Never have you been able to judge the tenderness I had for him. At the same time we lose our brother, our Emperor and the head of our family. At least almost the whole of Europe shares our sorrow for it is now that one will feel what he has done, what he stood for at last. I cannot write any more as the tears prevent me from continuing. I am very miserable and nothing can calm my sorrow. Adieu, pity me, think of me sometimes and be assured that I regret that you should belong to a nation which has caused the worst of misfortunes and which has covered itself with shame in the eyes of the universe and of posterity.

your Pauline³⁹

As we shall see, it was not to be the end of their relationship, but the scheme for producing a bust and a statue of the Princess was doomed. It might have been possible to have revived the project after a few months, but the Duke would probably have had to have been physically present to have “sweet-talked” the increasingly ill and fractious Princess to have sat to Campbell for the necessary number of sittings.

Campbell seems to have completed the bust of the Duke, because he wrote to the Duke in April 1822:

I have finished the bust [...] but the Princess' indisposition has hitherto prevented her giving directions where to place it. I have got the marble for the other bust, but have not yet begun it expecting to have the pleasure of seeing your Grace in Rome when I would beg the favour of another sitting.⁴⁰

³⁹ HA, Bundle 1071, Pauline Borghese to Duke, 5 August [1821].

⁴⁰ This passage was published by A.A. Tait (Tait 1983, p.399, n.45) as being in HA, Bundle 1000, but the letter has either been misplaced or the reference was incorrect.

The (first) bust seems to have been presented to the Princess and to have ended up, after her death, in a Roman antiquary's shop, whence it was retrieved by Campbell, for the Duke, in 1839.⁴¹

Campbell soon realized that he could do little more about the statue of the Princess without the Duke. Time passed, and the Duke failed to push the scheme forward.

In 1824 William, 6th Duke of Devonshire (1790-1858), fell under Pauline's spell⁴² and Campbell seized the opportunity to resuscitate the prestigious and lucrative undertaking. He had been involved with Devonshire – a great purchaser of sculpture⁴³ – since at least January 1823, when Devonshire began sitting for a bust,⁴⁴ and at some point he “seeded” Devonshire's mind with the idea of a statue, as well as a bust of the Princess. The model for the bust of the Princess was begun on 16 March 1824 and completed on 23 March, not without problems from the sitter.⁴⁵ Campbell provided an estimate of five hundred pounds for the statue on 19 April,⁴⁶ and, after exchanges about the cost, Devonshire formally commissioned the work two days later.⁴⁷ Devonshire had bought Canova's marble statue of Madame Mère seated in 1818,⁴⁸ and the 10th Duke of Hamilton's intended work evolved into

⁴¹ NLS, MS 146, f.53, Duke to Campbell, 20 May 1839 (in Appendix 10). This bust could be linked to the “bust of a gentleman, with Classical drapery, life-size, by Thomas Campbell, Rome, 1822 [...]” included in Christie, Manson and Woods' sale of *The Remaining Contents of the Palace*, 13 November 1919, lot 328. The same sale included (as lot 363) a “smaller bust” of the 10th Duke [i.e. smaller than the colossal bronze bust of the Duke by Campbell, dated 1839, which was the previous lot] “by Thomas Campbell, 1823, life-size”, which may be associated with the second bust referred to by Campbell, or simply a copy of the 1822 bust.

⁴² On the Duke of Devonshire generally, see Lees-Milne 1991. Devonshire's slavish attendance on Pauline is recorded in his 1824 diary at Chatsworth. I would like to thank Charles Noble and Andrew Peppitt for all their help during my visits to Chatsworth.

⁴³ For the Duke's purchases and commissions, see Kenworthy-Browne 1972.

⁴⁴ The 6th Duke's diary for 1823, at Chatsworth, records that he called on “Campbell the Sculptor and engaged to sit to him for my bust” on 2 January and “went to Campbell for my first sitting” on 7 January. Devonshire notes that he bought “the highly finished bust of Madame Mere”, even “though I have the statue”, on 8 January. According to the diary, he sat to Campbell on 7, 9, 11, 13, 15 and 18 January. Campbell finished the model, which appeared to Devonshire “to be a perfect likeness”, at a final sitting on 3 February. Devonshire visited Campbell again on 7 and 12 February before returning to Britain. He was back in Rome again on 13 November. Devonshire's 1824 diary records a visit to Campbell's studio on 13 February 1824, followed by dozens of references to Pauline.

⁴⁵ The 6th Duke's diary entries are in Appendix 10.

⁴⁶ Chatsworth, the 6th Duke of Devonshire's Sculpture Accounts, p.33.

⁴⁷ Chatsworth, diary of the 6th Duke of Devonshire for 1824, under 21 April: “to Campbell where I sat I have ordered a statue of Pauline from him.”

⁴⁸ Arts Council 1972, p.207.

Campbell's well-known statue of Pauline, also seated, which was completed in 1840 (Fig.41).⁴⁹ (Both statues are now in the Sculpture Gallery at Chatsworth.)

Italian Acquisitions of the 1820s

The 10th Duke suffered a nasty setback over the bust and statue of Pauline, but his visit to Rome was certainly not a failure. Lists and correspondence reveal that he succeeded in acquiring many more pieces of porphyry, alabaster and various types of marble, including columns and sphinxes; the Roman version of the bust of the *Aphrodite of Cnidus*, after Praxiteles, from the Braschi Palace (now in the British Museum) (Fig.42);⁵⁰ and at least five paintings, including Pontormo's *Joseph with Jacob in Egypt* (now in the National Gallery, London) (Fig.43).⁵¹

A list of items sent from Rome, dated 18 April 1821,⁵² and a bill of lading, dated Rome, 24 April 1821,⁵³ record that most of the items – including two porphyry “Tavolini”, two alabaster vases and two sphinxes (one alabaster and the other marble) – came from “Scarpellino Viti”, while two columns of Astrakhan marble, another of black granite, the bust of Aphrodite (wrongly identified as Diana) and “cinque quadri”⁵⁴ were associated with the Palazzo Braschi.

The acquisition of items from the Palazzo Braschi is particularly interesting. The palace (now the Museum of Rome) had been built for Don Luigi Braschi and Cardinal Romualdo Braschi, the nephews of Pope Pius VI, and was the last of the great palaces constructed in Rome in the eighteenth century (and, indeed, the last

⁴⁹ For Campbell's work for Devonshire, see Kenworthy-Browne 1971.

⁵⁰ I am much obliged to Dr Peter Higgs for showing me the bust (1924.11-15.1) in storage. For information and comment about the piece, see Gardner 1925, p.20; Blinkenberg 1933, pp.180-2; and Corso 2007, pp.133-4, 222 and 267.

⁵¹ As we shall see in a moment, five paintings apparently came from the Palazzo Braschi. Pontormo's painting, which was formerly in the Borghese collection, was acquired from or through Hamilton's agent Gherardo de' Rossi in or before May 1821. It is referred to, incorrectly, on de' Rossi's account with the Duke for May 1821, under 21 May: “importo del Quadro di Ponsormo Roma li 21. Mag^o. 1821 1000” (HA, Bundle 680). On a fragment of a letter dated 13 8bre [i.e. October] 1822, de' Rossi later observed to the Duke: “Mi fa molto piacere l'udire ch' e contento del Pontormo, e saro debitore a quella pittura che V: E [i.e. Vostra Eccellenza] piu spesso si ricordi di me” (HA, Bundle 1072). The Pontormo is recorded in the Breakfast Room on the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory, valued at £300 (HA, M4/70, p.168).

⁵² HA, F2/1069/8, list of items sent from Rome to England, dated 18 April 1821 (in Appendix 9).

⁵³ HA, M12/27, bill of lading, dated Rome, 24 April 1821 (in Appendix 9).

⁵⁴ Unfortunately, nothing has yet been found about the titles and attributions of these five works. It is worth noting that they are not the “Pordenone Giorgione and Mantegna & Alberto Duro” that were sent up to Scotland in the early 1820s from London. They were in London in January 1820 (see HA, F2/1040) and were earlier acquisitions.

palace erected for papal *nipoti*).⁵⁵ Don Luigi had died in February 1816 and the Cardinal on 30 April 1817, and the 10th Duke was able to benefit from their deaths and the dispersal of their collections. In early June 1817 the Duke had been rather rude about the Braschi Palace, describing the gilded interiors with oriental marbles as “mesquin et petit” in a letter to Beckford,⁵⁶ but he seems to have taken the opportunity to buy Braschi items at an early date and then to have secured others later on.

Clarke’s list of manuscripts belonging to Douglas, published in 1819, includes “Lucanus, Codex Antiquissimus, small folio”.⁵⁷ This might be Lucan, *De bello civili libri X*, an Italian thirteenth-century manuscript, which bears the arms of Cardinal Romualdo Braschi (Berlin, Hamilton 414).⁵⁸ However, Clarke seems to have examined Douglas’s manuscripts in July 1816, when he apparently saw a folio ‘Lucanus’,⁵⁹ and he may not have had the opportunity to incorporate the Braschi Lucan, which must have been acquired after the Cardinal’s death, in the published list.

The Braschi items on the 1821 list are followed by more Braschi-related pieces apparently acquired by the Duke in Rome in 1827. A list of objects to be sent from Rome to Hamilton, dated 30 June 1827, includes a piece of grey oriental granite and a pedestal of porphyry, either or both “di Braschi”; three panels of red Egyptian granite associated with the column of Antoninus Pius, “di Braschi”; and an alabaster column “di Braschi”.⁶⁰

These references show the Duke drawing a significant amount of material from the Braschi collection over a decade. They reflect the availability of good-quality items, but the Duke’s selection also seems to mirror a concentration on provenance. This is partly confirmed by the reference on the 1821 list to either the tables on gilded stands or four porcelain vases coming from the “casa Colonna”, and by the series of items associated with the Farnese family. What has been identified here as the Farnese Table on the 1819 list is followed by four cases of Farnese chairs

⁵⁵ For the palazzo, see Ricci 1989.

⁵⁶ Bod, MS. Beckford c.20, f.24v, Douglas to Beckford, 2 June 1817.

⁵⁷ Appendix 3, 46.

⁵⁸ Boese, p.195.

⁵⁹ HTHL, list of manuscripts annotated ‘List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816’.

⁶⁰ HA, F2/1069/7 (in Appendix 9).

or stools (“Sgabeloni di Fernese”) in 1821⁶¹ and “La famosa tazza dal Cardinale F ____ &c &” sent from Rome in 1827,⁶² which must be “Il vaso di giallo antico del Cardinale con le zampe &c &” received from Rome a year later.⁶³

The Production of Magnificent Furniture based on Italian Acquisitions

The Duke’s focus on provenance should not blind us to an even more important point about many of the items acquired from Rome between 1817 and 1828, namely that they were incomplete and either needed stands or were simply parts for incorporation in new pieces of furniture.

As a result of his Roman collecting, the Duke began to commission very expensive stands and cabinets. The colossal porphyry slabs from San Pancrazio were set on superb gilt-bronze and black marble bases, which the Duke commissioned from Jean-François Dénier (now in the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto) (Fig.39).⁶⁴ Dénier had supplied the ormolu for the cradle of the duc de Bordeaux (the grandson of Louis XVIII’s brother, the future Charles X) that had been displayed at the exhibition of French industry in Paris in 1819,⁶⁵ and the Duke responded to this very successful work by awarding the Parisian *bronzier* the commission to produce spectacular bases to complement his exceptionally large porphyry slabs. The resulting works, signed and dated 1823, in the latest, Louis XIV revival style, were shown at the next *Exposition des Produits de l’industrie française* held at the Louvre in 1823, and cost 32,542 francs.⁶⁶

Around the same time, the Duke commissioned another, equally ostentatious piece of furniture: the clock cabinet decorated with *pietre dure*, now in the Gilbert Collection, London (Fig.44). This was based on “Un quadrante pietre di Firenze”, recorded at the end of the additions on the reverse of the list of marbles and other works sent from Rome to Scotland in January 1819,⁶⁷ and was among the items given to the London furniture maker and supplier Robert Hume in or around January

⁶¹ HA, F2/1069/8.

⁶² HA, F2/1069/7.

⁶³ HA, F2/1069/8.

⁶⁴ This paragraph develops Freyberger 1993; see also Massinelli 2000, pp.49-50.

⁶⁵ See *Un âge d’or des arts décoratifs 1814-1848*, exh.cat. Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, Paris (Paris, 1991), pp.124-6.

⁶⁶ *Catalogue [...] des Produits de l’industrie française [...] dans le Palais du Louvre* (Paris, 1823), p.151, no.1583.

⁶⁷ HA, F2/1069/6.

1820. A memorandum written by the Duke, dated 17 January 1820, records that he had given a “Clock Pietra dura” to Hume, and it seems likely that some of the *pietre dure* also given to Hume (at the top of the list) and the “mosaics florentine P bought of Hume pietra dura” (immediately above the reference to the “Clock Pietra dura”) were to be used in combination with the clock.⁶⁸ They were supplemented with lapis lazuli and agate imported from France in December 1822⁶⁹ (which probably formed the flat panels on the cabinet), and the cabinet was apparently completed – after a delay caused by the “Chaser” of the metalwork⁷⁰ – by early December 1824.⁷¹

The purchases of marble, porphyry and *pietre dure* discussed above and the commissioning of “princely” or “regal” furniture had an enormous affect upon the 10th Duke. He became a “marblemaniac”, with a special interest in porphyry,⁷² who placed items of marble, porphyry and *pietre dure* in key display positions in Hamilton Palace,⁷³ and acquired further top-quality examples over the years, both for their own sake and to ensure that such grandiose works could be displayed in both the old and new parts of the enlarged palace in the 1830s and ’40s.

The Duke and Princess Pauline: The Final Phase and the Bequest of the Borghese *Nécessaire de Voyage*

The Duke’s visits to Rome were crucial to this aspect of his collecting, but they were also decisive as far as his interest in Napoleon was concerned. Letters in the Hamilton archive show that he continued to correspond with the Bonapartes after Pauline severed their relationship. Indeed, in August 1821 Cardinal Fesch asked the Duke, on behalf of Madame Mère and himself, if would convey a parcel to Count

⁶⁸ HA, F2/1048/7, memorandum written by the Duke, dated 17 January 1820 (in Appendix 9).

⁶⁹ HA, F2/1048/4, bill from John Christopher to Hume & Son, relating to the importation of a “Case” from Calais, dated 12 December 1822. The bill is annotated with the explanation: “Lapis & Agate for The Duke of Hamiltons Clock Cabinet”.

⁷⁰ HA, Bundle 602, Hume to Duke, 16 December 1824. This letter is transcribed and illustrated in Freyberger’s article on “The Duke of Hamilton’s Clock Cabinet” (Freyberger 1991), which discusses the post-1820 documentation and the connection of the oblong panel below the clock to a drawing of a cabinet decorated with *pietre dure* in the Musée des Arts Décoratifs, Paris.

⁷¹ HA, Bundle 602, Hume to Duke, 16 January 1825, noting that “The Clock Commode has been finish^d 6 Weeks and is now packing”.

⁷² See the 6th Duke of Devonshire’s critical comments on the 10th Duke and the 10th Duke’s letter to him, drawing attention to possible acquisitions of porphyry and marble in April 1823, in Appendix 9.

⁷³ The 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records the porphyry tables in the Breakfast Room and the Drawing Room (the first and second rooms in the Old State Apartments on the first floor of the west wing), valued at £1,000 each, and the clock cabinet (as “A Florentine Commode”) in the Drawing Room, valued at £800: see HA, M4/70, pp.25, 28 and 29.

Bertrand (Napoleon's trusted General and friend on St Helena). In or with the package was a letter from Madame Mère to the British government, requesting the return of Napoleon's body from St Helena, which the Duke was either to give to Bertrand or, if Bertrand had left England and was agreeable, hand over to the Ministry.⁷⁴ Exactly what happened next is not known, but on 22 September Barry O'Meara wrote to the Duke to inform him that a joint letter from Counts Montholon and Bertrand had been sent to the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool, the previous day, seeking an interview with him. An answer had been returned by Liverpool, but O'Meara did not know the contents, as Montholon had dined with Lord Holland. Nevertheless, O'Meara assured the Duke: "A joint letter containing a respectful protestation against the detention of Napoleons remains at St Helena and praying the removal of them to Europe is drawn out and will be presented to his Lordship simultaneously with the letter brought over by Your Grace."⁷⁵

The Duke wrote to Cardinal Fesch on 5 September, sending a letter to Madame Mère and a "little box for Princess Pauline",⁷⁶ and was soon back in Pauline's good books. He helped the Princess with various matters⁷⁷ and also gave her money. The exact amount given or lent cannot be determined at present, but there is a clear annotation "Pauline's £550", in the Duke's handwriting, on the bill from Gherardo de' Rossi for May 1821.⁷⁸ This may have been an early gift, but it seems more likely that it relates to the assistance the Duke gave the Princess to acquire a carriage. In April 1823 Pauline corresponded with Duke about a carriage which Dr Espiaud apparently believed could be purchased for 2,000 francs,⁷⁹ but no more is

⁷⁴ HA, Bundle 708, Fesch to Duke, 16 August 1821.

⁷⁵ HA, Bundle 775, O'Meara to Duke, 22 September [1821].

⁷⁶ HA, Bundle 769, Fesch to Duke, 29 7bre 1821. Fesch ends the letter: "When we are back together I too will have many things to tell you; nevertheless I am very touched by the way you share our misfortune. At any rate I know your feelings which fill me with gratitude".

⁷⁷ See HA, Bundles 660 and 1071. The Duke gave a box containing a parure of opals and diamonds belonging to the Princess to her physician, Dr Espiaud, in Paris, on 19 February 1822: see Espiaud's receipt in HA, Bundle 660. This was a continuation of his dealings with Espiaud, as 8,016 francs had been paid from his Parisian bank account to Espiaud the previous year: see Laffitte and Company to the Duke, 3 February 1821 (Bundle 660). The Duke also endorsed an undated contract between "Espiaux" and Mademoiselle Seigneuret, for the latter to be employed as "lectrice" and "dame de compagnie" to Princess Pauline (Bundle 925).

⁷⁸ The annotation does not seem to relate to the bill or even to the spring/summer of 1821. The Duke used the bill as a marker for "Papers belonging to my accompts with Messrs Hoares" and followed these words with "Pauline's £550 / Lady Anne [i.e. his sister Lady Anne Hamilton] £6000 [i.e. her annuity] / & other affairs": see HA, Bundle 680, bill from Gherardo de' Rossi to 10th Duke for May 1821.

⁷⁹ HA, Bundle 1071, Pauline Borghese to Duke, 11 April 1823.

heard about this. The next we know is that Pauline wrote to the Duke on 11 June 1824, in her usual well-nigh illegible handwriting, and sought a loan for another coach:

My friend I shall ask you a favour which will prove to you my trust and my esteem for you, but on condition that if it is a source of bother you will say no. Little Calcraft I commissioned my travelling carriage from but telling him not to go over 2000 piastres has sent me the coach on Monday and writes that I owe him 600 Louis. It is enormous. At this point I am embarrassed, I will only be able to pay in five months. If you can advance this sum I will do [un billet: a promissory note for payment] in Lucca or in London [...] Tell me my friend I will be grateful. Write to me here at the address of Buolomacchi. Adieu my dear friend, I [embrasse: embrace or kiss] you with all my heart _⁸⁰

Pauline's appeal can be linked to a receipt, in the Hamilton archive, made out by the leading London coachmakers Adams and Company to "J.. H Calcraft Esqr M.P.", on 27 December 1824, for £600, "In Carriages delivered to the Princess Borghese".⁸¹ In the same bundle is a covering note from J.H. Calcraft to the Duke, dated 29 December, which refers to the enclosure of "the Coachmakers receipt" and expresses the hope that it will meet with the Duke's "satisfaction". The Duke has very helpfully docketed the letter with the full date, December 29 1824, and annotated it: "M^r Calcrafts letter with the coach-makers receipt for £600 the sum due in full to him[.] NB: I paid £550 there being £50 paid from another source".⁸²

In December 1825, six months after Pauline's death, her former chamberlain, the chevalier d'Hautmesnil, informed the Duke that he had "made quite sure" "to obtain recognition of your credit note of £550 which you had the kindness to pay to the Princess".⁸³

⁸⁰ HA, Bundle 708, Pauline Borghese to Duke, 11 June [1824]. A reference to the death of the Duchess of Devonshire, which took place on 30 March 1824, establishes that this letter was written on 11 June 1824. Pauline herself died on 9 June 1825.

⁸¹ HA, Bundle 660.

⁸² "J.H. Calcraft" seems to have been the Whig MP John Calcraft (1765-1831), who was educated at Harrow (1774) and Eton (1778-79) and was MP for Wareham from 1818 to 1831. He was Clerk of the Ordnance during the "Ministry of All the Talents", when the Duke was Ambassador to St Petersburg.

⁸³ HA, Bundle 708, d'Hautmesnil to Duke, 18 December 1825. On 28 March 1826 d'Hautmesnil wrote to the Duke: "Cardinal Rivaroli, the second executor of the will, has given his powers to Monsignor Ugolini in Rome. He is a very honest prelate and I think, My Lord Duke, that it is to him you should address your claim for £550. You can be sure he would immediately submit your request to the council of succession, and he would at once tell you of the decision taken, but I shall write to him in the meantime and warn him of your imminent letter." D'Hautmesnil repeated this advice on 9 April and noted that the coach was in Prince Borghese's coach-house in Florence (both letters are in HA, Bundle 708).

Pauline's reward for this and all the Duke's other aid was the bequest of the wonderful travelling service by Martin-Guillaume Biennais (National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh) (Fig.45). In her will, finalized and signed on the morning of her death on 9 June 1825, the Princess "Lascio e lego al Duca d'Hamilton Marchese Douglas il mio necessario d'argento dorato, come un ricordo dell' amicizia che egli mi professa".⁸⁴ It was a very special token of regard because it was so intimate: Pauline's own travelling toilette and eating service, and apparently the *nécessaire de voyage* completed and supplied in connection with her marriage to Prince Camillo Borghese in 1803.⁸⁵ Moreover, the Princess bequeathed the travelling service to the Duke in the context of legacies to members of her own family. It is the eleventh indented entry in her will, directly after bequests to her husband Prince Camillo Borghese and brother-in-law Prince Aldobrandini and immediately before the expression of "sincere sentiments of affection and of love" for her brother Joseph, who was deemed to be better provided with the "goods of fortune" than his brothers and not in need of a legacy. The bequest to the Duchess of Hamilton of two Sèvres porcelain vases from the Princess's bedroom in the Villa Paolina is the eighty-second entry, and is followed by bequests to Lord Gower and Lord Holland (who is always seen as Napoleon's chief Whig supporter), and, four entries further down, by the gift of a small opal ring to the Hamiltons' daughter, Susan.

Consequences

The Duke would certainly have appreciated how honoured he was because an edited English translation of Pauline's will was published in *The Times* in early September 1825.⁸⁶ It encouraged him to maintain contact with Cardinal Fesch and Madame Mère, to collect other outstanding Napoleonic items, and to patronize architects and sculptors associated with the former Emperor.

⁸⁴ Pauline's will is published in Lazzareschi 1932, pp.261-78, and Luzzatto-Guerrini 1932, pp.548-64. The legacy to the Duke is in Lazzareschi, p.265, and Luzzatto-Guerrini on p.553.

⁸⁵ We can deduce this from the very simple style of the pieces, the early silver standard marks, and the engraved initials "BB" on the lid, which stand for Bonaparte and Borghese. Biennais began his career as a *tabletier* (a maker or seller of items made of wood and tortoiseshell) and became a specialist assembler of travelling services for French military commanders in the 1790s. He was patronized by Napoleon, who ordered a number of related *nécessaires* from him, and it is possible that the Borghese travelling service was one of Napoleon's presents to Pauline around the time of her marriage.

⁸⁶ *Times*, 2 September 1825, p.4. The bequest to the Duke appears as: "To the Duke of Hamilton, Marquis of Douglas, her *nécessaire* of gilt silver, as a token of remembrance of his feiendship [sic] towards her."

Thus, in 1825 the 10th Duke was not only the owner of the porphyry tables, the clock cabinet and at least seventy other pieces of marble, porphyry and *pietre dure* furniture and related items,⁸⁷ but was ready to take delivery of the Borghese *nécessaire*, and to develop his two important collections of semi-precious stones and Napoleonica.

The 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory reveals that, by this date, the Duke had already set up a marble bust of Princess Pauline in his Dressing Room. Displayed or temporarily stored with it because of building work elsewhere in the palace were the Roman marble statue of Venus, goddess of love, bought by the 8th Duke of Hamilton;⁸⁸ the marble bust of “Diana” (i.e. Aphrodite) from the Palazzo Braschi; a porphyry bust of “Niobe” (Fig.46) – actually a copy of the so-called dying Alexander the Great, in marble, in the Uffizi in Florence – that the 10th Duke must have also acquired;⁸⁹ the black granite column from the Braschi Palace; and the two alabaster vases which were also shipped from Rome in 1821.⁹⁰

After a long correspondence with d’Hautmesnil over the Princess’s final days, the disposal of her estate and the bequest,⁹¹ the travelling service was apparently sent, via the Parisian bankers Laffitte and Company, to the Duke in Paris in 1826.⁹²

⁸⁷ The entries on these pieces in the 1825 inventory will be found in Appendix 9.

⁸⁸ For an illustration, see Parke-Bernet Galleries, Inc., *Classical and Medieval Stone Sculptures [...] Part III of the Art Collection belonging to the Estate of the Late Joseph Brummer*, New York, 9 June 1949, lot 492.

⁸⁹ This overlooked and now “missing” work, which was sold to G. Sinclair in 1882 (lot 886) for £409 10s, appears to be very close to another porphyry bust of “Alexander” in the Museo dell’Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence, produced in the workshop of Cellini’s former assistant Francesco Ferrucci del Tadda and his son Romolo, in Florence, in the late sixteenth century (see Butters 1996, I, p.348, and II, fig.127). The Hamilton bust was probably made in the same workshop and constitutes one of the 10th Duke’s most important early acquisitions of porphyry.

⁹⁰ See footnotes 52 and 53 for the 1821 references to these pieces.

⁹¹ See HA, Bundle 708.

⁹² In his letter of 9 April 1826, d’Hautmesnil informed the Duke “that in order to obtain your *nécessaire* you will only need a single receipt signed in Rome, adding to it that it has been given by the Chevalier Gozani on behalf of the Prince Borghese executor of the will of Madame the Princess Borghese.

Should you send me the receipt I will withdraw the *nécessaire* and will have it sent to Lafitte or will leave it at your disposal in Florence with Madame the Marquise Torrigiani where you will pick it up on your way. I shall act in whichever way suits you best but I think it is essential to withdraw it from the Prince Borghese’s as he will be absent for a long time.”

The Duke has annotated the letter in French: “I have sent d’Hautmesnil a receipt dated 21 April 1826 from Paris for the *nécessaire* asking him to send it here through Laffitte & Co_ CH&B” (HA, Bundle 708).

The *nécessaire* made a huge impression upon the Duke and had very far reaching consequences on the Hamilton collection and, indeed, the Hamilton family. Its bequest and ownership stimulated the commissioning of Napoleon's famous architect Charles Percier to design interiors for the new addition to Hamilton Palace around 1826-27 and later the Hamilton Mausoleum around 1829-30. Percier had designed the great silver-gilt "tea service" that was commissioned in connection with the marriage of the Emperor to the Archduchess Marie-Louise in 1810 and his employment by the Duke resulted in its purchase from Charles X in 1830.

In turn, ownership of this incredibly strong holding of Napoleonic material – the David portrait of Napoleon, the bust of Pauline and the two peerless Napoleonic services – would lead the Duke to "build on strength" and to develop this matchless aspect of his collection. It would inspire him to promote the marriage of his son to the daughter of the adopted daughter of Napoleon between 1839 and 1843, purchase another bust of the Princess Pauline in 1840, and secure Thorvaldsen's colossal marble bust of *Napoleon Apotheosized* in 1846. The Napoleonic facet of the collection and family would become even more pronounced under the 11th Duke of Hamilton and his wife, Princess Marie of Baden, a cousin of the Emperor Napoleon III, in the 1850s and early 1860s.

All this will be examined fully in the second half of the thesis, but it is essential to appreciate that the 10th Duke's involvement with Italy between 1816 and 1825 provided both the foundation and the springboard for much of his later collecting and aggrandisement.

The Restoration and Enlargement of Hamilton Palace by the 10th Duke of Hamilton, 1806-1832

The palace that the 9th Duke and his son inherited in 1799 was relatively small, old-fashioned and poorly maintained and either needed major restoration, improvement and enlargement or demolition and rebuilding if it was to serve as an awe-inspiring “powerhouse”. It consisted of an impressive south-facing, Classical-style, Baroque palace, that had been designed by the Scottish architect James Smith for the 3rd Duke and Duchess of Hamilton and largely built and fitted out between about 1693 and 1702¹ (Fig.47), and a very plain, even dreary, north frontage dating from the very late sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries (Fig.48).

This chapter examines the transformation of Hamilton Palace into the greatest projection of status and wealth in the history of Scotland (Fig.49). It seeks to establish the history of the undertaking, with the focus on the key moments and phases, and also to unravel the Duke’s motivation and thinking as the work progressed.

The Early Years: Gillespie Graham to David Hamilton

The first main early finding has been the very lengthy involvement of James Gillespie (who became known as James Gillespie Graham) in work on the palace and other Hamilton projects between about 1806 and 1821 and then his sudden fall from grace and replacement by David Hamilton in 1822. Most Scottish art historians are aware of Gillespie Graham’s work on Brodick Castle, for the 10th Duke’s son and his wife, in the 1840s, but his previous involvement with the 10th Duke is either little known or very poorly appreciated.²

A bill in the Hamilton archive reveals that Gillespie Graham spent three days at Hamilton on the Marquis of Douglas’s business in May 1806 and another four days at Hamilton with his clerk in November. Both visits preceded Douglas’s

Most of the letters and bills referred to in this chapter will be found in Appendix 11, along with other relevant material.

¹ For the Baroque palace and its patrons, see Marshall 2000.

² James Macaulay does not refer to it at all in his chapter on Gillespie Graham in *The Gothic Revival 1745-1845* (Glasgow and London, 1975) or in *The Architecture of James Gillespie Graham* (Edinburgh, 1977).

departure for St Petersburg.³ In November, Gillespie Graham apparently produced a “design of an elevation for Hamilton Palace [as] a present to the Marquis”.⁴ In January 1807 he made Douglas a gift of a “first set of designs for an addition to Hamilton Palace” and charged £21 for “a Second set of finished Plans which were sent to the Marquis”.⁵ This implies that Gillespie Graham’s proposals for the new addition were sent to St Petersburg and raises the possibility that they may have influenced Douglas and Giacomo Quarenghi and the “Casa” Quarenghi designed for Douglas.

While Douglas was in Russia, Gillespie Graham arranged and supervised the re-roofing of Hamilton Palace and other outside and inside repairs, which occupied him for sixteen days in 1807 and a further eleven the following year and cost over £1,500.⁶ All this was carried out under the authority of Douglas’s Edinburgh lawyer Alexander Young, who described the old roof as “ruinous” and threatening “destruction to every thing contained in the House”.⁷

After Douglas’s return from Russia and his marriage in 1810, Gillespie Graham was employed on improvements to the interior and exterior of the palace⁸ and on designing bridges.⁹ However, his main service was to recommend his friend Robert Brown to Young as the principal factor of the Hamilton estates in Scotland.¹⁰ Gillespie Graham and Brown had got to know one another well during the previous decade, when the architect was working for Alexander, 2nd Lord Macdonald, on

³ HA, F2/1028, copy of bill from James Gillespie to the 9th Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Douglas for repairs to Hamilton Palace in 1808 and James Gillespie’s services 1806-8.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ HA, Bundle 603, Young to Douglas, 13 December 1808. Young noted that before the installation of new lead drainage the “torrents of rain” from the roof had been settling “round the foundation and placed the Palace in a Quagmire”. Writing a decade later, he claimed that “at top and bottom” the palace had been “admitt[ing] water sufficient to turn a mill wheel” (HA, Bundle 1706, Young to Brown, 1 March 1818). During Douglas’s absence, Gillespie Graham also prepared plans for an “addition” to Brodick Castle: see HA, Bundle 603, Young to Lord Archibald Hamilton, 8 February 1808.

⁸ Gillespie Graham’s letters to Douglas in HA, Bundle 665, provide some information about his work on the palace in 1812-13.

⁹ The unpaginated “General Ledger Hamilton Palace” for 1813-22 in Hamilton Town House Library records that Gillespie Graham was paid £50 for “Plans of Bridges proposed over Clyde” on 23 February 1815 and a further £5 on 5 August 1815.

¹⁰ In August 1811 Young told Douglas it was “his friend Mr Gillespie who first g[a]ve me the id[e]a how suitable Mr Brown was for your Lordships purpose” (HA, Bundle 1566, copy of letter from Young to Douglas, 26 August 1811).

Armadale Castle and the Macdonald estate on Skye and North Uist,¹¹ and Brown was factor to Macdonald of Clanranald in the Hebrides and North West Highlands.

Gillespie Graham cultivated Douglas, presenting him with a “Brace” of pistols by John Murdoch of Doune¹² and a drawing of the proposed town of Kyleakin on the Isle of Skye,¹³ and had high hopes of getting a really major commission – especially with the help of Brown, who took up his post on Whitsunday 1812. Gillespie Graham received £142 15s 4d “for Superintending work at Palace & for Plans &c” in March 1818,¹⁴ and eventually received a commission – probably early in 1820 – to design a castle for the 10th Duke.¹⁵ Unfortunately, this seems to have been an ill-thought-out scheme – apparently involving Young¹⁶ – to build a palace or castle at Chatelherault (the site of William Adam’s “eye-catcher” of a hunting lodge and summer retreat on the skyline to the south of Hamilton Palace) and was soon culled.

In August 1820 Gillespie Graham wrote to Brown seeking his advice and support to get work on public buildings in Lanarkshire and noted that he had “the Dukes Castle in a state of forwardness”,¹⁷ but by early September 1821 Gillespie Graham knew that the castle project was dead and was anxious to get work on the new addition to Hamilton Palace. He was clearly aware that the Duke had obtained designs from the Italian architect Francesco Saponieri (which will be discussed later) and was prepared to play second fiddle – as he informed his friend Brown:

I was fav[u or o]red with yours & having had occasion to come here _ I have brought the Dukes plans with me _ and as you are to be at home _ I will have the pleasure of spending a night with you on Sunday _ as I have much to say to you _ I feel sensible that you will use your influence with his Grace to Obtain his future employment _ &

¹¹ See Macaulay 1975, pp.229-33.

¹² See the undated “Memorandum” from Gillespie Graham to Alexander Young, on paper with the watermarked date 1805 (HA, Bundle 2088). Gillespie Graham offered the pistols “to the hereditary Representative of the first Family of Scotland _ his noble and generous Patron & Employer The Marquis of Douglas _”.

¹³ HA, Bundle 665, Gillespie Graham to Douglas, 22 December 1812. This gift was probably intended to stimulate Douglas into extending his improvements on Arran to a new town, along the lines of Lord Macdonald’s ambitious and never realized “New Liverpool” (directly opposite Kyle of Lochalsh and the mainland), and employing Gillespie Graham as its architect.

¹⁴ HTHL, “General Ledger Hamilton Palace”, 1813-22, under 30 March 1818.

¹⁵ Gillespie Graham may have been involved in other undertakings around this time because he received £106 for unspecified work in May 1820 and later returned an overpayment of one pound (*ibid.*, under 26 May 1820 and a subsequent undated entry).

¹⁶ See HA, Bundle 1728, Young to Brown, 7 February 1820.

¹⁷ HA, Bundle 1761, Gillespie Graham to Brown, 28 August 1820.

altho he does not Build his Castle I hope he will not pass me in the contemplated addition _ & should be too happy even to prepare Working Drawings and take charge of the Building _ of any designs which he may have got at Rome _ or make such changes on his plans as he may want _

His Graces employment under any circumstances would be of vast advantage to me in my professional line ___ & my only hope is in your kind interference. _¹⁸

Three weeks later, Gillespie Graham wrote to Brown:

I see by the news paper that the Duke has arrived _ I wish to be advised by you whether I should send the Plans which I have prepared for his Grace with a written description or to wait on him in person _ as you know best _ be so kind as write me in course _ It is an age since we met. Will any thing be done to the present Fabric next year?¹⁹

What happened next is still unclear, but Gillespie Graham was soon supplanted by David Hamilton.²⁰ It is not known if this was the consequence of a disagreement,²¹ but the decision to part company with the determined and rather desperate Edinburgh architect would have made sound sense to the Duke for a number of reasons. In the first place, Gillespie Graham and Robert Brown were much too close and formidable as a pair of professionals to have given the Duke the freedom of action he wanted in designing and building the addition. Secondly, in choosing Hamilton, a patron with definite Classical tastes and a desire for respect and admiration gained a very able, self-taught, almost illiterate and extremely deferential architect, who was delighted to work for the premier peer of Scotland in the Classical style. By contrast, Gillespie Graham was a dedicated exponent of the Gothic revival style, whose reputation was based on the Roman Catholic chapels (now cathedrals) in Edinburgh and Glasgow (1813 and 1814), and whose main Classical work to date consisted of the small Independent Chapel, West George

¹⁸ HA, Bundle 1781, Gillespie Graham to Brown, 3 September 1821.

¹⁹ HA, Bundle 1782, Gillespie Graham to Brown, 25 September 1821.

²⁰ A payment relating to David Hamilton's bill of 15 November 1824, on 21 November 1826, gives the period of the account as 18 October 1821 to 13 November 1824: see HTHL, Hamilton Estate Ledger, 1823-30, p.246.

²¹ There was certainly a major disagreement later, with the Duke refusing to pay part of Gillespie Graham's account and the architect threatening to sue his previously highly respected patron for the full amount: see HA, Bundle 679, Gillespie Graham to Aytoun, 2 October 1824.

Street, Glasgow (1819).²² Lastly, by employing Hamilton the Duke was able to congratulate himself that he was aiding and promoting a local (Glasgow) architect and, indeed, a member of his family or clan and expect a large amount of favourable comment about such patronage.

There were probably other considerations, but the Duke undoubtedly made the right decision – as a self-centred patron who wanted to play a dominant rôle in the design of a Classical-style addition to the palace – to drop Gillespie Graham and take on Hamilton.

Locking Robert Brown into the Project as Supervisor and Manager

Significantly, the Duke also moved to retain Robert Brown, who had rendered splendid service over the past decade, helping to maximise the Duke's incomes and reduce his debt from £90,000 to about £30,000 between 1812 and 1820. During the early 1820s, Brown was trying to increase revenues to help pay the £60,000, plus interest, that the Duke was committed to paying the 8th Duke of Hamilton's illegitimate daughter between 1820 and 1826, and also acting as the Duke's main representative in the ultimately abortive negotiations with William Beckford's lawyer to try to save Fonthill Abbey and its contents (along with Beckford's English estates) for the Hamilton family, rather than sell them to pay off the maniacal collector's creditors.²³ The Duke quite rightly valued Brown's expertise and commitment and recognised that he needed him, both as an able factor of a large agricultural estate with coal and other mineral resources ripe for exploitation, and as his buildings manager during the restoration and enlargement of Hamilton Palace and his own long absences.

Looking through the correspondence, there does not seem to have been any real danger of the Duke losing his dedicated supporter. Brown seems to have got

²² Gillespie Graham went on to design Kilmadock East Church, Perthshire (1822) and the Deaf and Dumb Institution, Edinburgh (1823) in the Classical style, but they came too late to influence the Duke.

²³ The correspondence about this is now in the Bodleian Library, among the Beckford papers sold from the Hamilton archive in 1977. The principal letters in English, dating from November 1821 to September 1822, are included in Appendix 11. On 3 September 1822 the Duke was obliged to admit to Beckford's solicitor, James Somerville Fownes: "it is impossible for me to engage to pay M^{rs} Beckford £5000 per annum and make large advances besides _ I have not the money, & were I to engage for a similar obligation, it is more than probable that I Should not be able to make it good_" (Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, f.70v).

over his depression in 1820 with the return to a debt of £90,000.²⁴ Moreover, he appears to have accepted the rejection of his excellent advice that it would have been better to have acquired Fonthill (in a pleasant county) than to have poured money into Hamilton Palace (in an increasingly industrial area with political and economic problems),²⁵ along with the Duke's right to employ Hamilton instead of Gillespie Graham.

Nonetheless, the Duke evidently felt he had to lock Brown into his plans and their fulfilment. At the end of March 1822 he wrote to the factor, assuring him that "I hold you & your feelings towards me beyond price", and insisted that he accept an additional £300 *per annum* in recognition of all his extra exertions in recent years.²⁶ Nor was this the end of the "golden handcuffing". On Christmas Day 1823 the Duke instructed Brown to draw £1,000 a year from January, not as a salary

dependant upon your present engagement with me, but as your own, and to be continued to you during my life time unconditionally, as a proof, of my regard, & of the sense I entertain of your past services _ Having said thus much, I cannot conclude without subjoining; that I trust & hope I may look forward to the benefit of your assistance in my concerns during the rest of my life; & if my son follows my advice & example, he will be equally anxious to retain you amongst his friends _

²⁴ In 1820 Brown confided to Young: "For my part I have neither nerve or inclination to fight and struggle with a burden of this magnitude when the Principal leaves the Country and us to our fate and perhaps cannot estimate the extent of our labours or the difficulties We must encounter in carrying him through with credit _ I begin to feel that my labours are endless and that I am almost as distant as ever from having the Dukes business in a shape that it can be managed with ease to myself" (HA, Bundle 1767, draft letter Brown to Young, 26 November 1820).

²⁵ It is worth focusing attention on Brown's argument because it was extremely valid. Writing to the 10th Duke on 2 January 1822, Brown acknowledged the Duchess's and Lord Archibald Hamilton's justifiable concerns about the acquisition of Fonthill and then presented the counter-argument: "But do they not see that if you do secure these properties you get fair value for your money _ that if you do encrease the number of your Seats you will have at least one fit for a Family residence and one in a quiet pleasant country where moveable property would be safe and such a Seat as ought to supercede expensive improvements here. _ They must also be aware that the residence Here is becoming every day less inviting _ The very circumstances of the establishment of the half Bedlam half Hospital by M^r. Owen behind Logans, the setting down Iron & Coal works betwixt Motherwell & Airblas with the encreasing manufacturing and pauper population of Hamilton and its Vicinity ready on any popular commotion to overturn and destroy every kind of property that is in their way, must drive the Family of Hamilton from this place as a residence at no great distance of time" (Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, f.32).

As Brown realized, the Duke was making a very big mistake in wanting to develop Hamilton Palace. It was much too close to the town of Hamilton and to economic and political unrest to be a safe residence, and the industrialisation of Lanarkshire meant that it would become an increasingly unpleasant place in which to live. Brown's remarks are all the more perspicacious and piquant because, after the family gave up Hamilton Palace, the 13th Duke and his family lived at Dungavel, in the countryside about 12 miles south-west of Hamilton, and at Ferne Hill, in Wiltshire (not far from Fonthill).

²⁶ ML, Executory Papers of Robert Brown, Duke to Brown, 28 March [1822].

With sentiments of sincere regard & esteem, I remain My good Sir
 Your attached
C:H:& B.²⁷

This was an extremely generous act, based on genuine appreciation; but it was also intended to bind Brown to the Duke and ensure that he remained with his master for the rest of his career. Brown was surprised and deeply moved by such liberality and committed himself to working for the Duke and his son for as long as his health and mental faculties allowed.²⁸ The corollary was that Brown continued as the Duke's principal factor until he was obliged by infirmity to retire and diligently supervised the palace through to its completion in 1845.

David Hamilton and the Duke

Brown had to be handled with care, but David Hamilton was eager and willing to serve and accommodate the Duke. The opening of his first surviving long letter, dated 29 April 1822, reflects extreme deference and flexibility:

I was honoured with Your Grace'[s] very correct and explicit letter, and explanatory Sketches of Hamilton Palace. I return Your Grace my best thanks for the condescending and kind manner in which Your Grace has been pleased to notice the general designs; they were made merely to serve Your Grace to suggest improvements and arrangements upon.²⁹

The letter is of very considerable interest because it records that the Duke was already limiting the addition to "only a Facade as it were", and that Brown and Hamilton were working closely together from the outset. It also reveals that the old north wall was in such an extremely bad state – "completely rent and split in the heart, without band of any kind, so as to have allowed the smoke and fire of the different chimnies to have communicated all over that part of the Building; to the great danger of the whole Palace, and the irraparable loss of works of Art" – that Brown and Hamilton had agreed to rebuild it, sort out the support of the "joists of the different floors and roof", and then reinstate the woodwork that had been removed from the Gallery.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Duke to Brown, 25 December 1823.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Brown to Duke, 25 December 1823.

²⁹ HA, drawing 68, David Hamilton to Duke, 29 April 1822.

Hamilton sent two sets of plans for the ground and first floors which showed possible layouts of rooms and the new grand staircase.

Another long letter from Hamilton, dated 28 June 1822, highlights the care that was taken from the start in obtaining and using first-rate materials and in striving for bold effects and high-quality workmanship:

Mr., Brown has been very industrious, and at great pains in collecting from all the quarries around, samples of the best stone for the hewn work, and has put some of the most likely ones into the hands of Mr., Charles Macintosh, an excellent Chemist, and I was very happy to witness the result, in his Laboratory; very fortunately the stone that proves best by the chemical tests, is of the finest colour, will make the handsomest work, and can be raised in blocks of large dimensions; It is really a very beautiful stone; I am quite of Your Grace's mind, the architectural parts of the Fronts, should be executed in a bold prominent, manner, every feature made to tell out, and affected with the fewest joints, of course with the largest stones, which constitutes a great perfection in Masonry; those of the rustic courses are not intended to be of lesser sizes than Your Grace mentions.³⁰

Three possible layouts of the principal floor, with options for the Grand Stairs, were enclosed, and Hamilton was sufficiently confident with the planning that he felt able to calculate "the expense of the whole Masonry" at £7,900 and the finishing of the interiors at £9,900 – a total of £17,800.

One would have thought that the initial design was fairly advanced³¹ and that work would soon have begun on detailed drawings, leading on quickly to actual construction. But the 10th Duke wanted to review and revise the plans and this delayed the completion of the basic designs and the start of building until at least the spring of 1824.³²

David Hamilton was plainly embarrassed in mid November 1824 when he came to present his bill to Brown and felt obliged to justify the high charge:

³⁰ HA, Bundle 606, Hamilton to Duke, 28 June 1822.

³¹ The unpaginated "General Ledger" for Hamilton Palace, in Hamilton Town House Library, records that David Hamilton received £62 7s on 28 November 1822 "for drawing Plans &c & for his attendance &c relative to the alterations & new work at Palace omitted formerly".

³² John Connell started as the clerk of works on 1 March 1824: see HA, C4/95, Connell to Duke, 21 February 1824.

I beg to hand you my account for the drawings of Hamilton Palace &^c and for the time spent in my attendance there preceding this date[.] You will see that the amount, is considerable being £492 ,, 16 ,, 6, but you will also see that the time spent on the Duke's business is 178 days of myself and 183 of my clerk, which was owing to the frequent change of the plans and frequent attendance upon His Grace[.]

It may be some satisfaction to the Duke however to learn that the business has made such progress, that nothing in proportion to the same charge can take place again, the general design being now ascertained — The other drawings required for the exterior and roofing in the building, will not exceed another £200 and will be furnished to His Grace without delay.³³

The Design of the Addition

The final design (Fig.50) can be seen as the development of the proposal for a new north front that William Adam had drawn up for the 5th Duke of Hamilton, probably in the late 1720s-1730s, with the 10th Duke increasing the scale, simplicity and grandeur and also the use of Classical models.

The Duke may have had some of Adam's original designs, but they had been given a new lease of life when the old engraved sheets of the architect's *oeuvre* were finally assembled and published by his grandson in *Vitruvius Scoticus* in 1812. Gillespie Graham had sent the Duke a copy of this large and prestigious publication in December 1812.³⁴ Consequently, the Duke had had over a decade to mull over Adam's designs for the north front (Fig.51) and the proposed alterations to the Baroque palace,³⁵ and the fact that these unimplemented designs were laid out directly after the plans of Holyroodhouse and before those of all the other great Scottish houses – to the shame of the House of Hamilton.

In essence, the Duke accepted Adam's basic design of a central portico and double staircase, with a rusticated basement, tall rectangular windows on the first floor and squarer windows on the second floor, and rejected the elaborate parapet.

³³ HA, C4/706/1, Hamilton to Brown 15 November 1824. The Hamilton Estates ledger for 1823-30 in Hamilton Town House Library reveals that David Hamilton received £100 on 10 November and a further £200 on the 15th, but had to wait until 21 November 1826 for the remaining £192 16s 6d (pp.84,143 and 246).

³⁴ HA, Bundle 665, Gillespie Graham to Duke, 22 December 1812.

³⁵ Adam 1812, plates 6-11.

In 1819 he obtained designs from the Neapolitan architect Francesco Saponieri (Figs.52-53).³⁶ These show what may, very loosely, be called the next stage of the development. The principal new features are a larger portico supported by six columns – two more than Adam – a rectangular (rather than curved) double staircase with a central fanlight, and much greater simplicity and uniformity (e.g. in the rustication and the use of triangular pediments, rather than alternating triangular and rounded pediments, on the first-floor windows).

The final solution arrived at by the Duke and Hamilton was a much more massive and grand version of Saponieri's proposal. Saponieri's general simplicity and uniformity have been retained, but the portico has been extended and is now supported by two rows of (unfluted) monolithic columns. The effect of this truly regal or imperial central feature has been balanced and strengthened by developing Adam's idea of emphasizing the ends of the building with four columns between the last three windows of the first and second floors. Both ends have now been pushed forward, heightened, and reinforced – rather than simply decorated – with two pilasters on either side of a single window at first- and second-floor levels.

The very uniform, grandiose effect has been given a little variety and relief by incorporating doorways with decorated lintels at the sides of the grand staircase and repeating the central fanlight at the ends of the building, at ground-floor level.

The features that obviously gave the Duke the greatest pride and pleasure – because they must have been disseminated by his employees to writers and journalists in the late 1820s-early 1830s – were the length of the building (263 feet, with a kitchen range on the west adding another 100 feet), the belief that the monolithic columns were the largest in Britain, and the use of Classical models. Writing around 1830, John Leighton begins his discussion of the new addition by noting that the front exhibits “an exceedingly splendid example of the Corinthian order, taken from the remains of the Temple of Jupiter Stator at Rome, one of the most enriched and correct of the ancient specimens of that order, which the rude hand of time has left us to admire and imitate.”³⁷

³⁶ HA, drawings 165 and 166.

³⁷ Leighton 1830, pp.39-40.

Understanding the Design and Subsequent Work on the Interiors

The finished building was probably the most intimidating non-military building ever erected in Scotland. It paid homage to the 10th Duke's grandfather, the 5th Duke, as a patron, and tidied up the past. More interestingly, it provided the 10th Duke with a very imposing version of an early eighteenth-century English country house such as Wanstead³⁸ or Wentworth Woodhouse,³⁹ which suggested that the Duke and his family were an integral part of the governing élite of England and crushed the very notion that he was an upstart (i.e. as a result of the break in the Hamilton line in 1799) and, indeed, an outsider in the Tory-dominated 1820s.

This aggrandisement reflected artistic taste *and* the Duke's reaction to what he perceived as attacks upon both his status and himself personally. Indeed, the extension to Hamilton Palace was designed, built and fitted out in direct response to challenges from the Earl of Aberdeen and Lord Douglas, difficulties with George IV, and claims of the Earl of Derby and Marquess of Abercorn.

Shortly after succeeding to the dukedoms, the Duke had been incensed to find that the 4th Earl of Aberdeen had been allowed to use the additional name and arms of Hamilton.⁴⁰ In early June 1819 he directed a blast of anger and sarcasm at the Prime Minister, Lord Liverpool:

³⁸ Designed by Colen Campbell, Wanstead in Essex was built for Sir Richard Child, at great expense, between about 1714 and 1720 and was much admired in the eighteenth century. It was 260 feet long – almost exactly the same length as the new north front of Hamilton Palace – and also had a rustic basement and double staircase to the portico. The residence of the Prince de Condé after the French Revolution, Wanstead was inherited by the Child heiress Catherine Tylney Long, who was married to a nephew of the Duke of Wellington, and was the venue for a magnificent banquet, attended by the Prince Regent and Wellington, in 1814. Most of its contents were sold at a great sale in 1822 and the house itself was subsequently demolished. The 10th Duke bought a few items at the sale (see chapter 6) and pressed David Hamilton about re-using some of the materials at Wanstead. However, Hamilton sought to dissuade the Duke. Writing on 28 June 1822, he alleged: “there is little of it that could be used with propriety at Hamilton, except, it might be flooring. I think there is nothing valuable in the work, but what can be better effected at present; That house was built in Grinling Gibbons time, but I think there is none of his celebrated carving amongst the wainscoting” (HA, Bundle 606). Nevertheless, the Duke persevered with the idea of incorporating elements of Wanstead in Hamilton Palace, and on 7 October 1823 Robert Hume was obliged to apologize that he had “omitted to inform Your Grace that the small Saloon of Oak Work at Wanstead was Sold to a Gentleman in Bedfordshire” (HA, Bundle 602).

³⁹ Wentworth was built for Thomas Wentworth, later Marquess of Rockingham, slightly later than Wanstead, but was much larger, with a frontage of 600 feet, 365 rooms and five miles of passageways.

⁴⁰ Aberdeen had requested the royal warrant in memory of his first wife, Lady Catherine Elizabeth Hamilton (d. 1812), eldest surviving daughter of the 1st Marquess of Abercorn, but the application and grant were also bound up with his marriage, in 1815, to Harriet, Viscountess Hamilton, widow of James, Viscount Hamilton, the eldest son of the 1st Marquess of Abercorn.

My Lord

In my situation it cannot, I am sure, surprize your Lordship to receive these few lines; altho' perhaps it may surprize you, not to have received them sooner __ I learn from the Herald's office, that the name of Hamilton has been so fortunate as to attract the notice of Lord Aberdeen, & that the Prince Regent, with that liberality that distinguishes his Royal Highness, has graciously made a sacrifice of it to the noble Earl _ As I must presume that it is by your Lordship's advice that this measure has been adopted; I hope I may be allowed to ask your Lordship, if you consider my name, as one (without even the ceremony of communication to myself) that may be multiplied at pleasure, and disposed of, in favour of whomsoever may think proper to apply for it _ When H: R: Highness was advised to confer this peculiar mark of honor upon my name, by adding to it that of Aberdeen, I am surprized your Lordship's kindness did not lead you to favour me with some intelligence of this so novel & so unusual a distinction __ Your Lordship will excuse me, if I further request to know (& some impatience is excusable concerning honors in reserve) whether the list of Hamiltons still to be made is numerous, & whether your Lordship intends to recommend them to the clemency of H:R:H: the Prince Regent; as in that case, feeling my own unworthiness, I should hope your Lordship would not deem me indiscreet in soliciting a promise of your support; to obtain for me some other person's name, that may be disposed of without impropriety _⁴¹

On this was overlaid the friction and rivalry between King George IV and the Duke. The discord stemmed primarily from the Duke's sister's and brother's championship of George IV's estranged wife, Queen Caroline, as part of the radical Whig opposition to the King and the Tory establishment.

Lady Anne Hamilton, who had been a lady of the bed chamber to Princess Caroline in 1812-13, returned to her mistress as her lady-in-waiting and main female adviser in 1820. She accompanied Queen Caroline from France to London in May – June 1820, lodged her in her house, and corresponded with the Government about a settlement. Lady Anne and Lord Archibald supported the Queen during her trial for adultery in the House of Lords (August – November 1820).⁴² On the first day of the trial, the Duke asked the Attorney General “for whom he appeared, or by whose instructions”,⁴³ and he consistently voted for the Queen in the divisions. After the

⁴¹ BL, Add. Ms 38278, f.182, Duke to 2nd Earl of Liverpool, 8 July [1819].

⁴² Lady Anne and Lord Archibald are depicted close to the Queen in Sir George Hayter's huge painting of the trial, undertaken between 1820 and 1823, in the National Portrait Gallery, London (NPG 999).

⁴³ Maxwell 1903, I, p.309.

trial collapsed, Lady Anne accompanied the Queen to a service of celebration at St Paul's in late November, while Lord Archibald moved a motion in the House of Commons against the omission of the Queen's name from the Liturgy in January 1821. George IV probably consigned the entire Hamilton family to the eternal fires of hell when Lady Anne had the effrontery to take part in Caroline's attempt literally to gate-crash his postponed, personally long-awaited and exorbitantly expensive coronation in July 1821. Lady Anne's total commitment to the "opposition" was demonstrated when she returned to the Queen (who had fallen out with her main supporters) and attended her during her illness and death and then escorted her body back to Brunswick the following month.⁴⁴

All this led to a very awkward situation when George IV came up to Edinburgh for his official visit in August 1822, especially as the Duke of Hamilton was hereditary Keeper of the royal Palace of Holyroodhouse, where many of the receptions and events had to be held.

George IV seems to have been ill at ease and tactless during the visit – for example, riding in a covered carriage, staying with the Duke of Buccleuch at Dalkeith Palace and surrounding himself with other Tories, and pleasing himself whether he attended events or not – while the Duke of Hamilton was agitated by Lord Douglas's challenge to his right to carry the throne of Scotland during the ceremonies, and whether his attire was correct.⁴⁵ The Duke was irritated to receive so little attention and respect from the King. He considered himself Duke of Hamilton, Brandon and Châtellerauld (in the peerage of France)⁴⁶ and heir to the throne of Scotland after the death of the last of the male Stewarts (Cardinal Henry) in 1807, and had actually ceremonially and physically handed over the royal Palace of Holyroodhouse and the crown of Scotland to George IV.⁴⁷

At the banquet given by the City of Edinburgh to the King in the Great Hall of Parliament House on 24 August, the Duke reacted by emphasizing his Whig credentials and independence. In reply to a toast to himself and the Peerage of

⁴⁴ More information will be found in Fraser 1996.

⁴⁵ See NAS, GD1/1018, Case against claim of Lord Douglas to bear the crown of Scotland on ceremonial occasions; *Edinburgh Advertiser*, 23 August 1822, p.131; Ilchester 1923, p.141.

⁴⁶ Papers relating to the Duke's attempt to gain recognition of the Châtellerauld title will be found in HA, Bundles 943 and 768.

⁴⁷ See Mudie 1822, pp.44-7 and 113-7.

Scotland he rose and declared – as the *Scotsman* reported (and also printed separately in the top left-hand corner of page one of the same issue) – that

there were none more anxious than he was to express, with warmth and sincerity, the cordial feelings which the occasion called for. None approached his Sovereign with a warmer expression of reverence and sincerity, and none was more anxious to maintain his duty to the King, without any subserviency however of political opinion. No one was more ready than he was to come forward and pay homage to the honour and dignity of the Crown; but at the same time he was not to forget the just and jealous care which he was bound to observe towards the rights and interests of the people under this free constitution. He felt a pride in showing every respect and honour to the person who wears the crown of these realms; but in doing so, he must not forget the respect due to himself; he must repeat, that he had duties also to maintain for the people, which were interwoven with the best rights and securities of the Crown, and which, in fact, formed the basis of the true power and constitutional glory of the Sovereign.⁴⁸

The King had left by this point, but the speech was poorly received. Sir Walter Scott (a Tory) castigated the performance:

The Duke's speech was delivered like a school-boy, and lest we should not be aware of his folly, he spoke it twice over in great trepidation, and yet with an air of his usual assumption. Eutrapel lines will describe him best.

He spoke as if he were b — t
And looked as if he smelt it.

His Whig friends, whom I scrutinised closely, showed great signs of distressful impatience, and Lauderdale covered his face with his hands. There was no applause, but a gentle murmur, which only respect for time and place prevented from being a decided hiss. In fact, though only drunk as the premier peer, and along with his brethren, he chose to consider the compliment as exclusively his own, and regulated his speech accordingly. The Duke of Athole and Earl Morton were both about to reply, but this extraordinary debate in the Upper House was luckily checked. I wish you had seen Ben-ie-Gloe [the Duke of Atholl] in particular. Morton got up and turned his back on the orator, and all the other peers seemed much annoyed.⁴⁹

George IV got his own back three days later. The laying of the foundation stone of the National Monument to the fallen in the Napoleonic Wars, on Calton Hill, had been organized for 27 August, in the belief that the King would add the lustre of

⁴⁸ *Scotsman*, 31 August 1822, pp.271 and 275.

⁴⁹ Walter Scott to J.B.S. Morritt, 7 September 1822, in Grierson 1934, pp.234-5.

his presence to the occasion.⁵⁰ There was to be an impressive procession and ceremony, attended by representatives of every Masonic lodge in Scotland and presided over by the Duke of Hamilton as Grand Master Mason of Scotland, but the King declined to attend. The Duke was only attending on sufferance, as Grand Master, because the previous year he had refused a request from the Secretary to the Committee to erect the Monument, to add his name to the subscription for the monument.⁵¹ The upshot was that the Duke was left to carry out his duties, including praising George IV as patron of the Masons, in the knowledge that this important and spectacular national event – the premier peer of Scotland, with his Masons and bands, beginning work on the National Monument, in the form of a copy of the Parthenon – was not deemed worthy of a few hours of “Fat George”’s time.⁵²

It must have been a very upsetting experience. The Duke must have felt insulted and felt the need to demonstrate his status, and the final version of the north front of Hamilton Palace can be seen – in part – as his response. It is not an attractive design but a hard-hitting counter-strike by a timid, not politically successful man who wanted the world to sit up and take note that he was premier peer of Scotland, Duke of Hamilton in the peerage of Scotland, Duke of Brandon in the peerage of the United Kingdom, claimant to the dukedom of Châtellerauld in the peerage of France, and rightful heir to the throne of Scotland on the basis of the 1st Lord Hamilton’s marriage to the daughter of King James II of Scotland and the 2nd Earl of Arran’s regency, as heir presumptive, during the childhood of Mary Queen of Scots.⁵³

⁵⁰ The Duke seems to have spoken to George IV about this well in advance: see Duke to Sir Robert Peel, undated, in BL, Add. Ms 40350, f.121.

⁵¹ Michael Linning wrote to the Duke on 20 September 1821, stating that the subscription was being sought because the committee wanted to lay the foundation stone during the King’s visit to Scotland the following year (HA, Bundle 772). In his short reply, recorded on the back of Linning’s letter, the Duke declined to add his name to the subscription: “Having disapproved of that war in principle at its commencement & constantly opposed it and its progress, beholding as I now do far & near the distressing consequences that have resulted from it I cannot consent to lend my name that which my conduct has invariably condemned ___”.

⁵² The ceremonies are described in the *Scotsman*, 31 August 1822, p.276.

⁵³ The Duke’s dislike of George IV would eventually be expressed in the “Epitaph on his present M ___ by me C H & B”, dated Hamilton Palace, 19 October 1828 (HA, Bundle 925):

Of Brunswick’s Line the fourth here lies
 Sover’gn of Britain’s destinies ___
 Ill fated Isle! Condemn’d to groan,
 Under misfortunes not her own _
 He govern’d, in Corruption bred,
 Betraying all, himself by all betray’d:
 With heart, too cold a friend to make,

The Duke's attitude and response would have hardened, in 1823,⁵⁴ when he learnt that Lord Stanley, the son of the 12th Earl of Derby and only daughter of the 6th Duke of Hamilton (and sister of the 7th and 8th Dukes of Hamilton), was contemplating challenging the succession of his father and himself, and by the galling knowledge – as he considered the challenge and pursued his claim on the duchy of Châtellerault – that he was neither heir of line of the house of Hamilton (which had gone to the future 13th Earl of Derby) nor heir male. The line of heirs male had descended through Claud Hamilton, 1st Lord Paisley (a son of the 2nd Earl of Arran) to the Earls of Abercorn, and the 2nd Marquess of Abercorn disputed the Duke's right to the duchy of Châtellerault, which had been bestowed on the 2nd Earl of Arran in 1549.

News, between November 1823 and February 1824, that George IV was going to carry out a major re-modelling of Windsor Castle, costing at least £300,000,⁵⁵ coupled with gossip about the King's intended even more expensive development of Buckingham House into Buckingham Palace,⁵⁶ must have made the Duke absolutely determined to construct a really massive palace, with early-eighteenth-century and Classical features, that emphasized his real status, gave visual credence to his claimed status and minimized his lost status.

Financing the Addition and Early Progress

Ironically, this projection of status based on the feudal past was made possible by the mining of coal on the Duke's lands, near Falkirk, and the profits derived from bringing tens of thousands of tons of black muck into coal-hungry Edinburgh on the Union Canal, which opened in 1822.

It is no exaggeration to say that the palace could not have been extended and built to such a scale and standard without the coal and canal. The rent from coal, lime and freestone on the Lanarkshire estate came to only £1,345 in 1821-22 and to £1,366

And head, to wear a Crown too weak;
 Nor Nature's voice, nor Nation's weal,
 E[^r or v]er moved his sullen soul to feel
 Despis'd where Honor stands revered
 He liv'd & died, nor lov'd nor fear'd ____

Weep Britains weep! your Monarch's fate;
 He left no virtue to commemorate _____

⁵⁴ See Leighton 1920, p.303, and Grierson 1935, pp.265-6.

⁵⁵ See Roberts 2001, pp.13-9. The foundation stone of the new work at Windsor was laid on 12 August 1824.

⁵⁶ See Robinson 2000, p.55.

in 1822-23.⁵⁷ But by September 1823 the Duke's large coalfields at Brighton and Shieldhill, adjacent to the Union Canal, had been sufficiently developed that Brown and the Duke's other representatives were able to offer to bring 125,000 tons of coal into Edinburgh between 15 December 1823 and 15 December 1824, at the rate of 2 shillings and 3 pence per ton, provided the canal company did not charge anybody else more and there was no "unforeseen accident happening at the Colliery from Combinations of Workmen" or frost.⁵⁸

In September 1823 there was no real danger of a strike, but things changed dramatically over the course of the following year. Just as production reached about 8,000 tons a week in early December 1824,⁵⁹ the colliers struck for a seventy-five per cent wage increase. After an attempt in March 1825 by sixty-two men from Hamilton to break the strike, violent attacks on them and the arrest of some of those allegedly involved in the assaults, the miners eventually went back to work the following month.⁶⁰ Partly as a result of this setback, the Duke's mines never generated the 125,000 tons a year offered to the canal company.

This is obviously to jump ahead, but it throws up two key points: that it looked – when work commenced in 1824 – as though there was going to be a flood of money coming in from coal sales in Edinburgh that would easily pay for the building, fitting out and furnishing of this ambitious project; and that the situation became far less rosy quite quickly.

The construction of the new north block proceeded rapidly under Brown and the new clerk of works, John Connell, especially when one considers the quality of materials and craftsmanship. Only three years later, in early October 1827, Robert Brown was able to inform the Duchess:

⁵⁷ HTHL, Account of Charge and Discharge for the Hamilton Estate in Lanarkshire, Crops 1822 and 1823, unpaginated.

⁵⁸ NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, Minutes of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, under 8 September 1823. The size and potential of the Brighton and Shieldhill coalfields had been appreciated many years before. A copy letter addressed to Robert Bauchop, the Duke's manager at Kinneil, dated 8 August 1816, notes "Both of these are extensive Coalfields, which may last for a century to come" (HTHL, HELB 1815-19, under 8 August 1816). The development of the fields was delayed by the Duke's absences in Italy between 1816 and 1821, and this is painfully evident in a copy letter from George Moncrieff to General Maxwell, of the Union Canal Company, dated 26 April 1821 (HA, Bundle 1776). For early plans of the mines, see NAS, RHP 10873, 10910 and 23415.

⁵⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 21 February 1825, p.2.

⁶⁰ See *Supplement to The Times*, 23 March 1825, p.2.

We are beginning to roof in part of the new Palace _ I mean the Main Building _ The lesser building is now compleated and a number of the new Rooms are furnished and ready for company _ and they are by far the most comfortable about the Palace.⁶¹

The Patron Changes his Mind and Robert Brown Sorts Things Out

Predictably, the main problem was the patron. In his letters of 1822, David Hamilton had stressed the need to agree the designs at the very beginning. However, the Duke seemed to think he had a blank canvas on which to paint. His blithe, almost cavalier attitude is apparent in a letter to Brown dated 28 July 1825:

I send you these few lines for your information & for that of M^r Hamilton's the Architect _ I do it now to correct any mistake in time; altho' I am persuaded I need not have mentioned what I am about to state, for any practical purpose, for some months ____ I am come to a resolution of lighting the tribune as was originally intended from above, & making a galery to communicate to the different rooms _ Tell this to M^r Hamilton: it will make little or no alteration upon what is now going on, but I wish him to know it now, as it may serve to give him some facility in regard to the water:closet intended to be placed behind the stair case _ He may now perhaps place it where the great window that looks into the kitchen court was to have been placed; that is in the two upper stories, for upon the ground story of course the window will be required to light the passage under this tribune for the servants _ Let M^r Hamilton know this determination of mine, as I am sure it will assist him not only in the waterclosets as I before stated, but in regard to getting up to the rooms above the dining room, the entrance of which will be difficult from the intended hight of the dining room _⁶²

These, though, were not minor matters, because they affected layouts, spans, loadings, foundations and plumbing, but much worse was to follow. The extent of the Duke's control and changes of mind are clearly revealed in the correspondence with Brown while he was in Rome in 1827. It is impossible to discuss all the issues raised in these letters, which range from the frosting of glass on the outside of the kitchen court and elsewhere, so that no one could look in,⁶³ to major structural changes, but all the main letters found to date are included in Appendix 11.

⁶¹ HA, Bundle 2722, copy letter Brown to Duchess, 8 October 1827. The only real problem seems to have been the use of some wet stone which deteriorated quite rapidly, but the necessary lesson appears to have been learnt.

⁶² HA, C4/99, Duke to Brown, 28 July 1825.

⁶³ HA, Bundle 2722, Duke to Brown, 1 March [1827].

The salient points to focus upon are the Duke's ability to request huge changes, without considering the full implications, and the way that it was left to Brown to implement as much as possible and tactfully explain what was unrealistic.

As late as 1827, the Duke felt free to suggest, if not demand, that the new staircase and entrance hall should be carried up to the roof, doing away with the planned bedrooms above them on the second floor. Regrettably, we do not have his initial letter, but he backed down over this at the end of March 1827.⁶⁴

This bright idea was no sooner laid to rest than the Duke proposed raising the heights of some of the new first-floor rooms and reducing the heights of the second-floor bedrooms. Once again, this was a fundamental matter that should have been thrashed out during the initial design phase. Now – hideously late in the day – the Duke pushed for the change, justified it by alleging that it would please his clerk of works, and then left it to Brown and Connell to resolve:

I say nothing more of carrying up the entrance Hall & great stair-case to the top of the House _ I gave up that idea in my last letter upon the representation you made to me upon the Subject; but I have my doubt whether or not it might not be better to have the new roof of the large new dining room, the library, the billiard, & the entrance hall and stair=case all raised up to the same heighth (the dining=room is decided upon already) & thus equally diminish the heighth of the bed rooms above the part of the house, leaving the other part of the house upon a regular level with the old building _ I am not positive about this alteration, but I think Connell will prefer it, to the making of so many different heighths in the upper flooring _ Thus there will be only two, but I leave this to Connell's & your judgment; it is of no material importance; the whole lower rooms (principal ones) will be loftier by this arrangement, & better, & the bed-rooms will suffer, but they will all be alike, & still handsome rooms, & high enough __⁶⁵

Remarkably, Brown did not tell the Duke that it was far too late for all this. His very long draft reply, dated 29 April, begins by noting how much had been completed: the west end of the addition had been raised above the second storey a few weeks before, the beams above the first-floor dining room laid, and the window "soles" and "cheeks" of the second-floor bedrooms built.⁶⁶ Carpenters were

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, Duke to Brown, 31 March [1827]: "I shall say nothing more concerning the carrying up the stair-case & the hall to the roof; it would much beautify that part of the house, but it would certainly curtail the number of bedrooms, therefore we will let matters remain as they are __".

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, Duke to Brown, 7 April [1827].

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, draft letter Brown to Duke, 29 April 1827.

currently engaged in laying the beams and joists of the bedroom flooring, while masons were about to complete the upper storey and move on to other areas. Brown then patiently explains that if the Duke's orders were implemented:

two thirds of the Bed Room Storey would be deformed in the inside by the lower Panes of the Windows being sunk 18 inches below the floor, and leaving only 5 feet of window above the floor _

Brown makes only the mild criticism:

It is a great pity that Your Grace and M^r Hamilton had not fixed definitely on every thing when the Plans were put into M^r Connells hands for changes now when the Beams are partly laid, the Holes in the Walls for the ends of the Joists made & the places for holding the Chimneys of the 3^d Storey partly built, will be attended with considerable inconvenience, and the misfortune is that we are arrived exactly at that point, that were it absolutely necessary to receive fresh instructions from Your Grace, we [must] stop the whole of the Building operations until an answer could be got from Rome _

All this was sufficient to tell the Duke nothing could be done and the work would have to continue as planned, but the ever loyal factor was prepared to carry out the Duke's implied request to the very best of his ability. He consulted David Hamilton, and, to avoid delay and dismissing at least half the workmen, informed the Duke:

we have resolved upon a plan which we are in hopes your Grace will approve of, as the only one that will enable us to meet your views _ and it is this _ To raise by an additional Course of Ashlar the Bed Room Windows, thus giving an additional elevation to the Building of at least a foot whereby the Bed Room Windows over the Dining Room will be nearly clear of the floor _ and in putting in the Beams thro every other part of the Bed Room floor of the House deep Slits or Ragles will be made in the Walls so as to enable your Grace too raise or lower the floors of the Bed Room Storey to whatever height you may wish the Ceilings of the principal Storey _ and this will be done in a way that will not in the least weaken the Strength of the masonry. _ The height of the Billiard Room Ceiling according to the present plan is 16 feet 4 inches, and by what we propose to do, you can vary from that, to any thing not exceeding 20 feet, and still leave tolerable Bed Rooms only you will require to have some steps from the New passage, down to the Bed Room floor of the Old House. _ M^r Connell says that he can easily make the pilasters the diameter of which are rather thicker than the due proportion for the original height to agree with the additional elevation proposed, and as to the Portico the Shafts of the Columns there by the present plan being 23 ft 11 inches will be lengthened out to 25 feet the Stones in the Quarry having been cut out

18 inches of greater length than what is necessary, and will admit of any additional thickness required for the extra height. _ M^r Connell says that two day's work will take out the Window Soles of the west end of the Upper Storey, and replace them _ Your Grace may be assured that it is with considerable hesitation that we mean to adopt the alteration proposed, but as you have in some measure given us a discretionary power about altering the height of the floors in question we think it our duty to adopt what we conceive will in the end be agreeable to your Grace, and at the same time an important improvement _

The correspondence reveals considerable "development" of the lantern of the Tribune, but earlier letters indicate that the Duke would have requested "improvements" in this area; and the Duke's request for the alteration of the ceiling heights of the first-floor rooms and its consequences stand out as his most alarming intervention during the construction of the north block.

The Interior Designs commissioned from Percier

During one of his stays in Paris in 1826 or 1827 the Duke commissioned Napoleon's former architect and designer Charles Percier (1764-1838), who with his colleague Pierre-François-Léonard Fontaine (1762-1853) had more or less created the Empire style, to design interiors for the entrance hall (Fig.54) and some of the other principal rooms in the new block, including the Tribune and Dining Room (Figs.55-56).⁶⁷ It was an inspired move, which was closely linked with the bequest of the Borghese travelling service and its arrival in Paris and checking by Jean-Charles Cahier (the successor of the supplier Biennais).⁶⁸ Percier's very rich decorative scheme was based on his close study of the mid-sixteenth-century interiors in the Louvre and Fontainebleau, as well as his work for Napoleon, and complemented a palace associated with the granting of the French dukedom of Châtellerault by Henri II and a patron who was deeply interested in Napoleon and the Bonaparte family.

Sadly, nothing came of these magnificent designs. This is not really surprising. As we have seen, the Duke's normal procedure was to obtain a series of proposals

⁶⁷ HA, drawings 154-163.

⁶⁸ Laffitte and Company paid Percier 4,000 francs (presumably for the drawings) on 3 March 1828 and Cahier 412 francs and 50 centimes the next day: see HA, Bundle 683, Laffitte and Company's statement of the Duke's account for 1827-30, and Bundle 1005, Laffitte and Company to Duke, 4 March 1828.

and gradually to “develop” them. Thus one would not expect Percier’s (early) scheme to reflect a chosen, agreed option. It was probably intended as “grist to the mill”. The Duke may have had reservations about the decoration being too French and too Napoleonic, but the real stumbling stones were probably financial and logistical. Percier’s scheme was primarily sculptural, with supplementary historical, mythological and decorative painting, and therefore very expensive and difficult to commission and execute, to the necessary superb standard, in a few years. It required metropolitan, and probably French, sculptors and painters, and the Duke, quite understandably, put it to one side for future consideration when the structural work was completed and a stream of money became available.

Finishing the Addition

While Percier’s drawings gathered dust, the building work advanced. In mid April 1828 John Connell was able to inform the Duchess that the Corinthian capitals of the pilasters on the wings and portico had been carved and put up, one of the wings was nearly completed, and the other would be finished within the fortnight.⁶⁹

Connell concluded by noting that the large carriage for transporting the monolithic columns for the portico (Fig.57) was almost ready and that the columns, each weighing 24 tons, would be brought to the palace from the quarry at Dalpatrick over the next few weeks.

The last of the columns – now said to weigh 26 tons – was borne in triumph to the palace in a huge procession five weeks later, headed by the Duke and his family, “other Noblemen’s and Gentlemen’s carriages”, at least 200 friends and farmers on horseback, and two bands – as the *Glasgow Herald* and other newspapers recorded. Then came

The Duke’s Farmer, followed by 30 yeomanry, mounted
on 30 capital draught horses, harnessed three abreast,
drawing the carriage, on which was placed the
STONE,
On which were, a man standing in front, holding a
Ducal Coronet of evergreens and flowers, keeping
a look out before, another person acting as pi-
lot, and on the centre a herculean quarrier,
standing erect, with a flag-staff and

⁶⁹ HA, Bundle 694, Connell to Duchess, 15 April 1828.

flag, which he displayed to the
utmost advantage.⁷⁰

They were followed by 120 farmers, mounted two and two, another band, and “an immense crowd of Pedestrians”.

Despite a thundershower that started an hour earlier, the celebrations were witnessed by “not less than 15,000” spectators. Very sensibly, no attempt was made to raise the column and set it in place.

Later that evening, 320 gentlemen sat down to “a most substantial dinner” in the Assembly Rooms (now part of Low Parks Museum), presided over by Robert Brown, and there was a grand display of fireworks. A ball – attended by the Duke and his son, who left after one o’clock – went on until seven in the morning.

A huge amount had still to be done. There was still a lot of construction to be completed and the Duke was keen to carry out the dirty work involved with the renovation and “improvement” of the interiors of the old palace, in tandem with the completion of the structure of the new north block. This made sense, but it also meant that the whole palace was a building or work site for almost two years, between 1829 and 1831.⁷¹

It was at this stage that the Duke took the first of two decisions that were crucial to the final appearance of the palace. Because he wanted to restore and improve the oak-panelled Baroque parts of the palace, and emphasize the antiquity of the palace and the dukedoms, the Duke needed a reliable contractor who could undertake all the necessary repairs, additions, stripping, staining, varnishing and gilding (etc.) and he chose to rely on the London furniture-supplier Robert Hume Junior.

⁷⁰ *Glasgow Herald*, 2 June 1828 (in Appendix 11).

⁷¹ The extent of the upheaval and the Duke’s priorities are conveyed in his letter to Brown dated 30 April 1831: “You inform me that Ramsay has boarded up my Rooms and is preparing to put in the Windows. _ I will not allow my coming to prevent his carrying on his work, therefore let him proceed; and tell M^{rs} Anderson that I will sleep up-stairs in one of Lady Susan’s Rooms, sit in the present Dining Room, and have the Room Opposite, on the other side of the Hall, covered with a Carpet, that I may turn it into a Dining Room. _ This I think will answer my Purpose, and the other Rooms will thus remain free, in the event of our friends coming to the Palace about the 14th inst. _” (HA, Bundle 1922).

Hume's father, Robert Hume Senior, and then Robert Hume Junior had worked for William Beckford and the Duke since the early nineteenth century,⁷² and Hume Junior had distinguished himself in the late 1810s-1820s, supervising the importation and passage through Customs of the Duke's Italian and French purchases and the production of the clock cabinet (now in the Gilbert Collection). As we shall see in the next chapter, Hume Junior had been the Duke's agent at the Fonthill sale in 1823 and other sales, and was very well placed to supply old and new items for the palace.⁷³

A formal memorandum dated 4 May 1829 records the work to be completed under David Hamilton, involving local men, and that to be undertaken by Hume and his London craftsmen. At this point, the architect was the main protagonist and Hume very much the secondary figure. His work on the Gallery, for instance, was limited to sending "people from London to execute the finishing coat [of plaster] and ornamental decorations" and directing "the painting gilding varnishing and finishing off of this apartment".⁷⁴ However, Hume was an insidious and omnivorous operator who encouraged the Duke to give him more and more work.

Hume's correspondence with William Beckford, in the Bodleian Library, shows him in control of the design of the ceilings in the Gallery, Tribune and Library and establishes that he was responsible for the very deep moulded ceiling and cornice in the Gallery (Fig.58).⁷⁵ One of the most interesting aspects of the correspondence is Hume's (sycophantic) use of Beckford as an artistic expert and the way that the Duke

⁷² On 14 August 1841 Hume thanked the Duke "for nearly 40 Years Favours & Friendship to my Father & myself" (HA, Bundle 753). On 6 March 1844 he remarked to Beckford that it was "near 40 years since I was carving the arms for the Palace" (Bod, MS. Beckford c.22, f.234). The earliest reference to the Humes' supplying furniture found to date is a statement by Hume Junior that "2 Carved Stands or Tables & an Indian Screen", about which the Duke had enquired, had been sent to Scotland on 31 August 1816 (HA, Bundle 2089, Hume to Duke, 17 December 1827).

⁷³ The Duke's earlier involvement with the Humes is summarily laid out in his account with "Robert Hume" for 1820-25 (HA, F2/1048/14) and notes about additional payments up to May 1829 (F2/1048/15 and 19). These and a list of "Works & Goods belonging to His Grace the Duke of Hamilton in the hands of Hume & Son" on 17 December 1827 (HA, Bundle 2089) will be found in Appendix 9.

⁷⁴ HA, M10/200, "Memorandums as to the finishing of the inside of Hamilton Palace and other improvements connected therewith; made out by the Duke of Hamilton in presence of M^r Hamilton Architect and M^r Hume of London", dated 4 May 1829.

⁷⁵ "The Palace Works are proceeding very well and those parts which are entrusted to me getting very forward, and it is much pleasure to add, every of the numerous Visitors Architects Inspectors & the Factor bestow unmeasured praise to the Gall^y Ceiling & Cornice which is nearly complete in the Plaster": Hume to Beckford, 11 September 1829 (Bod, MS. Beckford c.22, f.96).

acceded to an idea endorsed by Beckford. In October 1829 Hume asked Beckford for his help:

His Grace Talks of coming over very Shortly to run down to see the progress at Hamilton _ He seems very highly satisfied with the reports that have been forwarded to him, of the Gall^y Ceiling &c _ which I am doing for the Palace _ You being the King of the Science or Art of Emblems I most Humbly beg your advice as to whether & what Emblems would be most proper to place in these Pannels A.B.C _ at the end of the Gall^y in the ceiling over where the Dias or Throne will be placed _ in the other compartment of the great Squares there are the armorials _ Cinquefoils. de liese & mullet. I have mentioned the Arms & Two Crests but his Grace thought of an Apollo^s Head with rays _ then He left me do what I thought best _ _ & I think best to Implore you to help me from the dilemma⁷⁶

On 7 November Hume informed Beckford that he had been with the Duke that morning and that “I spoke ab[ou]t the Arms & Crests & stated that you consider[e]d them most correct when his Grace at Once consented it should be so”.⁷⁷

In addition to employing Hume, the Duke decided to order two colossal black marble chimneypieces for the north wall of the Gallery (Fig.59) and an enormous black marble doorway for the west (entrance) end of the Gallery, which would also incorporate dark grey or black porphyry columns that he had obtained from Italy. They would have complemented the black marble chimneypieces that Duchess Anne is known to have ordered for the Baroque palace,⁷⁸ the black marble chimneypieces, tables and other items that the Duke had installed in 1810,⁷⁹ and Hume’s heavily moulded ceiling.

The massive black marble chimneypieces and door surround were obtained from David Hamilton, who undertook, in December 1829, “to have all the Work of the Door Peice along with the two Chimney Peices for the Gallery [...] ready for being put up by the first week of February” 1830.⁸⁰

⁷⁶ Bod, MS. Beckford c.22, f.100, Hume to Beckford, 22 October 1829.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, f.104, Hume to Beckford, 7 November 1829.

⁷⁸ See Marshall 2000, p.206.

⁷⁹ See chapter 3, note 27.

⁸⁰ HA, C4/711, David Hamilton and Son to Duke, 21 December 1829. The “Memorandums” dated 4 May 1829 (HA, M10/200) do not specifically mention black marble but indicate that David Hamilton had been given the orders for these two chimneypieces and the doorway by this date. According to the “Memorandums”, he should have completed them by 4 August 1829 and erected the columns on the door surround by 1 September 1829.

During the mid 1830s the Duke would obtain two more colossal black marble chimneypieces and door surrounds from the London Marble and Stone Company (which was able to obtain much better black marble than Hamilton) for the first-floor Entrance Hall. This was on the other side of the north wall of the Gallery, and the Duke would eventually “continue” the black marble in the old west and east wings into the Gallery, through the Entrance Hall and down the grand black marble staircase (1840-45) and across the floor of his mausoleum (1845-56) to the black marble plinth on which his black Egyptian sarcophagus would rest.

There was certainly no carefully worked out masterplan for all this in 1830: it simply evolved. Nevertheless, we need to recognise that the chimneypieces and doorway in the Gallery were the essential, pivotal second stage in a quite exceptional use of black marble, which visually united the old and new parts of the palace, on the south-north axis, and acted as a foil to the (yellow) Sienna marble chimneypieces that would be installed in the New State Apartments.

We will return to the black marble in chapter seven, but we need to appreciate that between 1825 and 1832 the Duke was also developing plans to use white marble.

There may be a significant Masonic aspect to this (*viz.* the Masonic floor of black and white and its interpretation), but the Duke’s interest reflects competition with other patrons and a desire to use stone that would underline his Scottish identity and status. He must have learnt from Gillespie Graham and/or Brown that the 2nd Lord Macdonald had used (white) Skye marble in Armadale Castle for chimneypieces and the staircase and had intended to use it more extensively.⁸¹ As early as 1825 Brown was obtaining specimens of Skye marble from the 3rd Lord Macdonald’s factor,⁸² and in September 1830 he sent the mason Lawrence to quarry fifty tons of Skye marble for paving the Lower Entrance Hall and the entrances.⁸³ Fortunately Dr Macleod (Lord Macdonald’s factor) was able to supply at least forty-

⁸¹ Exactly what Lord Macdonald intended is very far from clear, but Alexander Nicolson says his original intention was to have constructed Armadale Castle from “the marble of Strath” (Nicolson 2001, p.239).

⁸² HA, Bundle 1818, John Macpherson to Brown, 15 July 1825.

⁸³ HA, Bundle 1903, copy letters Brown to Alexander Macleod and David Hamilton, 12 September 1830.

five tons (the cargo capacity of a small ship) from the stock quarried some years before.⁸⁴

The idea of using Skye marble – which had romantic Jacobite connotations and had never been used in quantity before – appealed to the Duke. In April 1831 he expressed a desire to use it to face the first-floor Entrance Hall and asked Brown, as “a particular favor”, if he would procure “an accurate Statement of what this Marble will cost” as

I think you will agree with me that if instead of its being as Cheap as the Stone, it were not to Stand me in more than an Additional Thousand pounds it would be well worth my while to adopt it _ The richness in the Appearance of the Marble will far exceed that of the Stone _⁸⁵

Two days later, the Duke wrote again to Brown and advocated building a road from the quarry to the shore to enable him to obtain the marble:

I should observe another thing in regard to the Skye marble _ I find that what I got was brought upon horses and mules backs to the shore by a circuitous road; whereas, should I resolve upon making use of the quarry again, the cheap & proper mode of going to work would be this _ To make a road from the quarry to the sea=shore directly: The distance is not above half a mile, & easily would this road be made serviceable; which when made would render the quarrying the marble one half less in expence _ This is the chief matter I suspect to be taken into consideration, as the marble itself is of little value upon the spot & easily quarried _ whilst the carriage must be troublesome & expensive _____ I moreover understand, if once a road is made, pieces of marble of any size might be got, with less difficulty than it would require to take the Stone out of a quarry ____⁸⁶

Four days later the Duke informed Brown that Connell estimated he would need 215 tons of marble or limestone,⁸⁷ and at this point the proposal probably began to run into real difficulties, because this was a very large amount of (flawed) marble to obtain in large sizes and in good condition in a short time.

As he had not planned properly, the Duke had to reconcile himself to using limestone to face the Entrance Hall.

⁸⁴ HA, Bundle 1906, Macleod to Brown, 4 November 1830.

⁸⁵ HA, Bundle 1922, Duke to Brown, 22 April 1831.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, Duke to Brown, 24 April 1831.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, Duke to Brown, 28 April 1831.

Similarly, only part of the decoration of the interiors could be completed to the planned running schedule, because of overexpenditure, shortage of funds and Brown's reluctance to incur further debt. Hume finished the Duchess's Apartments and the Gallery (including re-gilding the old picture frames), but his bill for £4,625⁸⁸ shocked the Duke, who wrote to Brown on 2 February 1831: "Mr Hume has half ruined us with his accounts. The sum paid to him is enormous, but I hope that we are now approaching to the end of this terrible expenditure."⁸⁹ This was very far from the case, as the Duke must have known, and Brown was swift to point out two days later. Hume's charges for the Dining Room, Billiard Room, Library and Tribune were likely to amount to at least another £6,000. Two accounts for the Middle Passage, old oak staircase and other areas would come to a "considerable sum". "Then there are the Bed rooms in the east end of the new Building to be begun estimated by Mr Hume to cost £4000 _ and the entrance hall God knows what _".⁹⁰

In the same letter, Brown reminded the Duke that the last £5,000-worth of payments had been "principally by borrowed money" and suggested postponing at least the remaining gilding "untill it is seen where money is to be got [...] to pay for it". The Duke accepted this on 6 February – "Some of the gildings & paintings I will postpone: the expence is too great"⁹¹ – and, the following day, Brown proposed that the Duke should merely undertake the "carpenter work" and plastering of "the Entrance Hall and the Rooms in the East end" and leave the gilding and other expensive fitting out until a later date.⁹²

The Duke evidently agreed, with the result that the completion of the Library, Billiard Room and Dining Room were delayed, and the decoration of the four New State Rooms postponed to what would become a later, separate phase.

Notwithstanding this, much of the building work and decoration of the old State Apartments had been finished by the time of the Duke's daughter's marriage to the Earl of Lincoln in November 1832. Lincoln's father, the arch-conservative Henry, 4th Duke of Newcastle, was the owner of Nottingham Castle and Clumber and was

⁸⁸ See HA, Bundle 665, copy of Hume's bill for the Gallery and Duchess's Apartments, dated 25 January 1831.

⁸⁹ HA, Bundle 1917, Duke to Brown, 2 February 1831.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, draft letter Brown to Duke, 4 February 1831.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Duke to Brown, 6 February 1831.

⁹² *Ibid.*, draft letter Brown to Duke, 7 February 1831.

then in the process of buying Hafod in Cardiganshire. Newcastle was not a man to be easily impressed by another aristocrat's country seat, but he noted in his diary:

This is a noble house _ everything on the grandest scale & in the most perfect taste _ It is difficult to know which most to admire the design or the execution _ both are so admirable _ I never saw so good, grand & faultless a house _ It is truly palatial⁹³ _

For the first time, the enlarged palace was used as a real powerhouse. Many people came to celebrate the marriage. The wedding itself took place in the Tribune and, at the end, the couple and their families came out onto the Portico to receive the cheers of a huge crowd. Then they descended the great staircase, farewells were said, and the newlyweds drove off in their carriage, escorted by between 400 and 500 horsemen.

It must have been a truly never-to-be-forgotten day. The Glasgow photographer Thomas Annan's black and white photographs record what the North Front of the palace would have looked like in 1832 and show the Gallery more or less as it was finished by Hume and others in the early 1830s, but what is very poorly conveyed in these and other old prints of the Gallery, and of the Library, Dining Room and other rooms which were completed a little later, are the rich colours and gilding of these interiors.

Long exposures of the Gallery (Fig.58) give the impression that it was a dark and sombre room, but the archival evidence and Dibdin's account of the palace, published in 1838, reveal that this is a total misconception. Dibdin observes that

The first thing that your eye lights upon [in the Gallery], is the ceiling – upwards of eighty feet in length, divided into small square compartments, in the centre of each of which is a red fleur-de-lis (part of the Douglas arms) relieved by a blue ground – the whole laid upon gold.⁹⁴

According to Dibdin, the Library ceiling, which was gilded in 1834 (Fig.60), was “a blaze of gold – from one end to the other”, while the New Dining Room, also completed in 1834 (Fig.61), was of “yet more dazzling splendour”: “the ceiling being as it were embedded in gold.”⁹⁵

⁹³ UNMSC, Ne 2F 4/1, diary of the 4th Duke of Newcastle, 1831-34, p.169, under 25 November 1832.

⁹⁴ Dibdin 1838, II, p.803.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p.802.

All this underscores the magnificence and splendour of the palace at the conclusion of the first part of the campaign of aggrandisement. However, it also highlights the Duke's increasing need for superlative, stunning, almost theatrical furniture and furnishings that would complement such a regal powerhouse, with richly gilt interiors.

We therefore move on to examine the Duke's great successes in these fields, which made Hamilton Palace not simply a very splendid and convincing powerhouse but one of the most amazing treasure houses of all time.

Furnishing Hamilton Palace, 1820-1832: The Acquisition of French Royal Furniture, Napoleonic Silver and Classical Sculpture to Promote Status

The 10th Duke of Hamilton acquired some of the finest French furniture and silver ever made, along with important Italian tapestries, bronze copies of Classical statues and porphyry busts of Roman emperors. This chapter examines the acquisition of these wonderful items and shows that the Duke's collecting walked and later ran in step with the building of the new North Front and the refurbishment of the palace. The basic contention is that the Duke's non-Italian collecting became much more focused as building work progressed; that he turned increasingly to Paris for items; and that he achieved some of his greatest successes between 1830 and 1832, when the construction was coming to an end and there was a very real need for truly magnificent silver and sculpture to adorn the greatly enlarged and much gilded palace. Between 1830 and 1832 the Duke was extremely fortunate to be able to buy, both in Paris and at the George Watson Taylor sale in Britain, items associated with the Emperor Napoleon, Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette, Francis I of France and the Roman Empire which served to underscore his status as premier peer of Scotland, Duke of Châtellerauld, and a territorial magnate of (apparently) enormous wealth.

Purchasing in Britain, 1820-1825: the Wanstead and Fonthill Sales

As we saw in chapter four, the 10th Duke acquired a large quantity of impressive material in and from Italy between 1817 and 1822 and one gains the strong impression that Italy was his preferred source, and that Britain and France were seen as secondary or supplementary sources in the late 1810s-early 1820s. This is partly confirmed by the Duke's surprising lack of involvement in the celebrated thirty-two-day sale of the contents of Wanstead House in June-July 1822, which was the first great country house sale in Britain after the battle of Waterloo. As we noted in the last chapter, the Duke was interested in Wanstead as a building and it seems to have had a definite influence on the new addition to Hamilton Palace. Yet, whereas the 6th Duke of Devonshire spent around a thousand pounds at the Wanstead sale,¹ the 10th Duke of Hamilton bought virtually nothing. Annotations on the bill from the

¹ Lees-Milne 1991, p.54.

auctioneer Robins² to the Duke's agent Robert Hume only definitely record the acquisition of an "elegant crimson-ground bordered Wilton Stair Carpet", twenty-two yards long and forty-five inches wide, in two pieces, with thirty-four brass stair rods, from the Grand Staircase and Vestibule, for a total of £28 12s.³ The Duke may have acquired the other items on the list – an ebony cabinet decorated with *pietre dure*, an "Agate" cup and four lots of porcelain – but, even if he did, his total expenditure would have been only £66 8s 6d. He let slip the opportunity to secure the Classical statues of Apollo, Domitian, Agrippina and Lucius Verus and the busts of Antinous, Philippus and others, along with a bust of Napoleon, that would almost certainly have attracted him in the 1830s and '40s.⁴

The Duke was prevented by his debts of about £90,000 and intention of enlarging Hamilton Palace from taking maximum advantage of the dispersal of his father-in-law's collections. On 3 September 1822 he informed Beckford's lawyer that he was unable to provide the funds and guarantees that would have prevented the sale of Fonthill and many of its contents.⁵

Nonetheless, the Duke intended to make a number of acquisitions at the planned 1822 Fonthill sale. He received "inside information" about items that would be sold and reserve prices from Gregorio Franchi, Beckford's Portuguese former boy friend and assistant, who was helping Beckford with the sale.⁶ Franchi was devoted to the Duchess ("ma chere souveraine") and had acted for the Duke in the past over acquisitions and other matters. Moreover, Franchi's loyalty to the Duke had been

² HA, F2/1048/2, bill for items bought at the Wanstead House sale by Robert Hume (in Appendix 9, with the relevant catalogue entries).

³ Robins 1822, p.156.

⁴ See *ibid.*, pp.107, 116-7 and 125.

⁵ See chapter 5, footnote 23.

⁶ On 8 September Franchi informed the Duke that, with the exception of the famous "Rubens Vase" ("le vase de Sardoine"), there were no reserve prices on the items on a list that the Duke had sent him. On 23 September, the day after Beckford had set the reserve prices on items that he was loath to part with, Franchi confirmed that the two wardrobes by André-Charles Boulle ("Les deux armoire de Bouhl") and the "Mazarin chest" ("le Grand Coffre de laque") would be sold and gave the reserve prices on twenty items or groups of items. They included the "Rubens Vase" (£400), the "Grande [*pietre dure*] table" now at Charlecote Park (£1,000), the "Cabinet de Lacque fait par Auguste" (£250) and two cabinets by Robert Hume (£500). Among the fifteen paintings were the *Laughing Boy* attributed to Leonardo (£1,500), the *Libyan Sibyl* ascribed to Ludovico Carracci (£400), *Doge Leonardo Loredan* by Giovanni Bellini (£300) and *The Virgin and Child with St John* by Perugino (£120). On 27 September Franchi alerted the Duke to the fact that someone was planning to offer £150 for the "Mazarin chest" ("le Coffre de laque") and requested permission to bid up to £160 for the piece. The correspondence is of interest because Franchi apparently kept his dealings with the Duke from Beckford and Hume and was prevented from giving an iota more than the Duke had stated in a previous letter: see Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, ff.88-91.

increased since at least 1820 by an allowance of £200 a year⁷ and mounting disillusionment with Beckford's tortuous path and indifference in disposing "all these objects" that he (Franchi) had "striven so hard to get".⁸

Unfortunately, nothing came of all this in 1822, because Beckford sold Fonthill and most of its contents to the eccentric gunpowder millionaire John Farquhar in October 1822. But when Farquhar decided to cash in on his speculative investment the following year, the Duke was ready with his list of *desiderata*. This evidently included the Japanese lacquer chest associated with Cardinal Mazarin, for which Franchi had tried to get permission for a larger bid in 1822, and the *armoires* by André-Charles Boulle, the *Laughing Boy* attributed to Leonardo and the *Libyan Sibyl* ascribed to Ludovico Carracci, which are also referred to in Franchi's 1822 letters.

The nineteen items and groups of items acquired by Hume for the Duke at the 1823 Fonthill sale⁹ are distinguished by their variety. They consist of prestigious works of art associated with important artists, makers and owners; pieces of Far Eastern lacquer and ceramics; and four sets of "rich crimson damask [...] curtains", which were evidently considered a "good buy".

The almost-three-metre-high *armoires* by André-Charles Boulle, dating from around 1710 (now in the Louvre) (Fig.62), were excellent acquisitions – even at 485 guineas – because the Duke needed large pieces of furniture to go in the Gallery and they complemented the late seventeenth/early eighteenth-century Baroque interiors.¹⁰ They were soon set up in the Gallery and were, either immediately or after the refurbishment of the old palace in the early 1830s, used to flank and "support" Rubens's *Daniel in the Lions' Den* and break up the flat appearance of the long north wall. The wardrobes were believed to have been owned by the great French

⁷ The Duke's notebook of his account with Hoare's bank, HA, F2/1046, records the following payments to Franchi between 1820 and 1823:

18 December 1820	£50	11 October 1822	£50
18 October 1821 ½ Yr	£100	4 February 1823	£50
14 December 1821	£100	7 April 1823	£50
1 April 1822	£50	7 July 1823 ¼ Yr	£50
5 July 1822	£50	6 October 1823	£50.

The Duke's account book shows that Franchi continued to receive payments up until his death.

⁸ Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, f.88, Franchi to Duke, 8 September 1822.

⁹ Hume's bill for the Fonthill sale in HA, Bundle 602, is correlated with entries in Phillips's *Catalogue of The Unique and Splendid Effects of Fonthill Abbey* in Appendix 9.

¹⁰ They had probably been purchased by Beckford from the London dealer Robert Fogg in 1814 and had been in the Great Dining Room at Fonthill.

connoisseur, the duc d'Aumont (1709-82), and their alleged provenance would certainly have appealed to the Duke – especially if he had known that Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette had bought many of the most expensive items at the d'Aumont sale in 1782.¹¹

The choice of paintings was also considered and logical – at least from the Duke's standpoint. From a very wide selection, the Duke chose works which were believed to be by two of the most venerated masters in the artistic pantheon. The “Leonardo” *Laughing Boy* (now at Elton Hall) (Fig.63) fitted in with his special interest in *quattrocento* and early *cinquecento* art and came in the wake of his acquisition of Pontormo's *Joseph with Jacob in Egypt* and, in all probability, other paintings of the same period; while the “Carracci” *Libyan Sibyl* (now in the Cavallini-Sgarbi Foundation, Ferrara) (Fig.64) appeared to fill an obvious gap in the Italian Baroque paintings assembled by the early Dukes of Hamilton and the Duke's own father.

These works were also very significant items in the context of the history of collecting and served to emphasize the Duke's own connoisseurship. Both paintings had been owned by major British collectors besides Beckford. The *Laughing Boy* had belonged to Sir William Hamilton, for whom the Duke had a very high regard, while the *Sibyl* had been in the collection of the 1st Marquess of Lansdowne. They joined and “reinforced” Signorelli's *Circumcision of Christ*, which had also been in the March 1806 Lansdowne sale, and Rubens's *Loves of the Centaurs*, from Sir William Hamilton's collection, that the Duke had bought in 1810.

Moreover, both works were very high-profile items in the early 1820s and their purchase, at 985 guineas and 360 guineas respectively, demonstrated the Duke's (apparently) large resources and taste. They had been the only two Italian Old Master paintings lent by Beckford to recent exhibitions organised by the British Institution (in 1818 and 1821) and were given eight- and eleven-line entries in the Fonthill catalogue, which were exceeded or matched – among the Italian paintings – only by

¹¹ The duc d'Aumont had been *Gentilhomme de la chambre* to Louis XV and one of the four dukes supervising the manufacture and supply of furniture and furnishings for the French royal households. At the d'Aumont sale, Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette bought 56 lots, costing 251,420 *livres*, which made up over sixty per cent of the 383,322 *livres* realized by the 447 lots. Unfortunately, this excellent provenance seems to be incorrect. The *armoires* do not match the descriptions of the five lots of Boulle furniture in the d'Aumont sale or entries in the *Inventaire après décès du duc d'Aumont*.

the thirty-line write-up on the “St Jerome at devotion” by Veronese, from the monastery of St Benedict at Mantua, and the ten lines on “The Interview between Job and his friends” by Salvator Rosa.¹²

The correspondence reveals that Franchi was involved with the 1823 sale, but he was not in such a central, influential position. Hume clearly believed that he had a good relationship with the Duke and could act with some latitude:

M^r Franchi told me to buy the Laughing Boy, not exceeding 1005 £ I have given 985 Gs. or £1034.5. also I have Bo^t the Sybilla, at 378 £ if Your Grace will be pleased to take them I shall feel the greatest Pleasure in forwarding them to Hamilton Palace as I have taken upon myself the responsibility of Purchasing these Pictures beyond the Sums M^r Franchi mentioned I must take the Consequence of Keeping them if I have done wrong. ¹³

In addition to the *armoires* and paintings, the Duke also bought nine lots of 117 Chinese and Japanese porcelain plates, the Japanese export lacquer chest associated with Mazarin (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum)¹⁴ (Fig.65), a Japanese “idol”,¹⁵ and two colossal Chinese porcelain vases decorated with scenes of the manufacture of porcelain.

The prices paid for the plates (which come to only £20 5s), coupled with Hume’s comment that he had bought “Several Dozens of Plates at from 3 to 4 Shillings p[e]r Dozen”,¹⁶ suggest that they were partly seen as cheap functional or decorative pieces; but the whole group shows that the Duke had a much deeper interest in Far Eastern material than has been appreciated up until now. The Duke spent a total of £322 3s on these items, and one of Hume’s letters records that he wanted to acquire at least one other Far Eastern piece; Hume mentions that the Duke

¹² See the Fonthill sale catalogue, 26th day, 14 October 1823, lots 269 and 183 respectively.

¹³ HA, Bundle 602, Hume to Duke, 15 October 1823.

¹⁴ This had been bought for Beckford at the sale of the collection of the duc de Bouillon in 1800. There has been considerable confusion between the Bouillon/Fonthill chest and another, larger, Japanese lacquer chest which was also in the Hamilton collection and was subsequently owned by Sir Trevor Lawrence. As Oliver Impey and John Whitehead have shown, the measurements indicate that the Bouillon/Fonthill chest is the “Mazarin chest” now in the V&A: see Ostergard 2001, pp.222-6. The “Mazarin chest” seems to be associated with Cardinal Mazarin on the basis of the arms of the Mazarin-Meilleraye family on the key.

¹⁵ 1882 HPS, lot 1319: “A Figure of the Japanese Idol Amida – on gilt stand and wood plinth – glass shade. From Fonthill”. It sold to W. Boore for £131 5s.

¹⁶ HA, Bundle 602, Hume to Duke, 30 September 1823. This was either an exaggeration or, more likely, an error due to Hume using the dealer E.H. Baldock to bid for the ceramics and not being fully informed about the hammer prices.

had authorised him to bid up to 12 guineas for a Chinese bronze, and that he had gone up to 16 guineas and then given up.¹⁷

The Duke's interest in Japanese and Chinese items reflects the very clear influence of Beckford, who had amassed one of the greatest collections of Oriental lacquer of all time and also owned many very fine pieces of furniture decorated with Japanese lacquer. These items must have made a huge impression upon the Duke (and also the Duchess); and through Beckford – who had lived in France both before and after the Revolution and had bought many of his best pieces in or from France – the Duke would have learnt of the very high value placed upon Oriental ceramics and lacquer by the most discerning French collectors of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

It is most unlikely that the 1823 Fonthill purchases were the first notable Oriental pieces to enter the Duke's collection, and it is fascinating to find the superb French secretaire and commode with panels of Japanese lacquer by Adam Weisweiler (Figs.66-67) in the State Bed Room of Hamilton Palace as early as 1825.¹⁸ These pieces are of such exceptional quality that they almost shout a link with Beckford. They do not seem to have come from the Fonthill sale, but it is possible that they were owned by the great collector and were either given to his daughter Susan or sold at some other time.

The secretaire and commode prompt us to look much more closely at the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory. The “2 Japan Cabinets with marble Tops most neatly done metal gilt companions made by Williams”, valued at £400, in the State Drawing Room,¹⁹ seem to be the pair of cabinets incorporating panels from the Japanese lacquer “Buys box” of the 1630s, which was commissioned by Beckford from the Vulliamy firm and supplied in 1803 (now at Elton Hall) (Fig.68). This interpretation appears to be supported by an apparent reference to the cabinets in

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Hume to Duke, 29 October 1823.

¹⁸ The pieces are recorded in the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory, under “State Bed Room”, as: “A rich french Commode of black & Gold japan ornamented with bronze, a bureau to match the Commode [£]600” (HA, M4/70, p.32). They are described in more detail, still in the Old State Bed Room, in the later inventories, and were sold by Sotheby's, *The Keck Collection*, New York, 5 December 1991, as lot 55, for \$2,860,000.

¹⁹ HA, M4/70, p.28.

James Storer's *Description of Fonthill Abbey* (published in 1812) and their absence from John Rutter's *Delineations of Fonthill and Its Abbey* (published in 1823).²⁰

Other potentially promising pieces in the 1825 inventory appear to be the "Large Japaned Screen brought from Rome", valued at £80, in the Music Room, and two more "Japaned" or "Japan" screens, valued at £60 each.²¹ There is also the possibility that "votre magnifique Coffre", referred to by Franchi in August 1821,²² was the "Lawrence chest" (whereabouts unknown),²³ which was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale and was of almost the same quality as the "Mazarin chest".²⁴

All this testifies to the 10th Duke's clear interest and ownership of Oriental ceramics and lacquer. It shows that the two great secretaires and the commode by Jean-Henri Riesener decorated with Japanese lacquer, which were bought in 1832, were added to a collection that already contained at least three major pieces, and probably more than twice that, and were not a radical new development in 1832.

The acquisition of the huge porcelain vases, which are stated in the 1823 Fonthill catalogue to have been owned by "a distinguished personage of rank in Portugal", is recorded in a number of letters and reflects not only the Duke's interest in these objects, but also a rather stupid determination to have them as a matter of principle, even when he knew that they were badly damaged. According to Hume, the vases were "unfairly" auctioned by Phillips and were bought in.²⁵ Hume had engaged another leading dealer-supplier, Edward Holmes Baldock, to bid for the vases and thought Baldock could acquire them for about 130 guineas.²⁶ However, Phillips wanted £200.²⁷ Baldock subsequently informed Hume that the cracks in the vases were "much worse" than he had imagined and advised Hume to "decline taking

²⁰ See Roberts 1986.

²¹ HA, M4/70, pp.5 and 29 respectively. One of these may be the screen now at Petworth.

²² Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, f.87, Franchi to Duke, 30 August 1821.

²³ 1882 HPS, lot 1165, and Christie, Manson and Woods, *Catalogue of the Collection [...] formed by Sir Trevor Lawrence Bt, K.C.V.O.*, 29 May-1 June 1916, lot 262. The chest is illustrated in *Apollo*, CXLVII, March 1998, p.6.

²⁴ The 1825 inventory records that the "Mazarin chest" was placed in the First Dressing Room, the room directly after the State Bed Room containing the secretaire and commode (M4/70, p.34). Consequently, the "Lawrence chest" would have to be either the "Chinese Trunk & Stand", valued at £100, in the Duchess's Bed Room at Hamilton Palace (*ibid.*, p.17), or in another Hamilton residence if it was in the Hamilton collection as early as 1825.

²⁵ HA, Bundle 602, Hume to Duke, 27 October 1823.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, Hume to Duke, 17 and 18 November 1823.

them”.²⁸ Hume sent Baldock’s letter to the Duke, but the Duke insisted on his right to have them,²⁹ and was willing to pay £136 for gravely flawed pieces in order to triumph over Baldock, Phillips and any other opposition.³⁰

It is an instructive exchange of correspondence because it corroborates the main argument that the Duke’s collecting was primarily about status, rather than connoisseurship and aesthetics.

In retrospect, the Duke did very well to acquire the *armoires* and the lacquer chest, which are internationally important pieces. He also gained kudos for buying the *Laughing Boy* and the *Libyan Sibyl*. However, the first is now attributed to Bernardino Luini, while the second was actually painted by the Ferrarese artist Carlo Bononi,³¹ who was heavily influenced by Ludovico Carracci. These downgradings do not reflect well on the Duke’s “eye” and show him responding to names and provenances, rather than to brilliant brushwork.

Parisian and other French Purchases, 1826-1827

The Fonthill sale is of great importance for students of Beckford and the history of collecting, but we must not become preoccupied with it. As the husband of Beckford’s daughter and an important collector in his own right, the Duke had to take part in the sale, but the fact is that he bought relatively little at or from Fonthill. The truth is that Fonthill was an atypical foray and that the Duke relied increasingly, during the 1820s, not on British sales and sources, but on Parisian merchants and auctions for furniture and other goods.

A number of items besides the ormolu stands by Dénier were acquired from Paris in the early 1820s, but the flow became a flood in 1826. A long shipping list drawn up by the Parisian packer and shipper Chénue in May 1826 records fourteen crates of furniture, fittings and other pieces.³² Unfortunately, there is little detailed information about these items, but the consignment included “une Cheminée en

²⁸ *Ibid.*, Baldock to Hume, 18 November 1823.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, undated draft letter from the Duke to Hume.

³⁰ These seem to be lot 466 in the 1882 sale. One of the vases is illustrated in the 1882 catalogue, but a clearer view, which seems to include men handling small dishes, is to be found in Christie, Manson and Woods’ *Catalogue of the Collection of Christopher Beckett Denison*, 24 June 1885, lot 1480.

³¹ The *Sibyl* was painted by Bononi for the Oratory of the Conception of the Virgin Mary adjacent to the church of San Francesco in Ferrara, and was sold to John Udny in or after 1772: see Sgarbi 2004, p.352. I am much obliged to Professor Peter Humfrey for this reference.

³² HA, F2/1065/2, Chénue shipping list, dated 22 May 1826.

Marbre de chez Vâlin”, “une grande Commode d’acajou”, “1 petit bronze Louis 18”, “1 Pendule de chez Rolland”, and three pairs of candlesticks.

Rolland’s name appears again, as “Roland”, on this list and on a shorter related list³³ and it seems that he was one of the main suppliers in 1826. The principal item currently associated with him is the *Régence* eight-light ormolu chandelier, measuring approximately 110 x 97 centimetres, which is believed to be the “Lustre de boule en bronze doré” that the Duke purchased “par Mr. Rolland” on 26 March 1826 for a total of 900 francs (Fig.69).³⁴

What emerges from the Hamilton papers is that the Duke used Jean Quinet, his former valet and the current steward at Holyroodhouse, to ensure that acquisitions were safely sent from Paris and also to conclude or arrange other acquisitions after he had departed.³⁵ Thus, Quinet was responsible for buying and sending a “magnificent bureau” which was bought from Max, “Marchand d’Objets d’Art et de Curiosité, Rue Royale Saint-honore”, in September 1826 for 1,200 francs. The idiosyncratic bill describes the purchase as:

Le Magnifique Bureau provenan de Monsieur le Duc de Choiseuille et fait par le Célèbre Ébéniste Riesnère Ce Meuble de la plus par faite conser[v]ations avec son Cerre papié[r] surmontée de sa pandule Le tout ornié de Bronze biens doré³⁶

These pieces are the *bureau plat* and *cartonnier*, with parquetry panels, attributed to the duc de Choiseul’s principal *ébéniste* Simon Oeben (now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly) (Fig.70), of about 1765-70, which are depicted in the Cabinet à la Lanterne or Cabinet Octagone in the Hôtel Choiseul, in Paris, in one of the miniatures by Louis-Nicolas Van Blarenberghe on the famous “Choiseul Box”.³⁷ They were apparently shipped from Paris in January 1827 and are the “one writing table & porte papier both inlaid wood & guilt” recorded on the Duke’s note of items

³³ HA, Bundle 665.

³⁴ See Christie’s, *Succession d’un Amateur Mobilier et Objets D’Art*, Monaco, 5 December 1992, lot 41.

³⁵ See Quinet’s letters to the Duke between December 1826 and April 1827 in Bundle 1001. This was not a new development, as the Duke had deployed Quinet as his agent in Paris in 1824: see Quinet’s letters to the Duke in Bundle 731.

³⁶ HA, F2/1064/37. The reverse is annotated: “1826. Septembre 9. Recue de M^r Max pour le Bureau de M^r de Choiseuille – 1200. –”. In the record of his payments, Quinet notes the purchase under October 1826: see F2/1064/34.

³⁷ Watson 1963, fig.3 and p.12, and Bloomquist 2004, pp.57-8 and fig.5.

that Quinet had sent from Paris and were in Hamilton Palace in 1827.³⁸ All three pieces were placed in the new Library, where they are listed as “An Inlaid Mahogany table ornamented with Gilt Bronze and Bronze Frame Duc de Choiseuil [£]130” in the 1835 inventory, with the added annotations “connected with it is’ before “Duc” and “Bureau with a time piece” after “Choiseuil”.³⁹

The Duke acquired many more items in Paris the following year. Some involved individuals with whom he was already acquainted and were therefore comparatively easy acquisitions. A letter from Quinet dated 6 December 1826 records that the Duke was interested in furniture in the estate of the artist, dealer, restorer and curator the Chevalier Ferréol de Bonnemaïson (1766-1826), who had acted as his agent in obtaining the David portrait of Napoleon in 1811-12.⁴⁰ Bonnemaïson’s widow was willing to sell “les deux Colon[n]es de Boulle” in December and these equate to the pair of pedestal-cabinets attributable to André-Charles Boulle (Fig.71), which were eventually purchased in February 1827 for 3,000 francs. However, Madame Bonnemaïson would not sell “la Commode de Bull” in December. Subsequent letters indicate that the commode could probably have been bought for a large sum before the Bonnemaïson sale in April.⁴¹ But the Duke waited until the auction and was duly rewarded. His agent, Rouget, purchased the commode, which is stamped by Levasseur and is believed to have been delivered to the bedchamber of the comte d’Artois (the youngest brother of Louis XVI) in the Hôtel du Grand Prieur du Temple in 1777 (now at Versailles) (Fig.72), for only 4,401 francs.⁴²

Similarly, the Duke turned again to Dénrière, who had made the massive Louis XIV-style bases for his porphyry slabs in the early 1820s, and had apparently supplied a piece of furniture with gilt mounts in 1826,⁴³ and obtained four candelabra

³⁸ HA, Bundle 731, Chenue’s shipping list for 19 December 1826-26 April 1827, and M4/70, p.185.

³⁹ HA, Volume 1223, p.131. The filing cabinet and clock are just visible in Annan’s photograph of the Library (Fig.60).

⁴⁰ HA, Bundle 1001, Quinet to Duke, 6 December 1826. Ronald Freyberger drew attention to these two purchases, but not to Quinet’s letters, in his article “Eighteenth-Century French Furniture from Hamilton Palace” (Freyberger 1981). The pedestals themselves are described and discussed in Christie’s *Important French Furniture from a Private Collection*, New York, 21 May 1996, lot 359.

⁴¹ See HA, Bundle 1001, Quinet to Duke, 14 February and 2 March 1827.

⁴² Arizzoli-Clémentel 2002, pp.87-9.

⁴³ Chenue’s May 1826 shipping list (HA, F2/1065/2) appears to record “un Meuble en bois de rose [i.e. tulipwood] garni de dorure de Chez M^r Dénrière” in crate 13.

made of malachite with Egyptian figures and light fittings of ormolu, costing 6,800 francs, and four “Bouquete de Lumiere” priced at 860 francs.⁴⁴

The candelabra seem to have been an addition to an existing set because the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records “4 Malachite Candle Stands ornamented with gilt”, valued at £150, in the Gallery,⁴⁵ while the 1835 inventory lists “8 Malakite and Gilt Bronze Candlesticks”, valued at £400, in the Gallery.⁴⁶

Entries in the 1853 inventory⁴⁷ and the 1882 sale catalogue⁴⁸ indicate that they were all the same model and therefore support the attribution of all eight to Dénier. They were very arresting pieces, with the malachite serving to remind people of the Duke’s involvement with Russia and the Egyptian figures of his interests in Antiquity and Freemasonry. Christie’s 1882 catalogue describes them as “Candelabra, of or-molu, with branches of classic design for three lights each, supported on Egyptian figures of the same and square columns of malachite – on oval stands of antique serpentine, and massive square pedestals of malachite, with or-molu mouldings – 32 in. high”.⁴⁹

The Boulle-related chandelier and the three pieces from the Bonnemaïson collection augmented the *armoires* from the Fonthill sale and enabled the Duke to start competing with George IV, the Duke of Wellington, the 3rd Marquess of Hertford and other British collectors, who had already built up very good collections of turtleshell-brass “Boulle” furniture.⁵⁰

That said, the 10th Duke’s most important, definite acquisition of this period was the marquetry commode or chest of drawers attributed to the sculptor and *ébéniste* Charles Cressent, of about 1730 (now at Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury), which is decorated with ormolu mounts of boys, branches and birds

⁴⁴ HA, Bundle 2089, bill from Dénier for 1827 (with an outstanding charge from 1823 and other charges for 1827). Around this time Dénier was also playing a leading rôle in the restoration of a very important Empire-style boat bed, with two almost life-size gilt wood figures. This is also associated with Rouget and is discussed in Appendix 9.

⁴⁵ HA, M4/70, p.1.

⁴⁶ HA, Volume 1223, p.109.

⁴⁷ “8 Very fine Malachite Candelabra for 3 lights each with richly chased gilt metal Figures and nosles &c on top of Tables”: HA, Volume 1228, p.133.

⁴⁸ The eight were divided into four pairs and sold as lots 654-657. Lot 654 was described, while lots 655-657 were simply listed as “A Pair – Similar” or “A Pair of Ditto”.

⁴⁹ 1882 HPS, lot 654.

⁵⁰ See Watson 1975 and Aldrich 1998. Wellington had acquired nineteen pieces of “Boulle” furniture by Etienne Levasseur and others from Bonnemaïson in 1818, and the Duke of Hamilton was buying three first-rate pieces from the stock/collection of a dealer who had specialized in “Boulle” furniture.

(Fig.73).⁵¹ The piece is clearly recorded, albeit incorrectly, in a list of items the Duke states he sent from Paris “a little previous” and were in Hamilton Palace in 1827: “one bureau, with a tree & boys in bronze guilt in relief”.⁵²

The Waddesdon commode stands head and shoulders above comparable chests of the first half of the eighteenth century and is one of the very best examples of the early rococo style in the decorative or applied arts. Yet it is a surprising acquisition for the 10th Duke, because it clashes with his preference for ponderous magnificence and his otherwise obvious, marked aversion to the frivolous rococo style. One could view the purchase – for purchase it must be – as a simple acknowledgement of the sheer quality of the work, but it also seems likely that the Duke would have believed that the decoration would have amused his daughter, the very spoiled Susan (“Suzie” or “Toosey”), then aged thirteen.⁵³

The 1827 Italian Acquisitions

The Duke’s final visit to Italy in 1827 resulted in another large tranche of Italian purchases. Many of the big, heavy pieces are recorded on a list written by the Duke in Rome on 30 June 1827⁵⁴ and a list of “Cases arrived from Rome in 1828”, which is also in his handwriting.⁵⁵ They show that the Duke’s taste for tables, columns and other pieces in marble, porphyry and granite was as strong as in the late 1810s-early 1820s and that he was still acquiring material from the Braschi collection. However, there now appears to be a more pronounced emphasis on items with interesting associations and provenances.

A “testa” of the first great poet, Homer, in black and white marble,⁵⁶ and three panels of red Egyptian granite, from the Braschi collection, associated with the red Egyptian granite Column and sculptured pedestal of the Roman Emperor

⁵¹ For a description and discussion of the commode itself, see de Bellaigue 1974, I, pp.200-6.

⁵² HA, M4/70, p.185 (see Appendix 9).

⁵³ One wonders whether the Duke and his family realized that the boys are represented catching birds on branches smeared with gum. For Susan’s upbringing and character, see Surtees 1977.

⁵⁴ HA, F2/1069/7 (see Appendix 9).

⁵⁵ HA, F2/1069/8 (see Appendix 9).

⁵⁶ The “testa” is listed, as “The Bust of Homer in Black Marble”, as an addition to the New Sitting Room in the 1835 inventory (see HA, Volume 1223, p.136) and was sold at the 1882 sale as “A Bust of Homer, in basalt – on bronze socle” (lot 1005) to Agnew and Sons for £99 15s.

Antoninus Pius in the Vatican,⁵⁷ enabled the Duke to highlight his Classical knowledge and project power and might, while the “famosa tazza” or “vaso” associated with Cardinal Alessandro Farnese and the three “Tavolin[i] di Firenze di casa Doria” linked the Duke and the House of Hamilton with leading patrons and families of the sixteenth century and suggested flattering parallels. The chimneypiece given by Cardinal Fesch to the Duchess must have been a particularly welcome present, as it was a large visual acknowledgement of the Duke’s close involvement with the Bonaparte family and helped promote the idea that he was a major player on the world stage.

All this fits into a pattern. But the lists are also very revealing because they show that the Duchess and her daughter were also acquiring items and that less grandiose and, indeed, poor pieces were entering the Hamilton collection at this time. According to the Duke, the Duchess acquired “Un tavolino tondo di mostre di pietre” or a “Tavolino tondo [...] di marmi intarziati”, while Susan had become the owner of a smaller, similar “Tavolino”.⁵⁸ Very few of the items on the lists have been identified and traced with certainty and it is therefore particularly interesting to relate “Una testa d’Alabastro orientale (un leone)” to lot 1424 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, which was bought at the auction by what became the National Museums Scotland (Fig. 74).⁵⁹ This is actually an indifferent contemporary carving – apparently a spurious “antiquity” – which the Hamiltons (and the Museum staff) should have realized was “wrong” and unworthy of a place in their collection.⁶⁰

The Acquisition of the Ottoboni Tapestries

The Duke’s visit to Italy seems to have precipitated one of his pre-eminent Italian acquisitions the following year: eight of the fifteen tapestries representing scenes from Torquato Tasso’s epic poem *Gerusalemme Liberata*, which had been

⁵⁷ The three panels of Egyptian granite may have been used as table tops in the Tribune and/or the Dining Saloon: see HA, Volume 1228, opposite pp.95-6 and 98, with the annotations “a portion of the broken columns of the Parthenon” and “Part of the Parthenon”.

⁵⁸ It is possible that these works correspond to “A Fine Piece of Mosaick work pigeons and Cup by Geo: Angeloni”, valued at £80 (with the addition “after one at the Capitol at Roome”), listed in the Duchess’s Sitting Room, and/or the “2 Stude of Mosaick, by Jacques Raffailly, (Birds)”, valued at £5, in Lady Susan’s Dressing Room in 1835: see HA, Volume 1223, pp.93 and 85 respectively.

⁵⁹ The piece is described in the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.163) as “a Lions Head of oriental alabaster in black frame”. It is still in its black frame and is now NMS, A.1882.31.11.

⁶⁰ Worryingly, the Duke had this in his bedroom from at least 1835 until his death, presumably as a prized item.

woven for Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni (1667-1740), the great-nephew of Pope Alexander VIII and Vice-Chancellor of the Papal State, by the San Michele manufactory in Rome in the 1730s and hung in his official residence, the Palazzo della Cancelleria.⁶¹

The tapestries may have been under consideration in 1827, because in early November 1827 the Duke's good friend Count Leopoldo Cicognara refers to "la descrizione delle tapezerie ricamate" and cites sums of 1,000 *zecchini* a piece or 1,000 *scudi* "di tutta la Stanza".⁶² In mid May 1828 Cicognara reminded the Duke about the "bellissimi Arazzi del Poema del Tasso" in the "Casa Foscari".⁶³ According to Cicognara, two had been made in the "Fabbrica di Gobelins e sono anche li più grandi e tutti gli Altri della Fabbrica di Roma a S. Michele a Ripa". He gives a price of 35,000 francs for the two "Gobelins" tapestries but fails to give a straightforward figure in francs for the Ottoboni tapestries.

A scrap of paper in another bundle lists ten of the Ottoboni tapestries and is annotated by the Duke with indications that he wrote to Cicognara about them in June 1828 and was wanting to acquire eight of the panels for 15,000 francs: "scritto al Conte Cicognara Juigno 1[?7 or 9] _ 1828" and "dando per li 8 pezzi 15m _ franchi ma non di più".⁶⁴ The purchase must have gone ahead because the Duke's notebook of his transactions with Hoare's bank records two payments to the Schielin bank in Italy, of £268 4s and £300, under 2 October 1828, and has the addition "for Count Clignara" between the two entries and an added bracket that links these words and the two sums.⁶⁵

It therefore appears that eight tapestries were bought in 1828 and shipped to Britain later that year or early in 1829. This is corroborated by two letters written by Cicognara to the Duke in June and August 1829, which record that Cicognara still

⁶¹ For a discussion of the commission and the tapestries themselves, see Standen 1982 and Standen 1985, II, pp.776-85.

⁶² HA, Bundle 1002, Cicognara to Duke, 3 9bre 1827.

⁶³ HA, Bundle 1125A, Cicognara to Duke, 14 May 1828. In the letter, Cicognara says they had been owned by "Zoppo Foscari", who had left them to a friend. The working theory is that they had been in the Palazzo Foscari, Campo dei Carmini, Dorsoduro, or the Palazzo Foscari-Giovanelli on the Grand Canal.

⁶⁴ HA, Bundle 2067: see Appendix 14.

⁶⁵ HA, F2/1046, unpaginated p.80. The incorrect spelling of Cicognara can be explained in a number of ways but may have been due to the Duke's very bad eyesight around 1828-31.

had seven (“gli altri sette” and “li residui sette”) of the (fifteen) tapestries.⁶⁶ Cicognara hoped to sell the second batch to the Duke, but as he had to remind the Duke about the tapestries, and only touched upon them in a few sentences, it seems unlikely that he succeeded.

The tapestries the Duke bought are probably the “9 Pieces of Tapestry for room Walls” valued at £900 listed in the high-value textile store, “N^o, 4 Kitchen Court over the Scullery Locked up key kept by M^{rs} Hastie”, in the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory.⁶⁷ Any major problem with the number “9” and the association of these tapestries with the Ottoboni series is allayed by the added note “In Tapestry Rooms” beside the entry, because the Ottoboni tapestries were eventually displayed in the New State or Tapestry Rooms in the palace. They were not actually hung there, or hung there finally, until 1845, and only eight were on display – and, indeed, included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

The “titles” and canto and stanza references on the list help us to identify the tapestries, ascertain which tapestries hung in which room, and also correct some of the views expressed by Edith Standen (the former expert on tapestries at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) in 1982 and 1985.⁶⁸

Basically, the list records:

Godfrey chosen to lead the Crusade

Aladin hears of the Crusaders' Approach

Sophronia's Defiance

Clorinda rescuing Sophronia and Olindo

The Crusaders reach Jerusalem

Armida prepares to go to the Crusaders' Camp

The Combat of Clorinda and Tancred

An unidentified tapestry of Godfrey finding the body of Gernando

Erminia and the Shepherd

The Combat between Tancred and Argante

There is no mention of two tapestries – *Armida in Godfrey's Tent* (canto 4, stanza 77) and *Godfrey addressing the Followers of Dudone* (canto 5, stanza 2) (both

⁶⁶ HA, Bundle 1125A, Cicognara to Duke, 13 June and 7 August 1829.

⁶⁷ HA, Volume 1223, p.171.

⁶⁸ See footnote 61. Information about the dimensions and later histories of these tapestries will be found in Appendix 14.

now in San Francisco Opera House) – which Standen believed had “probably” or “possibly” been in the Hamilton collection.

The 1853 and 1876 Hamilton Palace inventories record three Ottoboni tapestries in the Sitting Room, two in the second room, the State Bedroom, and three in the third room, the Dressing Room.⁶⁹

Two photographs taken by Thomas Annan (Figs.75-76) show that the three tapestries in the Sitting Room were *Erminia and the Shepherd* (Metropolitan Museum),⁷⁰ *Clorinda and Tancred in Combat* (formerly owned by the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh),⁷¹ and *The Combat between Tancred and Argante* (West Dean College, Chichester).⁷²

These tapestries correspond to lots 1915, 1914 and 1916 in the 1882 Hamilton palace sale.⁷³ The next two Ottoboni lots, lots 1918 and 1919, came from the adjacent room, the State Bedroom (as Christie’s clearly sold all the tapestries in the New State Rooms in the “correct” room sequence).⁷⁴ Lot 1918, catalogued as “by Ferloni” and 12 feet by 19 feet 4 inches, would have been *The Crusaders reach Jerusalem*, which is signed by Ferloni and measures 12 feet 5 inches by 19 feet 6 inches; while lot 1919, described as 12 feet by 10 feet 3 inches, was *Sophronia’s Defiance*, which is 12 feet 4 inches by 10 feet 6 inches. Both are now in the Metropolitan Museum.

The last group of Ottoboni tapestries in the 1882 sale, lots 1922-1924, came from the Dressing Room and consisted of *Armida prepares to go to the Crusaders’ Camp* (whereabouts unknown) (Fig.77)⁷⁵ and two tapestries described as 12 feet

⁶⁹ See HA, Volume 1228, pp.110, 112 and 115.

⁷⁰ On the entrance or west wall.

⁷¹ Opposite the windows, on the south wall. This was sold by Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, 24 June 1977, lot 79.

⁷² On the chimney or east wall, leading to the State Bedroom.

⁷³ Lot 1914 is catalogued as signed by “Nouzou” (a mistake for Nouzon) and 12 feet x 20 feet 10 inches and equates to *The Combat of Clorinda and Tancred*, which was about 11 feet 6 inches x 19 feet 7 inches in 1977. Lot 1915 is described as by “P. Ferloni” and 12 feet x 15 feet 3 inches and corresponds to *Erminia and the Shepherd*, which has lost its guards and was 11 feet 11 inches x 15 feet around 1982. Lot 1916 was stated to be 12 feet x 10 feet 4 inches and must, by a process of elimination, be *The Combat of Tancred and Argante*.

⁷⁴ Not only does the lotting of Ottoboni tapestries match the numbers in each of the rooms, but the lots of overdoor tapestries correspond to the three in the Sitting Room, three in the Bedroom and four in the Dressing Room recorded in the later inventories.

⁷⁵ This was catalogued in 1882 as signed “Nouzou” and dated 1735 and measuring 12 feet x 21 feet 6 inches. It was sold in 1960 with the same signature and date and measurements of 10 feet 6 inches x

square and 12 feet by 11 feet: *Aladin hears of the Crusaders' Approach* (Metropolitan Museum), which is 12 feet 2 inches by 11 feet 6 inches, and *Clorinda rescuing Sophronia and Olindo* (West Dean College).

We therefore now have what can safely be regarded as the “core group”.⁷⁶

The real dividend to all this detective work is that we can now see that the Ottoboni tapestries forced the Duke to re-assess his requirements and collecting. From 1828, he was obliged to acquire furniture which would complement the Ottoboni tapestries. This obviously necessitated buying pieces upholstered with tapestry or embroidery and low, colourful items (which would not obscure the main narrative scenes), and had the consequence – because of the availability of such items – of pushing him towards Louis XV and Louis XVI furniture.

Furthermore, the presence of herms on the left- and right-hand sides of the tapestries stimulated the Duke to acquire more items decorated with herms, caryatids and similar figures. An obvious example of this is the black lacquer secretaire with caryatid corner mounts now in the Getty Museum (Fig.85), which was purchased in 1832, but the herms on the tapestries also influenced him to commission the Atlantes (1837-42) (Fig.93) that appeared to support the passageway directly opposite the great black marble staircase (1840-45).

The Duke very ostentatiously “ran” black marble through the palace, but he also used Atlantes and herms to provide another form of “continuity” and displayed them, with statues, sculptures and other pieces decorated with figures, to clever, repetitive effect.

In the final version of the “work of my whole life” (as the Duke described the palace⁷⁷), visitors entered the North Front at ground-floor level and passed the gigantic Atlantes. They began to climb the great black marble double staircase, watched by porphyry and basalt busts of three Roman Emperors, and were confronted by the Atlantes. At the top of the stairs, with the Atlantes below them, they could turn right into the Tapestry Rooms. Here they found the sixteen smaller

21 feet: see Sotheby's, *European Glass, Oriental Rugs and Carpets, Tapestries and English Furniture*, London, 29 April 1960, lot 105.

⁷⁶ It seems most unlikely that the Duke acquired more than eight tapestries, but if he did, then, on the basis of the list, one would expect them to have been *Godfrey chosen to lead the Crusade* (the first entry on the list, which is partly crossed out) and/or the unidentified tapestry of Godfrey finding the body of Gernando.

⁷⁷ See HTHL, HELB 1848-50, pp.174-9, William Leighton to Charles Ranken, 27 March 1849.

herms on the Ottoboni tapestries and the ormolu female figures on the Getty secretaire in the third of the four rooms, the Dressing Room.

If people turned left at the top of the marble staircase, they ran the gauntlet past five life-size bronze copies of Classical statues in the Upper Entrance Hall and a small table with ormolu boy herms by Dénrière in the centre of the Tribune. Walking straight on, they entered the west wing and encountered the two large porphyry tables with stands with more boy herms by Dénrière in the Breakfast Room and Drawing Room and the superb French secretaire and commode, decorated with Japanese lacquer and ormolu full-length female figures and herms of boys, in the Old State Bedroom.

The impact of all this was increased by the other statues and busts on the ground and first floors, by the figures of Aspasia and Socrates on the Boulle *armoires* and Egyptians on the Dénrière candelabra in the Gallery, and by small bronze statuettes and other “figurative” works.

The acquisition of the Ottoboni tapestries was a pivotal moment in the development of the Hamilton collection. It goes a long way towards explaining the move away from collecting “Boulle” to late eighteenth-century furniture by Riesener and other leading Parisian *ébénistes* and *menuisiers*, and encouraged the Duke to acquire more “herm”-related items and statues and sculpture generally.⁷⁸

The Golden Years of Collecting, 1830-1832

Bearing this in mind, we come to the greatest period of the Duke’s collecting: 1830-32, when he acquired the “tea service” made for Napoleon and Marie-Louise in 1810, at least five of Jean-Henri Riesener’s most sublime pieces of furniture (including four made for Marie-Antoinette), five bronze copies of Classical statues then believed to have been made for Francis I of France, and the porphyry busts of the Roman Emperors “Augustus” and “Tiberius”.

⁷⁸ The purchase of the tapestries also partly explains the rash of schemes involving caryatids, herms and Atlantes in this period, which include the design for a chimneypiece in the Entrance Hall with either caryatids or herms, Hamilton’s proposal for caryatids “supporting” the lantern of the Tribune, and a painted ceiling with caryatids in the Tribune: see HA, drawings 87, 89 and 88 respectively. These are all second-rate and the Duke wisely moved on to explore other possibilities. The desire to “continue” herms through the palace also goes a long way towards explaining why so much effort went into acquiring the white marble chimneypiece formerly owned by Sir Gregory Page-Turner, in the late 1820s-early 1830s. This had four herms and was installed in the New Dining Room (Fig.61).

It has to be said that the Duke was incredibly fortunate that the completion of the north block and restoration and improvement of the old palace, and his two-year buying spree to furnish and fit out all the rooms, coincided with so many exceptional opportunities. He was able to take advantage of the Bourbons' willingness to sell the tea service of the Emperor Napoleon and the financial embarrassment of the recent purchaser of the bronze statues in 1830, the death of the owner of two pieces made by Riesener for Marie-Antoinette and their appearance at auction in 1831, and then the bankruptcy of George Watson Taylor in 1832, which yielded at least two more Riesener/Marie-Antoinette pieces, a pair of large *pietre dure* cabinets by Hume, the two porphyry busts of "Augustus" and "Tiberius" and four other important items from the recently assembled, astonishing collection at Erlestoke Park, near Devizes.

The Duke's first great *coup* came in May 1830 when he acquired the silver-gilt "tea service" which had been supplied by Martin-Guillaume Biennais in connection with the marriage of the Emperor Napoleon and the Archduchess Marie-Louise of Austria in 1810 (now divided between the Musée du Louvre and the National Museums Scotland) (Fig.78).⁷⁹

The service had been in storage since 1814/15 and could not be used by the Bourbons because it was impossible to remove the blatant Napoleonic references without ruining the pieces.⁸⁰ This seems to have been officially accepted, as Jean-Charles Cahier, Biennais's successor and the official goldsmith to Charles X, had submitted an offer to buy the contents of the two chests for 10,739 francs 19 centimes.⁸¹

Exactly how the Duke learnt of the service is not known, but it seems likely that he was alerted to its existence by the architect Charles Percier, who had designed most of the principal pieces. As we saw in the last chapter, Percier had been working on interior designs for Hamilton Palace in 1827 and had been paid 4,000 francs the

⁷⁹ The service is discussed in Poole 1977. Poole publishes the French royal household side of the sale of the service in 1830, but the material relating to Percier and Garnaud in the next five paragraphs is the result of my own research. For information and illustrations relating to individual items, see Dion-Tenenbaum 2003, pp.47-72.

⁸⁰ The arms of the Bourbons are engraved on both pairs of sugar tongs, indicating that they have either been re-engraved and re-gilt or are replacements. The court officials realized that it would have been well-nigh impossible to have removed the arms of the former Emperor, initial "N"'s for Napoleon, profile heads of Napoleon and other Napoleonic/Imperial references (e.g. eagles and bees) from the other pieces.

⁸¹ Poole 1977, p.391.

following year. During the first two months of 1829, Percier had provided the Duke with recommendations for a good *menuisier* and a *serrurier*.⁸² In January 1830 he was engaged in designing a mausoleum for the Duke and wrote to “Monsieur le Duc”, expressing undying gratitude for the gift of a “draperie Ecossaise”:

I do not know how to convey my gratitude for the parcel I have just received from you. It is impossible to show more kindness and concern. I will carefully and religiously look after the Scottish drapery; it will keep warm the body of your indebted servant. As for his heart, as long as it holds any warmth, it will be devoted to Your Grace.⁸³

In short, Percier was both able and willing to assist the Duke and knew that the Duke would have loved to own the most important Napoleonic silver service ever made, especially if it was available at a low price.

Whether one accepts this line of reasoning, a letter written by a M. Le Duc to the comte de La Bouillerie, *Intendant général de la Maison du Roi*, dated 5 May 1830, states that some foreigners had made an offer of 17,000 francs for the service. Le Duc recommended accepting the offer, because it was considerably more than Cahier had been prepared to pay. Five days later, Charles X gave his approval, and on 11 May La Bouillerie authorised Le Duc to sell the service “aux personnes étrangères”.⁸⁴

Nothing more is currently known from the papers in the Archives Nationales, but a bill in the Hamilton archive reveals that on 17 May Louis-Jacques Garnaud, jeweller to the Dauphin and the duc de Berry, made out an account for 19,500 francs for the service and a further 95 francs for mending and gilding two salt cellars (presumably the pair of double salts surmounted by figures of Venus) and for two strainers.⁸⁵ The fact that the payment for the service went through Garnaud indicates that he was the link with Le Duc, but we are left wondering and speculating about the “difference” of 2,500 francs between the agreed purchase price with the French royal household and Garnaud’s charge.⁸⁶

⁸² See HA, C3/328, 329 and 330, Percier to Duke, 28 January and 26 February 1829, and Fontaine to Percier, 26 February 1829.

⁸³ HA, Bundle 1002, Percier to Duke, 20 January 1830.

⁸⁴ Poole 1977, p.391.

⁸⁵ The bill (HA, Bundle 660) is in Appendix 9.

⁸⁶ There is insufficient space to discuss this properly, but the difference of 2,500 francs can only be explained as (1) a very large charge for commission or profit, (2) reimbursement for payments to

The Duke followed up this amazing acquisition with the purchase of five bronze copies of the Classical statues of the *Apollo Belvedere*, *Diana of Versailles*, *Belvedere Antinous*, and *Hercules and Telephus* (all now displayed outside the Huntington Library, San Marino) and the *Borghese Gladiator* (whereabouts unknown) (Fig.79). They were believed to have been cast in Italy for Francis I of France, but are now attributed to the French sculptor Hubert Le Sueur (c.1580-c.1660), who had produced a similar *Gladiator*, and probably casts of *Diana*, *Antinous* and *Hercules and Telephus*, for Charles I in the 1630s (all now at Windsor Castle).⁸⁷

According to a letter from the dealer La Neuville dated 5 9bre 1830, the Duke had inspected the statues and been shown a record of their purchase by their owner, M. Mazard himself, before he left for England a few months earlier.⁸⁸ Around this time, he was apparently given – either directly by La Neuville or via Quinet – a printed promotional “Notice sur cinq Statues en Bronze par M.^r de Roquefort, Membre des Sociétés royales de Goettingue et des Antiquaires de France”, with illustrations of all five statues, which alleges that they had been made for Francis I and been at the “Château de Villeroi”.⁸⁹

The reference to the château and a “Nota” at the end of the “Notice”, mentioning “Nicolas Neuville”, suggest that the casts were the set owned by Nicolas de Neuville, marquis de Villeroi, rather than Louis Phélypeaux, seigneur de la Vrillière. Both men had commissioned casts of the *Diana of Versailles* and *Hercules*

others involved in the acquisition of the service, or (3) the cost of the additional silver-gilt pieces that the Duke definitely owned by December 1833, and possibly by December 1831 (i.e. the 24 table spoons and 24 table forks, assayed between 1809 and 1819, and the 12 plates, 12 spoons and 12 forks in a small morocco case: see HA, M12/5/17, Inventory of Plate taken at Hamilton Palace, 13 December 1831 and 9 December 1833, unpaginated, as “Napoleons Gilt Plate, continued”). As Garnaud lists the small sums relating to the salts and strainers separately, one would have expected any additions to the service to have been itemised on the bill. The Duke subsequently bought other items from Garnaud, and a letter from the jeweller to the Duke dated 22 February 1833 records the purchase of “vingt quatre couverts” and other pieces (HA, Bundle 1002). All the additional Napoleonic flatware is in the National Museums Scotland. The plates were included in Sotheby’s sale of *Fine English and Foreign Silver*, 18 November 1976, lot 163, and were apparently struck with the maker’s mark L.N.N. (for L.N. Naudin).

⁸⁷ Avery 1982, pp.148-9 and 178-9.

⁸⁸ HA, Bundle 1002, La Neuville to Duke, 5 November 1830. Quinet was clearly involved in this purchase. La Neuville begins his letter: “As you were about to leave for England, your steward talked to me of your intentions concerning the five bronze statues I had the honour of showing you. I showed them to him also, so he could all the better report to you, along with the note I gave him. At his invitation, I made fresh enquiries of the owner and you will find the result below.”

⁸⁹ HA, F2/1069/40.

and *Telephus* from Le Sueur in 1648 and apparently subsequently acquired casts of *Apollo*, *Antinous* and the *Gladiator*.⁹⁰ The five Neuville statues are recorded in the park at the Château de Villeroy in the 1780s⁹¹ and must be the set proposed for the Louvre by the merchant Baron in 1797, Fournier in 1810 and Dumoulin in February 1829.⁹² This is indicated by de Roquefort's third paragraph – "Pendant nos troubles politiques, ces Bronzes ont été vendus, un ami des arts les acheta pour en faire hommage au Musée d'une grande ville. Sa mort empêcha l'exécution de ce noble projet" – and is confirmed by the note "S'adresser pour en traiter à M^r, Dumoulin, Propriétaire" between his main text and the "Nota". Consequently, the location "Orléans", given by Bresc-Bautier for the statues in 1829, can probably be expanded to "Rue Neuve d'Orléans, No. 18 Porte St. Denis" (the address given for the works on de Roquefort's "Notice").

In 1829 the set of statues being considered for the French national collection – which must be the set owned by Mazard – was assessed by a commission that included the sculptor David d'Angers. The commission valued the five sculptures at 80,000 francs,⁹³ but this was evidently considered to be too large a sum and the proposal fell through.

Dumoulin's failure to get the Louvre to buy the statues was very bad luck for Mazard. From what La Neuville says, it appears that Mazard had bought the casts for 28,000 francs about five years before and incurred interest charges of 7,560 francs, storage fees of 1,500 francs and transport costs to various places of 150 francs over the past five years. Finding himself "in extreme need of money six months ago", Mazard "wished to be replaced by a new purchaser". By 5 November 1830 he had spent at least 37,210 francs on the statues, but on that day La Neuville "managed to get him to agree to 30,000 francs net".

At present, it looks as though the Duke refused to agree to this and kept to the figure of 25,000 francs mentioned in his notes for Quinet at the end of June 1830 and

⁹⁰ See Bresc-Bautier 1985/87, pp.44, 48 and 53-4.

⁹¹ Dulaure 1786, II, pp.318.

⁹² See Bresc-Bautier 1985/87, p.45.

⁹³ This valuation seems to have been communicated to the Duke because the 1853 Hamilton Palace inventory has the added pencilled note that the statues were "Cast for Francis Ist to decorate his palace of Villeroy – Cast in Italy in the 16th Century, and were valued at 80,000 francs – £3,200 – in 1826" (HA, Volume 1228, opposite p.106).

Quinet's letter to the Duke dated 12 July 1830.⁹⁴ On 12 April 1831 Mazard signed a receipt for "Vingt Cinq mille Francs" from "Monsieur Laneuville";⁹⁵ and the Duke's payments to Laffitte & Company at the end of the month are annotated "£1044 .. 3 .. 8 value of frcs. 26000. for Mons^r Laneuville as to order 6 april".⁹⁶

The Duke acquired a bargain, as far as prestigious works were concerned. During his lifetime (and, indeed, well into the twentieth century), the statues were accepted as major works commissioned by the principal French monarch and patron of the Renaissance. The Duke seized their potential and placed them in the Upper Entrance Hall of Hamilton Palace. They became the first items people saw, after climbing the grand ceremonial (outside) staircase or the black marble staircase, and trumpeted the regal quality of the collection. On a more subtle level, the statues served as an ever present, inescapable reminder that the Duke of Hamilton regarded himself as a French Duke and that the duchy of Châtellerauld had been established in the 1540s – as well as making a huge contribution to the "sculptural continuity" discussed earlier.

The Napoleon tea service and the bronze statues are just the two most important acquisitions that were made or underway in 1830. Other highlights include the gilt bed, *canapé* and ten *fauteuils* bought by Quinet from Bonnet, "Grand Bazar", Rue St. Honoré, on 12 July for 1,820 francs (£75 16s 8d);⁹⁷ and the ebony commode decorated with ormolu mounts and a circular Sèvres porcelain plaque painted with flowers, that Quinet had purchased from J.L. Lherie, "Au Bassin d'Or", Rue Vivienne, for the surprisingly large sum of 4,900 francs (£204 3s 4d) three days earlier.⁹⁸

⁹⁴ HA, Bundles 498 and 1069.

⁹⁵ HA, Bundle 1000.

⁹⁶ HA, Bundle 924, Duke's account book for transactions with Hoare's bank, 1829-39, unpaginated.

⁹⁷ HA, Bundle 498, bill from Bonnet made out to Quinet, 12 July 1830. There is some additional description of these pieces on Chenue's shipping list dated 15 July 1830 (in the same bundle) which records that the bed had a "Baldaquin" and "14 pièces tapisserie des draperies". A "Memorandum of Pieces of Tapestry", dated Hamilton Palace, 15 September 1830 (HA, Bundle 2092), listing "1 large Piece for Canopy of Bed with three Pieces of Festooned Drapery attached" and twelve other pieces, seems to relate to the Bonnet bed and to corroborate the link with the bed subsequently in the New State Bedroom.

⁹⁸ HA, Bundle 498, bill from Lherie made out to Quinet, 9 July 1830. The Duke had instructed Quinet to pursue this piece in his "Notes pour Quinet" dated Paris, 27 and 28 June 1830, which are in the same bundle. Lherie had wanted 6,000 francs, Quinet had offered 4,500, and 4,900 was the compromise (see Quinet's letters to the Duke, dated 30 June and 12 July 1830, in Bundle 1069).

Bonnet's "Lit en bois doré" seems to be the Neo-classical *lit à la duchesse* (bed with a flying tester), with Gobelins tapestries, which was set up in the New State Bedroom in the early 1840s⁹⁹ (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York¹⁰⁰) (Fig.80); while the commode is probably the "Beautiful Cabinet from Versailles of the time of Louis XIV with a beautiful round Piece of ~~China~~ Painted Porcelaine of Sevre", valued at £300, listed in the New Sitting Room in 1835.¹⁰¹ (As will be realized, the Hamilton Palace inventory-takers had no idea what was Louis XIV or Louis XVI!)

It would be worth discussing some of the other items, but space precludes this. The essential point that needs to be made here is that the Duke was buying a very large quantity and range of items from Paris in 1830. The Hamilton archive records furniture, textiles, porcelain and other ceramics, and even kitchen moulds and gilt hinges, being acquired in the French capital,¹⁰² and, prior to 10 June 1830, the Duke ordered "a large Quantity of superb silk" from Lyons for the Duchess's Rooms.¹⁰³

During this period the Duke clearly wanted to acquire as many luxury goods and other products as possible from France.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ This was described in the 1853 inventory as the "magnificent Carved and gilt [6 foot wide] French Bedstead with massive Dome top & D^o Cornices gilt inside and out, the Furniture of the finest Gobelin Tapestry as having belonged to Lewis XIV" (HA, Volume 1228, p.111).

¹⁰⁰ See Standen 1985, II, 564-7. Daniëlle Kisluk-Grosheide has recently been able to relate the rare tapestry bed-hangings to a set produced by the Gobelins workshop in 1782-83 and believes both the bed, which bears the mark of Georges Jacob, and tapestries were made for César-Gabriel de Choiseul, duc de Praslin (d.1785) or his son.

¹⁰¹ HA, Volume 1223, p.133. The cabinet is described in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale catalogue (lot 993) as: "The Versailles Cabinet, of ebony, with a circular plaque of Sèvres porcelain in the centre, painted with a basket of flowers, surrounded by four crowns, and four chasings of scriptural subjects in relief in or-molu, and rich mouldings of the same, surmounted by a verde antique marble slab". It sold to G. Attenborough for £262 10s and has still to be traced.

¹⁰² See the receipts and shipping lists in HA, Bundle 498, and Volume 1223, p.3.

¹⁰³ Bod, MS. Beckford c.22, f.115, Hume to Beckford, 22 June 1830. The cost of these and other French textiles was very great. The Duke's account book (HA, Bundle 924) records that "Damask" for the Duchess's "room &^{con}" cost 20,509 francs, which came to £886 14s 6d (entry under 8 October 1830).

¹⁰⁴ It must be noted, however, that he seized the offer to buy the "Auguste Cabinet" and an ebony and mosaic cabinet with a red marble top from Beckford (who was experiencing more financial difficulties) for "£300 ready money" in February 1830: see Hume to Duke, 11 and 25 February 1830 (HA, Bundle 602). The "Auguste Cabinet" was placed in the Duchess's Bedroom and the ebony and mosaic cabinet in her Boudoir. It has been suggested that the "Auguste Cabinet" is the cabinet (now in a private collection) illustrated in Pradère 1989, on page 42, but this does not "match" the description of the "Auguste Cabinet" in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 293) and requires further investigation. The Duke may have purchased other items from Beckford because a payment of £500 to Hume, recorded in his account book under 27 June 1831, is annotated "Beckfords furniture".

In the months that followed the Duke experienced both a setback and a spur. First, Quinet died in London on 7 August 1830,¹⁰⁵ which meant that Parisian acquisitions were suddenly more difficult to arrange and process. Secondly, the Duke visited Windsor Castle on 9 November 1830, “with a roving Order to inspect all the Royal Apartments”.¹⁰⁶

The Duke’s visit to Windsor has been overlooked up until now, but was clearly of cardinal significance. It was undertaken to find out exactly what George IV had achieved before his death in June, to check that the interiors at Hamilton Palace were of the right style and magnificence, and to gather ideas for further decorating and furnishing.

On the whole, the Duke seems to have been re-assured by what he saw and by comparing and contrasting it with his own patronage and collecting. Robert Hume, who accompanied him, informed Beckford: “I am much pleased that His grace viewed the Castle for He says now He is very happy with what He has & is doing at Hamilton Palace”.¹⁰⁷

It is possible that the Duke saw Charles I’s set of bronze statues by Le Sueur on the terrace. If so, the sight would presumably have encouraged him to buy the casts owned by Mazarin.

More importantly, the Duke would have seen some of George IV’s spectacular collection of French furniture, which had been assembled over more than forty years. Five years earlier the collection had been enriched by twenty-seven pieces of furniture and lighting equipment from Christie’s eighty-nine-lot sale, in May 1825, of some of the contents of George Watson Taylor’s house in Cavendish Square. These purchases included no fewer than six pieces by Jean-Henri Riesener. The *chef d’oeuvre* was the jewel cabinet of the comtesse de Provence (the wife of Louis XVI’s eldest brother), with caryatid corner mounts, but the swoop also included a cylinder bureau; a commode and two matching corner cabinets made for Louis XVI in 1774 and 1780; and a beautiful little writing table with trellis marquetry and very fine ormolu mounts.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ HA, Bundle 498, Stephen Escudier to the Duchess of Hamilton, 7 August 1830.

¹⁰⁶ Bod, MS. Beckford c.22, f.121, Hume to Beckford, 10 November 1830 (see Appendix 11).

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, f.122.

¹⁰⁸ For further information and illustrations, see Roberts 2000.

The Duke probably knew that the King had bought many of the lots in the 1825 Watson Taylor sale, but it seems unlikely that he would have seen the key Riesener pieces during his visit, as they seem to have been in storage.¹⁰⁹ Nonetheless, the French late eighteenth-century furniture on display at Windsor must have made a deep impression upon the Duke and whipped him on to acquire other and, indeed, better examples.

During the visit, the Duke would probably have also seen two partly gilt bronze busts of the Roman Emperors “Augustus” and “Vespasian” (acquired in 1818), Leone Leoni’s bronze busts of Charles V, Philip II and the Duke of Alba (from the 1825 Watson Taylor sale)¹¹⁰ and many other busts. We cannot be certain exactly what he saw in the unfinished new displays in the Grand Corridor and elsewhere, but the visit almost certainly convinced him that his own two busts of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great were not enough and that he needed other busts of Emperors to vie with the British royal collection.

The fact that Charles X had returned to inglorious exile at the Palace of Holyroodhouse in October 1830 would also have strengthened the Duke’s resolve to collect more French material. “That perfidious monarch” had seemed to accept the Duke’s claim to the dukedom of Châtellerauld when he had offered the Duchess of Hamilton the privilege accorded to a French duchess of sitting on a *tabouret* in his presence, but had later dismissed this as simply recognition of Susan’s status as the wife of a British duke.¹¹¹ Thus the acquisition of major examples of French furniture not only demonstrated the Duke’s fashionable British taste and enabled him to rival George IV, but blasted home the point that, while Charles could not even keep his throne, the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon was going from strength to strength and turning Hamilton Palace into a veritable French royal palace – as befitted the Duke of Châtellerauld!

By extraordinary good luck, over the next two years the Duke was able to acquire four of the greatest pieces of French furniture made for Queen Marie-Antoinette. The first two – the marquetry secretaire and commode which Riesener had supplied for Marie-Antoinette in the 1780s and altered in 1790-1 (now in the

¹⁰⁹ See *ibid.*; p.121.

¹¹⁰ See *ibid.*, figs.17-19.

¹¹¹ See Leveson Gower 1894, I, pp.369-70.

Frick Collection, New York)¹¹² (Figs.81-82) – were purchased at the sale of the collection of M. Maria de Marchetti on 26 April 1831.

A hitherto unpublished letter (in French) reveals that the Duke had commissioned the Parisian upholsterer Chaudesaigues (with whom he had done business since at least 1826¹¹³) to bid for the Marie-Antoinette secretaire and commode and two “Bouille” commodes and records both the arrangement and outcome:

My Lord Duke

After your orders in response to my letter of 31 March last relating to the furniture of Mr Marchetti, I am happy to be able to tell you that I was able to be the highest bidder without exceeding your orders; on the contrary, about one third less.

The Commode and the Secretaire of Marie-Antoinette amounted to 4700 f[rancs]

The two Commodes of boule, which have not been cleaned, to 2300 [francs]

in all 7000 f[rancs]

My Lord Duke will see that I have not abused his confidence regarding the price fixed for all four pieces of 10000 f[rancs]. As I knew many collectors were interested, I managed to take advantage of a period of absence of some of them to have the items passed under the hammer, which was very favourable to me as I got them cheaper. Some people were none too pleased.¹¹⁴

[...]

It has not been possible to confirm or reject the claim to sharp practice, but at least one annotated sale catalogue records that Chaudesaigues purchased the secretaire and commode (which were the first two lots in the sale and are well described and promoted on the cover and in the introduction) for 4,000 francs and the “Bouille” commodes (lot 7) for 2,000 francs.¹¹⁵

The Duke acquired many more items in 1831, but the following year he managed to secure the breath-taking secretaire and commode of Japanese black lacquer, lavishly mounted with ormolu of the very highest quality, which were made for Marie-Antoinette’s *cabinet intérieur* at Versailles by Riesener in 1783 (now in

¹¹² For information about the pieces themselves, see Dell 1992, pp.71-91.

¹¹³ See Chaudesaigues’s bill dated 19 and 20 May 1826 (HA, F2/1064/52).

¹¹⁴ HA, Bundle 1002, Chaudesaigues to Duke, 28 April 1831.

¹¹⁵ The annotated copy of the catalogue in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie at The Hague has “4000 f.” and “chaud[e or i]saigues” against lots 1 and 2 and “2000.” and “chaud[e or i] saigus” next to lot 7. As the Marchetti provenance and sale references have never been published, the catalogue entries are included in Appendix 9.

the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) (Figs.83-84),¹¹⁶ and the secretaire of Japanese black lacquer, decorated with ormolu caryatid corner mounts, which is attributed to Riesener (now in the Getty Museum, Los Angeles) (Fig.85).¹¹⁷

Ronald Freyberger has already associated these pieces with entries in Robins's catalogue of the sale of George Watson Taylor's country house, Erlestoke Park or Mansion, in July 1832,¹¹⁸ but the discovery of a bill from the Duke's agent, Robert Hume, confirms that they were, indeed, bought at the Erlestoke sale.¹¹⁹

It had also been deduced that the Duke had also acquired the first entry on the bill, two *pietre dure* cabinets by Robert Hume (Fig.86).¹²⁰ However, the second entry can be hailed as a major discovery. The "[Two] Busts & Pedestals" are the "Magnificent Antique Bust[s] of Nero" and "Hadrian", "in porphyry, life size, with rich or-molu drapery and mounting", which were sold on the fifteenth day of the Erlestoke sale. Two annotated catalogues in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie at The Hague record their sale to "Hume", for either £294 or £304 (which is probably a mistake converting 280 guineas to pounds); and there can be no doubt that they became the "two antique magnificent busts of oriental porphyry, the one of Augustus and the other of Tiberius", which the Reverend William Patrick stated in 1835 were displayed either side of the throne in the Long Gallery (Figs.87-88).¹²¹

Hume's bill also records that the Duke acquired a very fine French clock¹²² and an ormolu inkstand,¹²³ costing 63 guineas and 21½ guineas respectively, which were auctioned on the same day as the secretaires and commode.

¹¹⁶ The pieces are discussed in Rieder 2002.

¹¹⁷ See Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of Rugs and Carpets, Tapestries, Works of Art and Important French Furniture*, London, 26 November 1971, lot 71.

¹¹⁸ Freyberger 1981, pp.405-8.

¹¹⁹ The bill and a copy are in Bundle 660 and are reproduced and discussed in detail in Appendix 15.

¹²⁰ See Christie's, *Important French and Continental Furniture, Sculpture and Rugs*, New York, 26 April 1990, lot 170. Brooklyn Museum lent one of the cabinets to the Metropolitan Museum and sold the other at this sale. After a decade in the Gerstenfeld collection, the latter was sold by Christie's, *Important English Furniture and Carpets*, London, 6 July 2000, lot 100.

¹²¹ *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, VI, p.274.

¹²² The clock is described in the Erlestoke catalogue as: "A MAGNIFICENT PARISIAN OR-MOLU CLOCK on white marble stand, with lapis lazuli tablet, surmounted by A NOBLE AND FINELY MODELLED GROUP OF 3 CUPIDS of exquisite design and symmetry, with emblematical devices of doves, bows and arrows, &c. scroll arabesque ornaments, festoons and mouldings, excellent eight day movement, with center seconds, by Laupautel a Paris, large glass shade and plinth".

¹²³ The very impressive inkstand is catalogued as: "A SUPERB OR-MOLU INK STAND supported by four finely modelled eagles, richly ornamented with laurel leaves and branches, 2 elegant vases on

The addition to the list – the “small table” costing 46 guineas – is potentially another major discovery, because it may relate to the gorgeous writing table by Riesener, of about 1780-5, now in the Rothschild collection at Waddesdon Manor, which is branded with Marie-Antoinette’s furniture inventory mark (Fig.89),¹²⁴ or to another highly important piece. It has always been a mystery where the Waddesdon writing table came from, but it seems to match the “Lady’s Superbe Marqueterie Writing Table, with slider, drawer and shelf, elaborately inlaid with medallions of flowers, splendidly mounted with chased or-molu, in flowers, foliage and festoons, gallery railing and beaded mouldings”, which was sold, as lot 17, on the same day as the secretaires, commode, clock and inkstand. A handwritten “Copy of bill” in the Erlestoke sale catalogue in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, records that “Hume” bought this lot for 31 guineas,¹²⁵ so one can legitimately make the link, but there was another lot that day – “A Very Elegant Parisian Marqueterie Cassette and Ecritoire”¹²⁶ – which could conceivably have been described as the “small table”, and the “Copy of bill” seems to imply that Hume also bought this, for 42 guineas.

There is no evidence to suggest that the “Cassette and Ecritoire” was ever in the Hamilton collection, but one must proceed with caution. The listing of “A Beautiful Mosaick Wood work Writing Table richly ornamented with Carved and Gilt Bronze”, valued at £50, in the same room as the two secretaires and commode from the Watson Taylor sale in the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, in the Hamilton archive,¹²⁷ seems to justify the association of the “small table” on the bill with lot 17 in the Erlestoke sale; but an addition to the entry in the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library compromises the connection. It adds the words “& portrait in Centre of Wood, white marble top & brass Gallery round &c” to the initial entry,¹²⁸ and indicates that this piece was the secretaire decorated with the figure of Silence,

plinths for lights, with festoon drapery and lion’s head masques, chased hand bell in centre, on ebonized and or-molu plinth”.

¹²⁴ For details about the table itself, see de Bellaigue 1974, II, pp.520-7.

¹²⁵ A full transcript of the “Copy of bill” is in Appendix 15.

¹²⁶ The full catalogue description will be found in Appendix 15.

¹²⁷ HA, Volume 1223, p.165.

¹²⁸ HTHL, 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.199.

from Louis XVI's private study in the Petit Trianon (now at Waddesdon) (Fig.90),¹²⁹ rather than the Waddesdon writing table!

More research needs to be carried out on these items, but the implications of Hume's bill also require further investigation. The fact that the charges on the bill exactly match the sums recorded in annotated sale catalogues confirms that the busts, Marie-Antoinette secretaire and commode, and clock were bought by Hume on orders from the Duke; the same was probably the case with the Getty secretaire, where the extra three guineas might be an added charge for restoration. However, there is a huge difference of 100 guineas between the 475 guineas Hume apparently paid for the two *pietre dure* cabinets and the 575 guineas charged to the Duke. This points to a separate post-sale arrangement, with the possibility that Hume either made a substantial profit on the transaction or carried out major (unexpected) alterations to both pieces. The mark up of 4½ guineas on the inkstand, from the 18-guinea hammer price to the 22½ guineas charged to the Duke, suggests that the inkstand was either an "additional" post-sale acquisition (like the table) or a piece that underwent repair and re-gilding.¹³⁰

The placement of the French furniture and the busts is extremely interesting and thought-provoking. The Duke gave Marie-Antoinette's marquetry secretaire and commode from the Marchetti sale to the Duchess, who placed them in her Sitting Room,¹³¹ where they remained and were subsequently complemented with the little writing table now at Waddesdon.¹³²

¹²⁹ See de Bellaigue 1974, I, pp.348-57.

¹³⁰ All this is discussed in more detail in Appendix 15.

¹³¹ They are described in the 1835 inventory (HA, Volume 1223, p.93) as:

"A Very handsome Chest of Drawers French work Gilt Bronze ornaments }	
and top of Marble which belonged to Maria Antonette Queen of France }	200 „ „
A very Rich Cabinet to match the above Chest of Drawers	200".

¹³² The 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.123) records them as:

"A very valuable Marquetrie Pier Commode of 5 Drawers much enriched with beautifully chased and gilt metal Tablet Mouldings and other D^o ornaments with white marble Slab on top &^c
 A high D^o D^o Bureau Cabinet with fall down front and Cupboard under much enriched with chased Metal work to correspond with Pier commode with a white Marble top and brass gallery round D^o _".
 The secretaire and commode were joined by the writing table now at Waddesdon, which appears to be listed – as "A very pretty Square Table French work with Shelve under" – as an additional entry to the Duchess's Boudoir in the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.115). The Waddesdon table is listed much less ambiguously directly after the secretaire and commode in the 1853 inventory as:
 "A small oblong Marquetrie Table with a shelf below beautifully enriched to correspond with the above Commodes, a brass gallery round top &^c. 24 feet long".

The Duke did not allow himself the luxury of adding the other Riesener pieces – or any of his other major recent acquisitions – to his own private rooms (as Freyberger stated¹³³), but placed them in the new apartments. The Choiseul *bureau plat* and *cartonnier*, *pietre dure* cabinets by Hume from the Watson Taylor sale and a pair of ormolu candelabra associated with Marie-Antoinette¹³⁴ went into the new Library, and the “Versailles Cabinet” into the New Sitting Room. The bed and ten *fauteuils* purchased from Lherie were placed in the “Drawing Room” in the New State Apartments, while the three black lacquer pieces from the Watson Taylor sale, the Cressent commode and Louis XVI’s secretaire were marshalled in the “Dressing Room” in the same apartments,¹³⁵ awaiting the completion of these rooms and final distribution.¹³⁶

The Duke set particular store on the two porphyry heads on coloured marble bodies, with ormolu drapery, wreaths and other mounts, from the Watson Taylor sale. He must have realized that they had come from a major Continental collection, but it seems unlikely that he knew that they had been the “Vespasien” and “Titus”, and later “Auguste” and “Vespasien”, in the three great French eighteenth-century collections of Jérôme Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain (the son of the former Chancellor of France), Marcellin-François-Zacharie de Selle and Pierre-Louis-Paul Randon de Boisset, and thereafter in two later Parisian sales (Le Boeuf, 8 April 1783, and J.B.P. Lebrun, 20 April 1791).¹³⁷

For him, the all-important point was that they were “Antique” porphyry busts of Roman Caesars and therefore amongst the most potent signs and symbols of power, wealth and connoisseurship. The Borghese family and the Spanish and French kings had acquired complete sets, while later collectors generally considered themselves fortunate if they had managed to secure a single bust.¹³⁸

On a personal level, the Watson Taylor busts proved to the Duke that he had surpassed his revered relative, Sir William Hamilton, who had owned a remarkably

All three entries were subsequently annotated as “from Versailles” and “Belonged to Marie Antoinette”.

¹³³ See Freyberger 1981, pp.406 and 408.

¹³⁴ See Appendix 9 for a discussion of these pieces.

¹³⁵ The inventory entries will be found in Appendix 9.

¹³⁶ The unfinished state of the New State Rooms and their use as storage areas in 1835 are indicated by the entries in the 1835 inventory: see Appendix 9.

¹³⁷ See Appendix 16 for full details.

¹³⁸ See Malgouyres 2003, pp.128-9.

similar bust (“An Antique Head of Nero, in Porphyry, the Bust added at Rome, in Bronze Gilt, by Luigi, after the Antique”¹³⁹) and Beckford, who had sold his porphyry busts.¹⁴⁰ On a public level, “Augustus” and “Tiberius” demonstrated the Duke’s knowledge of Antiquity and success as a collector and emphasized, by their presence and placement, his power, status and royal (if not imperial) descent.

However, there is probably more to it than this, because the Duke’s porphyry busts were the models from which the bronze busts of “Augustus” and “Vespasian” at Windsor (Figs.91-92)¹⁴¹ – and two other bronze busts in the Duke of Wellington’s collection¹⁴² – had been made. The Duke was therefore able to show that he had “original”, superior items and was, by extension, a better collector; and the placing of the busts either side of his throne in the Gallery suggests that he was aware of the bronze busts at Windsor and was engaging in none-too-subtle “one-up-manship” with George IV and William IV.

Unfortunately, we cannot prove this, and it must be a working theory and the subject of further research. Nevertheless, there can be no doubt that the Duke regarded the porphyry busts as immensely important pieces¹⁴³ and that, for him, they were the crowning pieces to over twelve years of collecting first-rate furniture and other items to decorate the palace.

The Duke might be mollified to learn that “Tiberius” was acquired for Versailles in 1978,¹⁴⁴ although he would probably be very annoyed with the present writer’s opinion that there is nothing Antique about either bust (apart from the stone

¹³⁹ Christie, *A Catalogue of a Select Part of the Capital, Valuable, and Genuine Collection of Pictures, the Property of the Rt. Hon. Sir William Hamilton, K.B.*, 27-28 March 1801, lot 45. “Luigi” was, of course, Luigi Valadier. The entry concludes: “This celebrated Bust was found at Naples, and was in the Possession of the Prince Cassano d’Arragona.”

¹⁴⁰ Beckford’s porphyry pieces included “A porphyry bust of Pompey, on an inlaid marble pedestal” and “A ditto of Vitellius on a ditto pedestal”: Phillips, *A Catalogue of [...] The Genuine Property of William Beckford, Esq.*, London, 19-22 August 1801, p.22, lots 56 and 57. Phillips’s own annotated catalogue, in the Wallace Collection, records that Thomas Hope bought both busts. “Vitellius” is now in the Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon.

¹⁴¹ George IV’s busts (RCIN 2138 and 2139) were purchased for him by Lord Yarmouth (later 3rd Marquess of Hertford) in Paris in 1818 and were sent to Windsor in 1828. I am grateful to Jonathan Marsden for this information.

¹⁴² Wellington’s examples at Stratfield Saye are illustrated in Watson 1975, p.46. “Augustus” is shown in colour in Jackson-Stops 1985, p.567. Watson, Jackson-Stops and Aldred have all remarked on the facial resemblance of this bust to Napoleon; Jackson-Stops dated it c.1810.

¹⁴³ They were valued at £700, with their gilt stands, in 1835 (HA, Volume 1223, p.111), which was £406 more than the Duke paid for them (ignoring the commission to Hume).

¹⁴⁴ See Hoog 1993, p.370, no.1734. Hoog describes the bust, now identified as Vitellius, as “Antique et École italienne du XVI^e siècle”.

itself) and that they are – like most such busts – probably Italian, sixteenth or seventeenth century,¹⁴⁵ with the possibility that the ormolu is later and French, rather than Italian.

Like many collectors, the Duke was desperate to own “Antique” porphyry busts and failed to be sufficiently sceptical. Nonetheless, we should not be too severe. Between 1820 and 1832 he had acquired over two-thirds of the items that would make Hamilton Palace the greatest repository of French furniture after Versailles and had also managed to secure the Napoleon tea service. Equally importantly, he was now collecting with clear aims – namely the projection of power and emphasizing his association with France – and developing a number of highly distinctive and effective types of “continuity”, which would make Hamilton Palace such an extraordinary work of art in itself.

The problem was that he was now sixty-four and still had a tremendous amount to do.

¹⁴⁵ See Faldi 1954, pp.16-7.

The Last *Grands Projets*: The Black Marble Staircase, Equestrian Monument of the Duke and the Hamilton Mausoleum

The 10th Duke's priority during the last twenty years of his life was the completion and enrichment of Hamilton Palace. This involved finishing the interiors and developing and partly redisplaying the collections, but he also wanted to build a new mausoleum for the Hamilton family and improve the approaches to the palace from Edinburgh and Glasgow and the "Great Northern Avenue" (the tree-lined avenue aligned with the portico of the new North Front). The penultimate chapter examines the final *grands projets*: the great black marble staircase, the proposed adapted copy of the monument of *Marcus Aurelius* and the Hamilton Mausoleum. It includes some discussion of the Duke's later collecting, but leaves the main analysis of these acquisitions to chapter eight.

All these projects were made possible by the "extra" income from the sale of coal, but there was no large surge in revenue during this period which enabled them to be undertaken at the same time or in rapid succession. Although the Duke's Redding coalfield near Falkirk had been developed with new railroads, inclined planes, wharves, pits and engines and was calculated to produce 100,000 tons *per annum* for twenty years to come, "without making any new Pits or new Roads",¹ the Redding-Brighton-Shieldhill mines faced stiff competition from other colliery owners such as the Marquess of Lothian and Sir John Hope.² Moreover, the Duke's apparent "profits" from his coal operations were not straightforward profits: a letter from the Carron Company reveals that £5,019 11s 9d was owed in June 1834 "for Furnishings to the Colliery of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton" and that no payment had been made since July 1830.³

The Duke hoped to sell Ashton Hall for at least £85,000 in the early 1840s,⁴ but never managed to agree the sale of the mortgaged Lancashire Estates or the Suffolk Estates (which were also encumbered with debts and mortgages), as Brown

¹ See HA, Bundle 1032, Brown to Duke, 9 October 1831. Brown regarded the Redding works as "certainly" "the finest thing of the kind I have ever seen either in Scotland or England".

² See Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, f.51, Brown to Duke, 6 October 1831.

³ HA, Bundle 1974, Joseph Dawson to Brown, 16 June 1834.

⁴ See HTHL, HELB 1840-42.

desired.⁵ He therefore had little option but to complete the palace, and only then could he use the cash stream for the equestrian monument or the mausoleum.

Little is currently known about work inside the palace in 1833. However, it is interesting to see the Duke, in the rôle of a great and magnanimous patron, putting pressure on Robert Hume to become involved with the Duke of Newcastle and the redecoration of some of the rooms at Clumber in February 1833.⁶

The following year saw considerable activity: George Ramsay installed the Girolamo dai Libri altarpiece in a plaster frame on the Duchess's Staircase; gilders worked on the Library and Dining Room ceilings; the new porphyry chimneypiece in the Library was moved forward; and the gilt borderings and mouldings were completed in the Library, Billiard Room and Dining Room.⁷

More importantly, a start was made to the process of installing black marble chimneypieces and door surrounds in the first-floor Entrance Hall. These were ordered from the London Marble and Stone Company and led to the commissioning of the great black marble staircase, that connected the ground-floor entrance with the Entrance Hall, from the same firm five or six years later.

The Black Marble Staircase and Supporting Atlantes

The first clear mention of the London Marble and Stone Company's involvement is in a letter from Hume to the Duke dated 27 November 1834, which records that he had just paid half of the £415 10s for three chimneypieces that the Company had pressed him to "receive", as they had "been finished now a long time".⁸ They were followed by orders for six black marble doorways and 544 feet of black marble rebate, costing £442 7s including transportation,⁹ which were all

⁵ *Ibid.*, p.12, Brown to Longbourne, 5 September 1840. Some parts were sold (see *ibid.*, pp.269-70), but most was left for the 11th Duke to sort out.

⁶ In February 1833 Hume informed Beckford: "His Grace of Divine Right & Passive Obedience has requested that I should take in Clumber in my way for the Purpose of a Talk upon his intended grand Ceiling" (Bod, MS. Beckford c.22, f.143, Hume to Beckford, 3 February 1833). Hume got the contract, but (apparently) did not do a good job, overcharged Newcastle and then threatened, through a lawyer, to take him to court for the payment and interest (see HA, Bundle 901, Newcastle to Duke, 28 November 1835, in Appendix 11) – thus totally negating the 10th Duke's act of patronage and attempt to bring the Hamilton and Newcastle families closer together.

⁷ See Ramsay's letters to the Duke, dated 2[?] February and 22 March 1834 (HA, Bundle 665).

⁸ HA, Bundle 1979, Hume to Duke, 27 November 1834. Most of the documentation relating to black marble will be found in Appendix 12.

⁹ HA, C4/748/1, copy of invoices from the London Marble and Stone Company, dated 12 August 1835, 12 December 1835 and 20 February 1836.

completed by March 1836,¹⁰ and by two black marble chimneypieces of “extraordinary” dimensions that were under discussion in August 1835.¹¹ These very large chimneypieces and some of the doorways seem to equate to the two massive black marble chimneypieces and at least four black marble door surrounds in the Great Entrance Hall (Fig.79).

Surprisingly, these orders and deliveries did not lead immediately to the commissioning of the black marble staircase itself. Significantly, in the light of our previous discussion on the influence of the herms on the Ottoboni tapestries on the decoration of the palace, the Duke began with the two Atlantes that would flank the interior ground-floor entrance to the palace and appear to support the first-floor passageway above the grand staircase.

On 25 February 1837 the Duke “engaged” the Scottish sculptor Patric Park (1811-1855) to “do my black marble figures to support the passage of the principal stair=case”.¹² Around the same time, Park jubilantly informed Brown: “By order of His Grace I have been empowered to execute two black Marble demi statues of Giants to support part of the Great Staircase in Hamilton Palace”.¹³

The idea was that Park would begin by producing a large copy of a small model, which was subsequently described by the Duke as “a small model in clay prepared in Paris of 12 inches dimensions”.¹⁴ This was either given to Park in late February-early March,¹⁵ before the Duke and Duchess took their daughter to Paris to consult Dr Samuel Hahnemann, the Freemason founder of homeopathy, or was sent to him from there.¹⁶

¹⁰ See *ibid.*, and HA, C4/742, W.D. Carroll to Brown, 22 March 1836.

¹¹ HA, C4/747, Robert Sumner to Connell, 14 August 1835.

¹² HA, C4/122, Duke to Brown, 25 February 1837. All the documentation relating to Park will be found in Appendix 13.

¹³ HA, C4/123/1, Park to Brown, annotated 28 February 1837 on the reverse.

¹⁴ HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.244, Duke to Richard Samuel White, 2 July 1841.

¹⁵ This was Brown's belief. Writing to the Duke's London solicitor Richard Samuel White on 6 July 1841, Brown observed: “I begin to think that the Duke had given Park the small model before he left London in Spring 1837 for Paris altho' in His Grace's letter to me of 19 June 1837 alluded to in mine to M^r Park of 26 of that month His Grace says he sent it to him from Paris” (*ibid.*, pp.247-8).

¹⁶ The Duke's exact words in his letter, dated Paris, 19 June 1837 (referred to by Brown in the last footnote) are: “The model that I ordered & sent from hence, I trusted to his [Park's] hands” (HA, C4/118).

The working theory is that the model was made by the French sculptor Jean-Pierre Cortot (1787-1843). In May 1836 Charles Percier wrote to the Duke (in French):

I hasten to inform you that I have completed the task you kindly assigned to me. Mr Cortot, who is very busy at the arch of the étoile finishing works that must be delivered on the 15th July next, will have the honour of presenting himself at your house between eight and nine in the morning or five to six in the afternoon, so as to come to an agreement with you about the work you will judge fit to give him. Please let him know the day that is convenient and he will immediately come to see you.¹⁷

To date, nothing more has been found, but Cortot would undoubtedly have appealed to the Duke because of his work on the high relief of the *Triumph of Napoleon*, for the Arc de Triomphe de l'Étoile (1833-36), and responsibility for one of the two large statues of Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette (*Marie-Antoinette Supported by Religion*) in the Chapelle Expiatoire to the couple, which had been designed by Percier's colleague Fontaine.

The commission to Park would have demonstrated quite exceptional enlightened and effective patronage. As a teenager, Park had worked as a "common mason"¹⁸ on the new extension to Hamilton Palace and had carved the Hamilton arms on the Portico.¹⁹ His talent had been recognized by Robert Brown and by Gillespie Graham, who had introduced him to the sculptor Laurence Macdonald and employed him on the decorative carvings at Murthly Castle (the new house he was building for Sir John Stewart of Grandtully in Perthshire).²⁰ Brown had evidently encouraged the Duke to become involved, and he had supported Park's attempt to study at the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh.²¹ The Duke went on to supply a letter to William Richard Hamilton that assisted Park's passage through Paris,²² and followed this up – after receiving extremely fulsome acknowledgement of his "generous condescension" and a satisfactory report of Park's progress, improving his art in Rome²³ – with a

¹⁷ HA, Bundle 1005, Percier to Duke, 15 May 1836.

¹⁸ HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.244, Duke to White, 2 July 1841.

¹⁹ HA, Bundle 1969, draft letter Brown to Countess of Lincoln, 19 January 1834.

²⁰ See Park to Brown, 19 April 1830 (HA, Bundle 1897) and Gillespie Graham to Brown, 14 December 1830 (HA, Bundle 1909).

²¹ See Park to Brown, 1 May 1831 (HA, Bundle 1912).

²² HA, Bundle 1001, Park to Duke, 24 December 1831.

²³ *Ibid.*

letter of introduction to Bertel Thorvaldsen,²⁴ which enabled the young man to study under the great Danish sculptor for at least eighteen months until his funds finally ran out.²⁵

Back in Scotland, Park “finished a most capital” model for a bust of the Duke (as Brown informed the Duke’s daughter) in January 1834,²⁶ and a very life-like bust of Brown.²⁷ Both were carved in marble, and Park received the final payment of £40, on the £140 for them, in March 1835.²⁸

During this time, Park plagued the factor with pleas for help to obtain more commissions from and through his friends and the Duke, and requests for financial assistance.²⁹

In response to this barrage of letters, Brown and the Duke arranged for Park to produce portrait busts of the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Lincoln for Hamilton Palace.³⁰ This turned the problem of a poor and extremely demanding sculptor into a real asset – in effect, a latter-day court sculptor, whose abilities reflected well upon his principal patron – and the Hamilton commissions inspired Lincoln to order a bust of his one-year-old son and heir Henry.³¹

Newcastle was favourably impressed, both with the Duke of Hamilton’s patronage and Park’s work,³² and also with the sculptor’s bravery helping to

²⁴ NLS, Acc.10098/1, 1, Duke to Park, 22 March 1832.

²⁵ See Park to Duke, 18 August 1832 (HA, Bundle 1001) and Gillespie Graham to Brown, 14 August 1833 (HA, Bundle 1962).

²⁶ HA, Bundle 1969, draft letter Brown to Countess of Lincoln, 19 January 1834.

²⁷ David Smith saw the marble busts of the Duke and Brown in 1840 and wrote to Brown: “that of you surprised me for I never saw a more striking likeness in my life” (HA, Bundle 6319, photocopy of letter from Smith to Brown, 20 December 1840).

²⁸ See HA, Bundle 1160, “Note of Payments made by Mr Brown as Factor for the Duke of Hamilton to Mr Patric Park Sculptor”.

²⁹ There are too many letters to cite, but see Appendix 13 for full transcripts and references.

³⁰ The resulting marble busts were displayed in the Tribune and were almost certainly lot 146 in Christie, Manson and Woods’ sale of “The Remaining Contents of the Palace” on 12 November 1919: “Two busts of men, sculptured in white marble – signed PARK, FECIT 1835 – life-size”. Park’s 1834 bust of Brown was lot 325 the following day.

³¹ On 13 February 1835 Park wrote to Brown: “I have the pleasure to inform you that I have modelled young Lord Clinton thereby doing three generations” [of the Newcastle family] (HA, Bundle 1982). The marble bust itself was finished by mid December 1835: see NLS, Acc.10098/1, 10, Lincoln to Park, 17 December 1835.

³² The Duke of Newcastle noted in his diary: “An artist of the name of Park a Scotchman is modelling my Bust for the Duke of Hamilton who means to have it & one of Lincoln executed in marble _ both promise to be very like _ Park is a young man who was a mason at Hamilton & has been brought forward by the D. of H. who sent him to Italy _ Park possesses, genius, judgment, taste & good sense _ his eye is extraordinarily accurate & acute” (UNMSC, Ne 2F 5/1, p.7, under 22 January 1835).

apprehend two armed poachers.³³ He exercised his influence and Park was awarded the commission for the marble statue of Thomas Sadler (1780-1835), the former MP and campaigner for a maximum ten-hour day for factory workers under eighteen, which was to be erected in Leeds. In ecstasy, Park wrote a gushing letter of thanks to the Duke of Hamilton,³⁴ who expressed his pleasure and urged the young man on:

You will I am confident exert yourself, so as to establish a reputation: recollect this is the moment, at the outset of life, when you will more or less take your station amongst your brother artists; & you must go forward or you will fall backward _ Never neglect holding before you the works of the antient masters, & with such models, and your own assiduity & talent you cannot fail — I wish you every success, and am your very good friend &^c &c

CH&B³⁵

It was a letter the Duke would have cause to rue.

In April 1836 Newcastle went to see the statue of Sadler while it was underway and Park rose even higher in his estimation:

I suggested some alterations which I think will improve it, if they succeed, I really think that it will be as good a work as any one would produce & will reflect the highest credit on so young an artist _³⁶

In July the Duke of Hamilton permitted Park to exhibit “the busts you have executed for me” in Glasgow, expressed his gladness that Park had entered the competition for a bust of Sir Walter Scott, and promised to call at his studio in London.³⁷ But, within six months, Park was back in financial difficulties and – yet again – he appealed to the Duke for a loan. In a long letter dated 9 January 1837, Park requested £100 to tide him over until he received the balance due on the statue of Sadler and had tried to sell his statue of a *sphaerobolos* or ball-thrower at the Royal Academy exhibition.³⁸ Shrewdly persistent, he also sent two follow-up letters to Brown which emphasized his plight and invoked the very serious illness of his Mother.³⁹

³³ *Ibid.*, p.9, under 1 February 1835.

³⁴ HA, Bundle 1002, Park to Duke, undated but probably written in early October 1835.

³⁵ NLS, Acc.10098/1, 8, Duke to Park, 14 October [1835].

³⁶ UNMSC, Ne 2F 5/1, p.109, under 19 April 1836.

³⁷ NLS, Acc.10098/1, 11, Duke to Park, 24 July 1836.

³⁸ HA, Bundle 6253, Park to Duke, 9 January 1837.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, Park to Brown, 17 and 27 January 1837.

The result of all this was the commission to undertake the Duke's "black marble figures" at the end of February. Almost immediately, Park received fifty pounds,⁴⁰ which met his immediate needs. All Park had to do was produce good "enlargements" in clay and then black marble and there was an excellent prospect of other large-scale works. And, for his part, the Duke could look forward to deriving considerable credit for encouraging a local mason and transforming him into one of the leading Scottish sculptors of the period.

However, Park was desperate to become "the first Sculptor in England" (as he had told the Duke).⁴¹ He had exhibited the three marble busts of the Newcastle family at the 1836 Royal Academy exhibition⁴² and "Theseus and Cacus" at the 1837 British Institution,⁴³ and had the statue of Sadler, plaster of the *Sphaerobolos* and bust of Brown lined up for the 1837 Royal Academy exhibition.⁴⁴ Ever since he got back from Italy Park had wanted to undertake a colossal sculpture⁴⁵ and now he seized the opportunity to create an outstanding original work that would "make him" as a sculptor. Then, totally self-absorbed, he compounded his folly by asking for more money at a very bad moment.

Lady Lincoln's flirtation with her husband's brother, William, had come to light at the end of January and her health collapsed after her parents brought her to Paris to consult Dr Hahnemann. Dreadful spasms were followed by the (temporary) loss of sight, hearing, speech and even sanity.⁴⁶ After almost four months trying to care for Susan, the Duke and Duchess were exhausted and extremely concerned about their daughter's recovery and the continuation of her marriage.

It was a highly charged emotional situation and news of Park's activities and his request for yet more money sparked a small explosion. In exasperation and annoyance, the Duke declared that he had not instructed Park to commence the large-

⁴⁰ HA, C4/123/2, Park to Brown, 6 March 1837, acknowledging receipt of the fifty pounds.

⁴¹ HA, Bundle 6253, Park to Duke, 9 January 1837.

⁴² Numbers 1101, 1115 and 1138.

⁴³ HA, Bundle 6253, Park to Duke, 9 January 1837.

⁴⁴ They were shown as numbers 1166, 1172 and 1240.

⁴⁵ See Laurence Macdonald's letter to his brother James, written from Rome on 5 October 1833: "This will be delivered to you by M^r. Park who means to make some stay in Scotland, and, I beli[e]ve, also thinks of modeling a Colossal figure in Edinburgh" (NLS, MS 7231, f.68). Macdonald went on to ask that Park be shown any apparatus left over from modelling his own large figures and be allowed to buy it if it was not wanted.

⁴⁶ See Surtees 1977, pp.39-47.

scale copy of the “small model” entrusted to him and had not authorised Park to go to Scotland and consult with David Hamilton. “Nor”, continued the Duke, “have I anything to do with the new model he has chosen to commence [...] If he has assumed to himself the authority of doing work for me that I never ordered, he cannot complain of my objecting to pay for it _”.⁴⁷

The Duke’s displeasure was communicated to Park by Brown on 26 June⁴⁸ and the commission melted away.

In 1841 creditors closed in on Park⁴⁹ and a claim was made against the Duke for £250, for the uncompleted work. From the mass of legal correspondence,⁵⁰ it emerges that the Duke had gone to Park’s studio in London, after his return from Paris in the autumn of 1837, and discovered “that [Park] had been moulding a Clay figure of his own invention instead of making a fac simile of mine from which the marble Statues were to have been copied”.⁵¹ In the end, the Duke settled with Park’s solicitors, rather than have his “name dragged thro’ the Courts and be exposed to much vexation and perhaps be nonsuited to complete the business”.⁵²

The main outcome, however, was that the Duke turned his back on his “court sculptor”, with the consequence that Park became a very frustrated modeller and carver of portrait busts living in England, and the Atlantes ceased to have a Scottish dimension. The Duke failed to obtain black marble of sufficient size,⁵³ and – with the assistance of Thomas Campbell⁵⁴ – the “duplicate” of the model that had been given to Park⁵⁵ was sent to the Parisian founder Louis-Claude-François Soyer, with whom

⁴⁷ HA, C4/118, Duke to Brown, 19 June [1837]. The Duke then passed on to other matters, but was sufficiently irritated that he returned to Park later in the letter: “I should have observed to you, when speaking of Parke, that he is unreasonable; he is always applying to me for assistance, & it really is not in my power to be always making debts to assist others misfortunes. _ He must look else where for support _”.

⁴⁸ See the excerpts of correspondence compiled in connection with the legal action, in HA, Bundle 1160.

⁴⁹ HA, C4/120/2, Park to Duke, 18 May 1841.

⁵⁰ See Appendix 13.

⁵¹ HTHL, HELB 1840-42, pp.237-8, Duke to White, 26 June 1841.

⁵² *Ibid.*, p.292-3, Duke to White, 29 September 1841. The settlement cost at least £220, plus the Duke’s own legal costs: see *ibid.*, pp.347-8, Brown to White, 4 December 1841.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.244, Duke to White, 2 July 1841.

⁵⁴ See Carroll to Duke, 24 October 1839 (HA, C4/772, in Appendix 12) and Campbell’s letters to the Duke dated 28 October and 1 November 1839 (HA, C4/770 and C4/761, in Appendix 10).

⁵⁵ The Duke described this on 4 July 1841 as: “The other small model, I having had a duplicate made a’ Paris is at this moment there” [i.e. in Paris] (HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.246, Brown to White, 5 July 1841).

the Duke had been in correspondence since at least 1824.⁵⁶ Soyer had already undertaken a number of commissions for the Duke⁵⁷ and duly supplied two colossal bronze Atlantes in 1842, at a cost of 34,000 francs, plus crating and shipping.⁵⁸

Soyer's Atlantes (Figs.93 and 96) were first-rate works, but it was very unfortunate for Park, the Duke and British sculpture that the initial plan went so badly wrong. It seems likely that the commission was given to Park too early, in response to his begging letters, and that the Duke was too preoccupied with his daughter to brief the sculptor properly and to involve Brown sufficiently as an informed party and controller of the problem protégé.

After such a fiasco, there was, understandably, a pause before the Duke resumed work on the black marble staircase. It currently seems that about two years elapsed, between June 1837 and May 1839,⁵⁹ before the Duke returned in earnest to the staircase.

During this intervening period, the scheme for the staircase was almost certainly affected by the Duke's reflections upon his new status as a Knight of the Garter,⁶⁰ the two Egyptian sarcophagi or stone coffins he had acquired in 1834⁶¹ and 1836⁶² – which included the one in which he himself would be interred (Fig.94) – and

⁵⁶ See HA, Bundles 1001 and 1002.

⁵⁷ Soyer's previous work included a "portrait" of the Duchess (see Soyer & Ingé's bill dated 20 March 1839 in HA, Bundle 914) and a *Jupiter Olympien*, which cost 8,000 francs in 1840 (see Soyer & Ingé's bill, HA, F2/1069/31).

⁵⁸ HA, F2/1069/31, bill from Soyer & Ingé, dated 24 8bre 1842. The main correspondence is in HA, C4/840.

⁵⁹ This date is indicated by the two main invoices for the staircase (HA, F2/1001/3 and 4), which begin the accounting period in May 1839. However, both start with doorways and it seems likely that the staircase itself was initiated later.

⁶⁰ The Duke was notified of his appointment in November 1835 and formally elected at a Chapter of the Order in February 1836. He commissioned Henry William Pickersgill, who can be regarded as Sir Thomas Lawrence's successor, to paint a full-length portrait of himself, wearing Garter robes, which was exhibited at the 1838 Royal Academy exhibition. This was placed in the Gallery, with the full-length portraits of the Duke's forebears, and was clearly much preferred to the Raeburn portrait. It was included in Christie, Manson and Woods' sale of Hamilton paintings on 6 November 1919 (lot 42), with measurements of 93½ x 57½ inches, and is recorded in a Robinson and Fisher sale on 6 March 1930. An oil study was sold at Sotheby's on 11 April 1973 (lot 110) to Crawshaw.

⁶¹ The sarcophagus of Pa-ba-sa, a high official during the reign of Psamtek I in the 26th dynasty (now in Kelvingrove Art Gallery, Glasgow), appears to have been a present from William Richard Hamilton: see Bingham Richards & Company to "the Agent of H[is] G[race] The Duke of Hamilton", 26 April 1834 (HA, Bundle 1972). For a description and discussion of the sarcophagus itself, which has a lid of red diorite and a body of grey diorite, see Campbell 1910.

⁶² The Duke bought the late Ptolemaic stone coffin in which he would eventually be buried in Paris in 1836, in his capacity as a Trustee of the British Museum. Unfortunately, his fellow Trustees and the curators thought he had bought the heavily inscribed, rectangular black schist sarcophagus of the high priestess Ankhnesneferibre, daughter of Psamtek II, which they very much wanted to acquire, and

the replacement of the Hamilton vault in the old Collegiate Church. Over these years and into the initial design phase, the Duke was also dealing with his daughter's problems, the case that had been brought against Lincoln and himself by the two doctors who had "saved" Susan's life, newspaper coverage of her illness and the state of her marriage,⁶³ and – after June/July 1839 – his son's resolute refusal⁶⁴ to consider the idea of marriage to Princess Marie of Baden. The latter proposal, first raised anonymously by Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell,⁶⁵ as part of the Foreign Office's attempts to develop better diplomatic relations with German states, was instantly attractive to the Duke because the "Princess" would apparently come with between £50,000 and £60,000.⁶⁶ However, the match became even closer to his heart when he learned that the potential bride was the daughter of the adopted daughter of the Emperor Napoleon, and realized that the alliance presented the House of Hamilton with a union directly comparable to Queen Victoria's marriage to Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha in February 1840.

The Duke clearly felt that he needed to bolster his status. In October 1839 he applied to the Whig Prime Minister Lord Melbourne to be made Keeper of the Great Seal of Scotland.⁶⁷ Around this time he must have also decided that he was definitely going to erect a staircase that would eclipse George IV's Grand Staircase in Buckingham Palace,⁶⁸ with its exuberant gilt bronze balustrade by Samuel Parker costing £3,900 and polychrome scagliola wall panels, and the Principal Staircase constructed for the 2nd Marquis of Stafford (later 1st Duke of Sutherland) at Stafford House (now Lancaster House),⁶⁹ that had been undertaken in the late 1820s-early

there was considerable disappointment and recrimination when the shipment was opened and found to contain only a late mummiform coffin. As a result, the Duke refunded the Trustees, kept the coffin, and later decided to use it for his own remains. The British Museum succeeded in acquiring the sarcophagus of Ankhnesneferibre later in 1836: see Bierbrier 1982, pp.134-5.

⁶³ Doctors Wolowski and Koreff had kept notes, totalling 600 pages, of Susan's words and actions, which they threatened to publish unless they were paid £18,000 for their services. They lost their case in Paris in December 1837, but the proceedings attracted a lot of very unwelcome attention and comment.

⁶⁴ See HA, C4/958/5, Douglas to Duke, 29 September [1839], and Bundle 1421, Douglas to Duke, 21 October [1839]. All the letters relating to the campaign to get Douglas to marry Princess Marie that have been found to date are in Appendix 18.

⁶⁵ HA, C4/958/1, [Cowell] to Duke, 20 June 1839.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ See Melbourne's acknowledgement, dated 27 October 1839, of his application in HA, Bundle 754.

⁶⁸ See Robinson 2000, p.64. In the illustration, the scagliola panels have been painted over and the carved swags and hang are later.

⁶⁹ See Yorke 2001, pp.32-3 and 80-1.

1830s. The Duke almost certainly became even more committed to his *tour de force* in December 1840 when he learnt that the Keepership of the Great Seal had gone to the Earl of Stair.⁷⁰

The great cantilevered double staircase (Figs.95-97),⁷¹ which was undertaken between 1840 and 1845, was the most magnificent and expensive staircase ever erected in Scotland and was regarded as such an achievement that the London Marble and Stone Company displayed a model of it at the 1851 Great Exhibition.⁷² The finished staircase itself consisted of a large central landing, two corner landings and five flights of forty-one actual steps, with eight pedestals and ninety-four balusters⁷³. The upper landing was formed by five large “flats” and had a balustrade with eight balusters in each of the left and right-hand sections, two pairs of pedestals and a longer central section of balusters. Directly opposite were three large openings providing light to a passageway with a further six pedestals and at least another twenty-seven balusters.

The cost was enormous, probably double that of either of the actual staircases in Buckingham Palace and Lancaster House. The eight “landings” came to £1,827 11s 2d, and the Duke was charged £1,906 for fifty-seven steps, £3,318 for 158 balusters, £652 12s 1d for eighteen pedestals and £439 3s 6s for twelve lengths of handrail.⁷⁴ When doorways, installation, crating and transportation had been added, the total bill from the London Marble and Stone Company alone amounted to a staggering £9,293 2s 11d.

The scale of the undertaking becomes even more apparent from the correspondence. Writing on 30 July 1840, William Marshall informed Robert Brown

⁷⁰ See the Duke's draft letters to the Prime Minister and Melbourne's replies in December 1840 and January 1841 in HA, Bundle 754.

⁷¹ The staircase still exists, albeit in a very weathered and damaged state and without its eight large “flats”. It was included in Sotheby's sale of *Garden Statuary and Architectural Items* at Summers Place, Billingshurst, on 28 May 1986 (lot 251) and was acquired by South Lanarkshire Museums a year later, when the buyer found he could not reconstruct it as intended. The remaining parts are stored in Hamilton.

⁷² *Official Descriptive and Illustrated Catalogue of the Great Exhibition of the Works of Industry of all Nations* (London, 1851), II, p.764, no.17. The “work” is stated to have four landings, forty-one steps and 125 balusters.

⁷³ There were two sets of three balusters on the first step, two pairs of balusters on each of the next four steps, and a pair of balusters on each of the remaining thirty-six steps.

⁷⁴ HA, F2/1001/3 and 4, invoices from the London Marble and Stone Company for May 1839 to March 1845. The discrepancy between the forty-one steps in the finished staircase and the fifty-seven charged on the bill is probably partly explained by the twelve steps that were rejected in May 1841.

that, even using “double gangs of Sawyers and working extra hours”, it had taken six weeks to cut the block for the “large Flat” or landing.⁷⁵ The other main parts were so large that the Company sent William Field, their chief workman, and an “experienced man” to Galway, in Ireland, in early August, to expedite the raising and shipping of them,⁷⁶ and the “experienced man” remained in Galway until they had been quarried.⁷⁷

The correspondence is of particular interest because it shows the architects David and James Hamilton losing their lead rôle to the London firm. Field submitted a two-option model which enabled the Duke to decide that the balustrade would have four pedestals of the same square section on each side and a diagonal handrail with the tops of the pedestals rising above the rail.⁷⁸ Marshall cracked the whip: “The Duke of Hamilton having decided upon the Model N° 2 with the Pedestals, for the completion of the Ballustrade [...] we have now only to consider the best manner of carrying His Grace’s intentions into effect”.⁷⁹ Field insisted that there should be a pedestal at each angle and pairings of pedestals on the gallery landing, to “break the joints of the Cope, and releave the sameness arising from a long line of uniform Ballustrades”. (Both these points were accepted, as one can see from photographs of the staircase.) Field also pressed for various refinements to the pedestals and balustrade on the landing and termination of the skirting.⁸⁰

David and James Hamilton sniped about the need to work the marble in London, when they saw “Blocks of Galway going through Glasgow”,⁸¹ and were politely swatted:

In fact the very Marble you allude to, as being at Glasgow, was offered to us . in London . but declined on account of the sizes and quality . not suiting our purpose. ___ it was afterw[ar]ds reshipped by the owner . and consigned to Glasgow . there being no demand for it in the London Market _ It is also from an inferior Quarry, to the one we are using. ___⁸²

⁷⁵ HA, Bundle 6317, photocopy of letter from Marshall to Brown, 30 July 1840.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, and HA, C4/115/3, Marshall to Duke, 3 August 1840.

⁷⁷ See HA, C4/115/4, Marshall to David and James Hamilton, 27 August 1840.

⁷⁸ See HA, C4/117, draft letter Duke to Marshall, 13 August 1840.

⁷⁹ HA, C4/115/4, Marshall to David and James Hamilton, 27 August 1840.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ HA, C4/161, copy of letter from David and James Hamilton, probably written to Marshall, dated 20 August 1840.

⁸² HA, C4/115/4, Marshall to David and James Hamilton, 27 August 1840.

Regrettably, the surviving correspondence is primarily about production and finance and does not really enable us to follow the evolution of the design of the staircase. That said, it is now possible to address the question of why it took about five years to make all the necessary parts.

The delay becomes even more of an issue when we see how much was achieved in the first phase. The “first Flat” and six steps were shipped from London around 29 August 1840,⁸³ and were followed by at least another twenty-one steps, along with some “Ballustrades” and “Plinth”, by 25 May 1841.⁸⁴ All the blocks for the other “flats” had been obtained by 18 December 1840, when one was being cut, four were “in the River” and “the remainder on the Quay at Galway”.⁸⁵ The two “Plats for the Corners” were at the palace by early April 1841⁸⁶ and three of the five “flats” for the upper passageway had been sent north before 21 October 1841.⁸⁷

There was a problem with “rejected Steps”⁸⁸ and “misunderstanding” over the “quantity of the String Course or Plinth required” in May 1841,⁸⁹ which must have incurred delay. But the real cause of the subsequent slowdown seems to have been the revisions proposed by Henry Edmund Goodridge (who replaced David Hamilton after he was incapacitated by a “paralytic stroke” and “another attack” in January-February 1842⁹⁰) coupled with the Duke’s failure to pay promptly the large sums the Company requested. The fluidity over the design and limited payments seem to have led the London Marble Company to proceed cautiously and to employ a relatively small number of craftsmen. Had they had full confidence, and committed all their resources, the work would unquestionably have been completed much sooner.

⁸³ HA, Bundle 6288, Marshall to Brown, 29 August 1840.

⁸⁴ See Marshall’s letters to Brown dated 21 September 1840, 7 December 1840, 18 December 1840 and 25 May 1841 (HA, Bundles 6319 and 6326 and C4/115/6) and Brown to Thomas Dawson, 30 January 1841 (HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.119).

⁸⁵ HA, Bundle 6326, photocopy of letter from Marshall to Brown, 18 December 1840.

⁸⁶ HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.181, Brown to David Hamilton, 6 April 1841.

⁸⁷ HA, C4/115/8, Marshall to Duke, 21 October 1841.

⁸⁸ This partly explains the discrepancy between the forty-one steps that can be counted in the photographs of the staircase and the fifty-seven steps recorded on the bills.

⁸⁹ See HA, C4/115/7, Marshall to Duke, 26 May 1841. In this letter, Marshall suggested converting the rejected steps into “Ballustrades”. However, Brown informed the Duke on 19 June 1842 that Harvie “says the black marble steps can be sawn up two inches thick and will answer to the black borders” of the marble floor of the corridor (HA, Volume 1260, p.82).

⁹⁰ See HTHL, HELB 1840-42, pp.406, 408, 414 and 418.

There is very little clear evidence about Goodridge's revisions,⁹¹ and how much the London Marble Company knew about them, but the Duke's payments have now been completely established. The London Marble Company's first request for payment, of £1,000, was made on 4 January 1841⁹² and was authorised by the Duke within days.⁹³ Marshall asked for a further £1,500 on 25 May 1841⁹⁴ but only received £1,000 in early June.⁹⁵ On 21 October he complained that "the last remittance was less than requested", emphasized that the "greater part of the difficult and heavy work" would have been completed once the "two remaining Landings" were sent off, and asked for "the further Sum of £2000".⁹⁶ The Duke sent an order for £1,000 on 25 October and promised another £1,000 in "the course of a few weeks".⁹⁷ However, this never materialized and the payment eventually took the form of £500 in December 1841⁹⁸ and another £500 in March 1842.⁹⁹

At the end of June 1843 Marshall wrote to the Duke:

I am directed by the Managers to say that having executed a considerable quantity of Work for Hamilton Palace _ within the last year or two, _ the greatest part of which, lately sent off _ and that also _ now in hand, being principally Labor of a very expensive nature _ , and consequently attended with a considerable weekly outlay of Money for Wages &c. _ The Managers will feel much obliged by your Grace _ remitting them at your early convenience £2000 ____ on Account. _¹⁰⁰

This time there was an even longer delay receiving payment. This was almost certainly due to the marriage of the Marquis of Douglas to the Princess Marie of Baden in February 1843, which led the Duke to increase his son's annual allowance

⁹¹ Goodridge proposed a fireplace "on the first landing", to make "a comfortable impression on the mind", completely failing to see that this was the last thing the Duke wanted to do. He seems to have been responsible for adding two steps to the first flight of steps, but also agitated for changes to the size and position of pedestals: see his letters to the Duke in 1842 in HA, C4/136.

⁹² See HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.101, Brown to Marshall, 9 January 1841.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, and HA, F2/1001/4.

⁹⁴ HA, C4/115/6, Marshall to Duke, 25 May 1841.

⁹⁵ See HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.225, Duke to Marshall, 3 June 1841, and HA, F2/1001/4.

⁹⁶ HA, C4/115/8, Marshall to Duke, 21 October 1841.

⁹⁷ HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.317, Duke to the London Marble Company, 25 October 1841.

⁹⁸ See *ibid.*, pp.352-3, Duke to Marshall and Duke to Hoare & Company, both dated 13 December 1841, and HA, F2/1001/4.

⁹⁹ See HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.443, Duke to Hoare & Company, 5 March 1842, and Duke to Marshall, 6 March 1842, and HA, F2/1001/4.

¹⁰⁰ HA, C4/116/4, Marshall to Duke, 28 June 1843.

from £2,500 to £7,500 and to make him a present “by way of outfit” of £4,000.¹⁰¹ By the time Marshall’s letter reached the Duke, William had received at least £7,350 and was due another £3,750 on 11 November. One can therefore understand why the Company did not receive prompt payment and was in many ways fortunate to receive two payments, each of £1,000, in late August¹⁰² and mid December that year.¹⁰³ Nevertheless, it is equally apparent that the Company could not keep a large number of skilled carvers and polishers on a single big project when thousands of pounds were not coming in on time.

There were certainly delays caused by the Duke’s failure to send instructions or confirm points,¹⁰⁴ but the general argument about slow payments holding things up seems to be confirmed by the letter of William George Jacob, the new Clerk to the Company, to Brown on 16 April 1844:

M^r. Field continues to keep a number of men upon the remaining Balustrades, Handrails; &c. and expects to be enabled Shortly to make a further sending; but on this matter he refers more particularly to a letter written M^r. Harvie on the 12th.. Instant.

M^r. Field brought to your notice when in Scotland, that the work now in progress is almost exclusively hand labor, and not only of the most expensive description, but cannot be executed with too great rapidity without injury to the workmanship.

I take also leave to bring to your recollection that you were so good as to state you would arrange with the Duke to make a remittance of £1.000 to the Company.¹⁰⁵

Brown seems to have recognized that payment was necessary if the pace of work was to be increased, and, “by the desire of the Duke of Hamilton”, he sent an order for £1,000 to Jacob two days later.¹⁰⁶ Another request for a further £1,000 on 4 November¹⁰⁷ was handled less adroitly, with Brown observing to the Duke “perhaps they will require to get £500” and then wondering “but why do they not send the

¹⁰¹ See HA, F2/1042/29, “Memorandum for His Grace The Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Douglas”, dated 26 June 1843.

¹⁰² See HA, Volume 1260, pp.401-2, Brown to Duke, 24 August 1843, and HA, F2/1001/4.

¹⁰³ See *ibid.*, pp.484-5, Duke to Hoare & Company and Brown to William George Jacob, both dated 16 December 1843, and F2/1001/4.

¹⁰⁴ For example, Goodridge visited the “Marble Works” in early December 1842 and found they were “anxiously waiting instructions, being apprehensive they may be pressed and ultimately cause disappointment”. The Company’s concern in this instance seems to have been to do with the rail: see HA, C4/136/12, Goodridge to Duke, 7 December 1842.

¹⁰⁵ HA, C4/116/7, Jacob to Brown, 16 April 1844.

¹⁰⁶ HA, Volume 1261, p.64, Brown to Jacob, 18 April 1844.

¹⁰⁷ See HA, Bundle 6299, Jacob to Brown, 4 November 1844.

remainder of the Ballusters and the Railing for the top of the Stair _ The Masons are thrown idle for want of them. _".¹⁰⁸

Although they did not get immediate payment, the Company seem to have concluded that it was time to wrap up the job, and Field increased the workforce. Replying to a letter from the Duke on 11 November, Field noted that he had

forwarded 2 Cases of marble containing 9 Ballustrades for Stairs; and one pedestal for top Landing, to complete the right hand side; and I will Send ten more Ballustrades next Saturday and make a shipment every successive week.

I am now using every possible exertion, that the nature of the work will admit of. I have at the present time 15 Masons and Carvers, likewise 12 polishers fully employed. There is only one Ballustrade and the top pieces of Rail to work to complete the whole, but as Soon as I can get more from the Carvers hands, more polishers Shall then be employed.¹⁰⁹

The commitment of more craftsmen is further reflected in Field's postscript: "Since writing the above, on looking over the work in hand, I find I can Send 20 Ballustrades away next Saturday".

Completion was now in sight, and on 26 February 1845 Brown informed the Duke that "All the marble for the Stair case having been sent here by the London Marble Company _ you may now send for their Accounts in order to see what their charges are. _".¹¹⁰

The finished staircase was complemented by the "warm-tinted and beautifully veined freestone" used for the first-floor Entrance Hall and a very fine floor of black, Skye and Sienna marble by the Edinburgh masons Wallace and Whyte. The architect John Baird, who worked in David Hamilton's office on drawings for the staircase and other parts of the palace, recalled in 1869 that the masonry of the Entrance Hall and Staircase was

of the most exquisite kind. Not only the faces of the stones, but the top and bottom beds and end-joints also were polished; and instead of this being done in the usual way by rubbing them with the polisher, the parts to be polished were laid on the polisher, and in this way rubbed until they were perfectly true.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ HA, Volume 1261, pp.303-4, Brown to Duke, 6 November 1844.

¹⁰⁹ HA, Bundle 6299, Field to Duke, 11 November 1844.

¹¹⁰ HA, Volume 1261, pp.487-8, Brown to Duke, 26 February 1845.

¹¹¹ *Builder*, 9 January 1869, p.27.

Wallace and Whyte's floor, which cost around £775, was equally well made. It had a mean depth of about 2½ inches,¹¹² and – like their floor in the Corridor – the decoration was probably inlaid at least an inch.¹¹³

The staircase was an astonishing assertion of status and wealth, especially when one recalls that black marble had previously been used for the tombs and grave markers of English kings (including Arthur) and that a black marble statue of George IV had been erected in Dublin.¹¹⁴ Furthermore, the black marble was also comparable to the black granite, schist, granodiorite, basalt and other very dark stones used for many of the most important Egyptian antiquities that had poured into Britain, notably into the British Museum, in the wake of the surrender of Napoleon's army in Egypt and the collecting activities of Henry Salt and Giovanni Belzoni in the late 1810s-early 1820s.

The staircase suggested and implied royal or imperial status, but there would have been an even more overtly regal or imperial work of art if the Duke had had more money: a bronze copy of the great Roman equestrian monument of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius by Thomas Campbell, fitted with a bronze head of the Duke instead of that of the philosopher-warrior.

The Proposed Equestrian Monument of the Duke as *Marcus Aurelius*

This rather shocking, megalomaniac idea probably originated with Campbell, who was a keen collector of casts of Roman antiquities and had supplied the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh with examples when he was working in Rome in the 1820s. The Duke had helped him to obtain a cast of the *Ludovisi Mars* for the Academy in 1824¹¹⁵ and had been contacted in 1827 about getting a cast of the *Ludovisi Paetus and Arria*, which was also owned by the Prince of Piombino.¹¹⁶

Campbell came back into the Duke's orbit after the dismissal of Park. On 17 May 1839 Campbell wrote to the Duke about a bust he had seen in an antiquary's

¹¹² HA, C4/109/4, Wallace and Whyte to Brown, 1 September 1845.

¹¹³ See HA, Bundle 6296, Wallace and Whyte to Brown, 10 August 1844.

¹¹⁴ Dixon 1978, p.63. The statue, commemorating the king's visit to Ireland in 1821, was destroyed in 1916.

¹¹⁵ See NAS, NG2/3/1/4; NG1/3/22, p.555; NG1/41/4/1, 3 and 4; and NG1/3/23, p.60-3.

¹¹⁶ See NAS, NG1/3/23, pp.302-3, and HA, Bundle 1000, Campbell to Duke, 24 March 1827.

shop at Rome and, three days later, the Duke requested him to acquire it, “for your honor & mine”.¹¹⁷ It seems that the embarrassing “bust” was Campbell’s bust of the Duke that had been presented to Princess Pauline Borghese.¹¹⁸

At the end of October, Campbell replied to a letter from the Duke with advice about the “Cariatides” or Atlantes and the cleaning of the bronze statues in the Entrance Hall, and noted: “I have been studying and working on your Grace’s Bust, and I trust I have not only surpassed the Early bust in likeness but also as a Work of Art”.¹¹⁹ This was envisaged as the model for the head of the equestrian statue of the Duke; and the monument is clearly alluded to in the last sentence of the letter, when Campbell informs the Duke he will be in Italy, “but in all probability not at Rome, unless your Grace fixes upon having the Equestrian Statue, which I could do *Con Amore*”.

As he was now committed to the staircase, the Duke sensibly held back. A letter from Campbell on 18 July 1840 prompted the cautious response:

My colossal Bust in clay being terminated, you certainly cannot do better than to take immediately a cast in plaister of it _ For the present I could wish you to do no more; altho’ when I come to Town perhaps I shall incline to have one cast in bronze, but before that is done, I should wish to have some communication with you ____¹²⁰

In reality, the project was put on ice,¹²¹ as funds went into the staircase. But in November 1845 – a month after Robert Brown had declared the palace “finished”¹²² – Campbell tried to breathe new life into what would have been the most complex and satisfying undertaking of his life. He wrote to the Duke begging leave to inform him

that the bronze Moulders which I formerly brought from France are now in London, & that I could now execute the equestrian statue of

¹¹⁷ NLS, MS 146, f.53, Duke to Campbell, 20 May 1839.

¹¹⁸ The idea of a link with Princess Pauline is strengthened by the Duke’s remarks about having made “some enquiries” about the bust “Some time ago” and having been “informed that it had disappeared from its’ original place”. Campbell seems to have bought the bust and passed it on to the Duke because there is a shipping bill, made out to him, for transporting a “Marble Bust” from Rome to his address in London, dated 9 September 1839, in the Hamilton archive (Bundle 679).

¹¹⁹ HA, C4/770, Campbell to Duke, 28 October 1839.

¹²⁰ NLS, MS 146, f.66, Duke to Campbell, 23 July [1840].

¹²¹ See Campbell’s letter to the Duke, dated 24 October 1842, written in reply to a letter from the Duke sent three days earlier: “It was a great consolation to me [to] know that your grace has not forgotten me, & that I should have an opportunity of submitting the Bust to Her grace the Duchess on Her arrival at Portman Square” (HA, C4/755).

¹²² HA, Bundle 6309, “Scroll Letter” Brown to Douglas, 18 October 1845.

Marcus Aurelius or the Bust which I had the honor to model for your grace for that purpose¹²³

The Duke replied eight days later, and on 15 December Campbell responded:

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your graces letter of the 2^d current, & having bestowed so much time & careful study on the Bust I had the honor to execute of Your Grace, I do not conceal the high gratification it would afford me to have the opportunity of either transferring it to bronze, or completing the more important work of an Equestrian statue, for which it was originally prepared, & designed [...]¹²⁴

Accepting that “the execution of this work may depend on the Expenditure”, Campbell began to define the costs. At present, he could not “form a correct Estimate” of the cost of the equestrian statue, but offered to produce a bronze bust “according to the large model in my possession” for 500 guineas, or to charge only 250 guineas “for the duties I have already performed of modelling, & completing the colossal bust, & with taking casts of Marcus Aurelius, with a view to the important object I have referred to”.¹²⁵

With the help of the architect William Burn, Campbell obtained estimates for a pedestal for the equestrian statue from Macdonald and Leslie,¹²⁶ and on 17 January 1846 he was “prepared to say” that “the colossal Equestrian statue in bronze” would “not exceed” £6,000. A pedestal of “polished Red Granite” would cost an additional £750 and carriage and installation would take the total bill to about £7,000. Campbell confirmed the alternatives – a “Colossal Bust in bronze” would be 500 guineas or the work done to date 250 guineas – and concluded: “I need not again state how highly gratified I should feel to be intrusted with a work of this importance & if placed in my hands, your Grace may depend on its engaging my best attention & most anxious & unremitting study”.¹²⁷

Campbell, though, was wrong to think that there was a real window of opportunity. In June 1845 the Duke had, at long last, decided to proceed with the mausoleum. Work had been underway on the foundations and crypt since August, and

¹²³ HA, C4/779, Campbell to Duke, 24 November 1845.

¹²⁴ HA, C4/782/1, Campbell to Duke, 15 December 1845.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*

¹²⁶ See HA, C4/783, copy letters Burn to McDonald & Leslie, 5 January 1846, and McDonald & Leslie to Burn, 12 January 1846.

¹²⁷ HA, C4/782/2, Campbell to Duke, 17 January 1846.

the cost of this and an unexpectedly large balance of £1,293 2s 11d due to the London Marble and Stone Company for the staircase¹²⁸ meant that there was no “spare” £7,000 available for the equestrian statue.

Four days later, the Duke reined Campbell in. His draft letter begins with polite irritation that Campbell had contacted others about the pedestal, when he could “have made [it] subservient to [his] own view”, but then the Duke squared up to his inability to finance another grand project:

I find (however reluctantly it may be) that I must give up the idea of the equestrian statue, and satisfy myself with the colossal bust of ~~which you~~ [word crossed out] ~~you~~ [modelled or moulded] for me — Be so good therefore as to occupy yourself with the casting of it, in bronze; I shall avail myself of the proposition you have made to me of 500 [guineas]¹²⁹

Campbell cast the bust in early March 1846 (Fig.98)¹³⁰ and it was apparently finished on 20 March 1847.¹³¹

That should have been the end of the matter, but both men were loath to give up the equestrian statue. In mid March 1848 Campbell wrote from London to inform the Duke that he had “received from Rome the assurance of being permitted to take a cast of the celebrated Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, on the condition, that I guarentee the Government against damage & agree to give a copy of the cast to be deposited in the Capitol”.¹³² He had just written to his friend in Rome, asking him to agree the conditions on his behalf, and was making arrangements to “very shortly” travel out to Rome “to superintend personally the execution of [the] cast”. An “agreement” had already been made “for erecting the scaffolding, & preparing the moulds, & completing the cast”.

It might be thought that this was all Campbell’s initiative, but the letter concludes with a reference to the “distinguished charge Your Grace has confided to

¹²⁸ This was over £700 more than the Duke was expecting to pay. He believed he had not been credited with £500, but soon discovered he had never made that payment: see Duke to Brown, 4 July and 11 July 1845 (HA, C4/116/9 and 10). The Duke’s letter to Brown of 2 August (C4/124) suggests that the coffers were empty. The full balance was eventually paid on 7 September 1846, after the London Marble Company turned down a request for a discount for “immediate payment”: see HA, C4/116/11, Jacob to Duke, 4 September 1846; F2/1001/4, with receipt dated 7 September 1846; and C4/116/12, Jacob to Richard Rutherford, 7 September 1846.

¹²⁹ HA, C4/782/3, draft letter Duke to Campbell, 21 January 1846.

¹³⁰ See NLS, MS 146, f.62, Duke to Campbell, 9 March 1846.

¹³¹ HA, Bundle 1001, Campbell to Duke, 20 March 1847.

¹³² HA, Bundle 1000, Campbell to Duke, 15 or 16 March 1848.

me". The Duke was much less committed, but in his draft reply, dated 24 March, he crossed out the words "I do not consider that I have authorized the work to be commenced", substituted "If we are to proceed in our negotiation", and then moved on to try to work out an arrangement for "partial payments" at "certain stated periods".¹³³

By 8 April, the date of his next letter, Campbell had arranged to leave for Italy exactly a week later.¹³⁴ He confirmed that the cost would be £6,000 and engaged to complete the statue within two years of commencing to take the cast. As far as payments were concerned, he suggested £1,500 when the plaster cast had been begun, £1,000 after it had been finished, four instalments of £500 each during the preparation of the bronze cast, and the final £1,500 upon completion.

There is then the totally unexpected, written agreement: "& according to Your Graces desire I shall complete the moulds & cast the statue at Hamilton Palace, where you have been so kind as [to] offer me every facility, as well as a shed for the purpose".

Campbell was so keen to resolve everything and proceed that "he was perfectly willing to hand over two old & valuable Policies" on his life, worth £1,500, to get the first instalment of £1,500 from the Duke.

But it was not to be. Five days before he was due to depart, the Duke brought down the final curtain on the project, although he held out hope of resuming it at a later date. He referred obliquely to the revolutions that had just brought down Louis-Philippe and Metternich and led to the start of insurrections in Rome and Milan on 15 and 18 March, but his chief concern was plainly financial:

You are a bolder man, my good M^r Campbell, than I am _ to go to Rome & to engage in the taking a cast of Marcus Aurelius, whilst England & Italy are in such confusion _ I am sorry, after what I have written, to hesitate, & to desire that you will suspend for the moment your intended work _ I see the danger of your not being able on your side to carry on the work; whilst on my side, I begin to fear the possibility of not being able to pay for it _ I do not [?renounce] altogether the idea, but I must postpone it _ Your project of payment is most just _ I have nothing to complain of in it, unless it is, that I might possibly wish to throw the whole over three years instead of two _ Mess^{rs} Coutts do business for me, which

¹³³ *Ibid.*, Duke to Campbell, 24 March 1848.

¹³⁴ HA, Bundle 1001, Campbell to Duke, 8 April 1848.

will facilitate our reciprocal arrangements; but untill the present storm is a little blown over I must forbid you to proceed _¹³⁵

The reason for this is not hard to find. The Duke was eighty and needed to get on with the chapel part of the mausoleum. He pulled the rug out from under Campbell's feet on 10 April. Ten days later, Brown called upon the architect David Bryce in Edinburgh and, later the same day, wrote to ask him to come to Hamilton Palace on the 25th.¹³⁶ This was to enable the Duke to decide whether to employ Bryce, and a favourable interview soon led to a series of drawings, quarrying and the construction of the main part of the mausoleum.

Campbell must have been distraught. The equestrian statue was probably the best chance he was likely to get to produce another colossal sculpture, after his dilatoriness in completing the monuments to the 4th Earl of Hopetoun (c.1824-34) and the Duke of Wellington (1828-c.1847), and completely in line with his deep interest in Classical sculpture.

The Duke, too, must have deeply regretted his decision. The proposal was an extension of his purchases of the porphyry busts of the two Roman Emperors in 1832 and of Greek vases in 1836 and 1837; but as he gave at least two of his best vases to Beckford, it can be argued that it led to a much more active interest and involvement with Classical art and architecture. The very idea of an adapted copy of *Marcus Aurelius* in the grounds seems to have inspired the Duke to mount a campaign, involving friends and others in London, Paris and Rome, to acquire good plaster casts of Classical statues for the ground floor of the palace in the early 1840s and to concentrate on securing the black basalt bust of the *Emperor Vespasian* and a bronze *Jupiter Serapis* at the Strawberry Hill sale in 1842. The copy would have complemented the Classical-style architecture of the palace, acted as an "introduction" to the Classical material in the palace, connected up with the three busts of Roman Emperors in porphyry and basalt, and made a very large contribution to visual "continuity".

Above all, though, the decision to give up the statue deprived the Duke of an extremely powerful statement of his own importance, status and regal lineage, which

¹³⁵ NLS, MS 146, f.64, Duke to Campbell, 10 April 1848.

¹³⁶ HTHL, HELB 1846-48, p.321, Brown to Bryce, 20 April 1848.

would also have given some visual support to his claim to be the rightful heir to the throne of Scotland. It seems that the Duke saw the adapted *Marcus Aurelius* as a riposte to the equestrian monument to *George III*, based on *Marcus Aurelius*, which Richard Westmacott had undertaken for George IV between 1821 and 1831 (Windsor Great Park),¹³⁷ and the glut of equestrian monuments to the (Tory) Duke of Wellington. Glasgow and Edinburgh had both agreed to erect statues to the Iron Duke in 1840 and the 10th Duke had subscribed £200 towards the former and £100 to the latter.¹³⁸ The Duke had actually proposed the Glasgow testimonial at the first public meeting on 18 February 1840 and served as President of the Glasgow Wellington Memorial Committee.¹³⁹ Over the next four years, he corresponded with the sculptor Baron Carlo Marochetti and his own founder, Soyer, who got the contract to cast the statue. As he was in the south of England, dealing with the aftermath of Beckford's death, he was able to avoid the inauguration ceremony on Royal Exchange Flags in October 1844.

An adapted copy of *Marcus Aurelius* could have been set up on the Northern Avenue as a very pointed response to Westmacott's *George III*, at the end of the similarly tree-lined Long Walk in Windsor Great Park, or erected closer to the palace, in a dynamic visual relationship with the North Front and Hamilton Mausoleum.

The lack of a major piece of sculpture in the Low Parks must have become an increasing cause for concern to the Duke, and it was something that he tried to ameliorate, by additions to the mausoleum, during the last two years of his life.

The Hamilton Mausoleum

The Hamilton Mausoleum is a thesis in itself. Thankfully, the contribution of the British architects has already been examined by Michael Allan¹⁴⁰ and there is no need to go over the drawings by David Hamilton, Goodridge and David Bryce, one by one, as he did. Here the discussion can be confined to the introduction of new archival material and the way that the gestation of the mausoleum relates to the Duke's patronage and collecting outlined up to now.

¹³⁷ See Busco 1994, pp.68-9.

¹³⁸ HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.79, Brown to Robert Bauchop, 18 December 1840.

¹³⁹ For further information and references, see Ward-Jackson 1990.

¹⁴⁰ Allan 1976.

The first main finding must be that the Duke sought ideas from foreign artists at an early stage – as he had done with the north block – and that he asked Charles Percier in 1829-30 to prepare designs based on Bramante's *tempietto* in the convent of S. Pietro in Montorio, in Rome. There can be no doubt about this. On 20 January 1830 Percier confirmed in a letter to the Duke: "The rounded colonnaded temple that Bramante erected at S. Pietro in Montorio will be the prototype, apart from changes to some details".¹⁴¹ Interestingly, directly above this Percier noted: "My nephew, who will deliver this letter to you, will have the honour of presenting you his design for a part of the interior of the Pantheon. He will be working on the sepulchral monument project that you intend to put up in Hamilton."

The key point to appreciate is that, over the next eleven years, the Duke moved away from an Italian renaissance design to an austere Classical design that matched his acquisitions of Classical items and plaster casts of Classical statues and the proposed adapted copy of *Marcus Aurelius*.

Late in 1840 William Burn and David Hamilton were both asked to submit sketches for the proposed mausoleum.¹⁴² David Hamilton's 1841 proposals¹⁴³ included a developed design that would eventually form the basis for the Hamilton Mausoleum (Fig.99),¹⁴⁴ and in July 1841 he was requested to supply the working drawings for the crypt,¹⁴⁵ for a site directly to the east of the palace.

After Hamilton was struck down in January-February 1842, William Beckford's Bath architect H.E. Goodridge took over the project. In 1841 Goodridge had submitted designs for the mausoleum, which seem to reflect a keen awareness of the Duke's interest in Atlantes and caryatids and their use in the palace. Goodridge proposed, in pen and ink designs and related watercolour views, decorating both the exterior and interior of his design with caryatid-angels and, in effect, continuing the caryatid theme into the grounds (Fig.100).¹⁴⁶

¹⁴¹ HA, Bundle 1002, Percier to Duke, 20 January 1830.

¹⁴² See HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.95.

¹⁴³ See HA, drawings 11-20.

¹⁴⁴ HA, drawing 20; see also the related designs, drawings 17 and 18, and the Duke's "original Sketches", M15/29, on paper with the watermarked date 1842.

¹⁴⁵ See HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.255, Brown to Hamilton, 17 July 1841.

¹⁴⁶ See HA, drawings 69 and 6, and an elevation in the RIBA. A signed watercolour view of the proposed mausoleum with the palace behind it is at Lennoxlove. Figure 100 is a detail from a similar, unsigned watercolour purchased by the National Museums Scotland in 2005. The "Alterations to Hamilton Palace" exhibited by Goodridge at the 1842 Royal Academy exhibition (no.1036) was

Goodridge very much hoped that he could convince the Duke of the superiority of his own designs and gain creative control of the undertaking, but the discovery, in January 1842, that the chosen site was running with water at a depth of about twelve feet¹⁴⁷ led to its deferral – much to his annoyance.¹⁴⁸

It was decided that the mausoleum would be built on “Templehill”, to the north-east of the palace, and preparations resumed in the summer of 1845, when the palace was almost completed. In 1846 Goodridge drew up a wide variety of designs to entice the Duke. These included mausolea decorated, on the inside and outside, with many statues,¹⁴⁹ which would have compensated for the lack of other sculpture in the park. However, Goodridge also developed his earlier ideas of decorating the mausoleum with caryatid figures (Fig.101). One design, based on what might be called David Hamilton’s masterplan, has a lantern adorned with caryatid-angels,¹⁵⁰ while a drawing for the interior develops the deep coffering on the dome and angels on the drum in his 1841 proposal (Fig.102).¹⁵¹

Goodridge must have felt that these designs would have appealed to the Duke, but the premier peer of Scotland became increasingly annoyed with his flying visits, discourtesy, failure to obey instructions, abysmal control and superintendence of the sub-contractors, executed work, gross overexpenditure and non payment of people.¹⁵² In 1848 he decided to work up David Hamilton and his own designs for the exterior, and replaced Goodridge (who no longer had the backing of Beckford) with David Bryce. Very interestingly, however, one of Bryce’s drawings seems to be a serious

probably related to these watercolours. On 20 August 1841 Brown sent the Duke £50 that he wanted “to give to Mr Goodrich Architect from Bath” (HTHL, HELB 1840-42, p.280) and this can be interpreted as payment for some of these designs. Goodridge charged £105 for designs for the mausoleum in 1846: see HA, F2/1125.

¹⁴⁷ See HTHL, HELB 1840-42, pp.393-4 and 400.

¹⁴⁸ Goodridge still believed that it was possible to build on the site. He referred to the deferral of the mausoleum in a letter to the Duke dated 11 May 1842 (HA, C4/136/6) and his comment “it will afford time for mature consideration of all its parts so as to avoid alterations, a thing at times if possible to be avoided”, is a barbed criticism of the Duke’s standard practice of changing things during construction or implementation.

¹⁴⁹ HA, drawings 3 and 4, and the drawings in the RIBA.

¹⁵⁰ HA, drawings 1 and 2.

¹⁵¹ HA, drawing 5.

¹⁵² See HTHL, HELB 1846-48, pp.121-3, 125-6, 182-5, 212, 225, 231, 238-40, 253, 305-7, 309-10 and 315-6. The problems with Goodridge climaxed in 1849 over his work on the Beckford Library: see HTHL, HELB 1848-50, pp.125-6, 135-6, 174-9 and 196-7.

exercise, undertaken by Bryce after discussion with the Duke,¹⁵³ to develop Goodridge's ideas. In a drawing dated 13 May 1848, Bryce proposed placing large angels holding raised crowns on the interior of the drum (Fig.103),¹⁵⁴ and angels in the spandrels, in a way that would have complemented the Atlantes immediately inside the palace.

This was very good "continuity", but the Baroque look clashed with the stark Classicism of the proposed exterior. It could be contended that the exterior of the palace and the Atlantes and black marble staircase jarred in the same way, and that the Duke had accepted this, but by now the Duke was much more Classically orientated. He therefore decided to match the Classical exterior, which was heavily influenced by the Tomb of Cecilia Metella on the Appian Way, with an interior modelled on one of the most famous and certainly best preserved Classical buildings in Rome: the Pantheon. The reference to the drawing of the interior of the Pantheon in Percier's letter in 1830¹⁵⁵ strongly suggests that Percier was intending such a treatment, and that, after eighteen years of cogitation and experimentation, the Duke finally opted for Roman Imperial grandeur (Fig.104) at the expense of "caryatid continuity".

In 1850-1 the Duke began to develop ideas for enriching the mausoleum. Bryce produced a design for an elaborate marble floor,¹⁵⁶ which would be laid, with some revision, after the Duke's death by Wallace and Whyte (Fig.105).¹⁵⁷ At the same time thought was given to placing two recumbent guardian lions, and carving heads – said to represent *Life, Death, and Immortality*¹⁵⁸ or *Time, Death and Eternity*¹⁵⁹ – on the keystones of the three arches at the entrance to the crypt, on the east side of the mausoleum.

¹⁵³ Following their initial meeting on 25 April, the Duke wrote to Bryce on 4 May 1848 asking him to bring his sketches, "that we may have some conversation before they are reduced to geometrical precision": see HTHL, HELB 1846-48, p.324, and also p.327.

¹⁵⁴ HA, drawing 47.

¹⁵⁵ HA, Bundle 1002, Percier to Duke, 20 January 1830.

¹⁵⁶ HA, drawing 51, dated 13 May 1851.

¹⁵⁷ The "Account of the Expenses of Building the Mausoleum at Hamilton Palace, Keepers Lodge there and Gas Work at Smiddycroft" [hereafter Mausoleum Accounts], in Hamilton Town House Library, records that Wallace and Whyte were paid £300 on 15 February 1856, £500 on 9 June 1856 and the "balance of Account" of £814 19s 8d on 17 February 1857 for "Marble floor of Mausoleum &c" (p.17).

¹⁵⁸ See *Scotsman*, 9 May 1857, p.2.

¹⁵⁹ Ritchie exhibited "sketch models" of the "emblematic heads" under these titles at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1863.

The *Lions* were each carved from a massive block of freestone by Alexander Handyside Ritchie (1804-70), after the Duke's death (Fig.106),¹⁶⁰ and were colossal variants of the small marble lions at the base of Canova's tomb monument to Pope Clement XIII in St Peter's in Rome (completed in 1792). The basic idea for them can be traced back to at least 12 May 1848, when they appear to the sides of one of Bryce's sectional drawings for the mausoleum, facing away from the building.¹⁶¹ They may have been dropped or simply placed "on the back-burner" after that, because they are omitted from other well developed drawings,¹⁶² but were fully incorporated in the design of the entrance to the crypt during 1851.

Remarkably, the bronze doors to the entrance of the chapel were a very late add-on to the project.¹⁶³ In June 1850 the Duke wrote to the picture-dealer Samuel Woodburn asking for information about "the bronze doors of Florence". His letter puzzled Woodburn, because the Duke seems to have mentioned that the doors he was interested in had been brought from Pisa.¹⁶⁴ On 26 June, Woodburn provided a few lines about Ghiberti's *Gates of Paradise* on the Baptistery in Florence, and informed the Duke that "The Emperor of Russia" had had moulds taken for "similar doors to a Church which he was building at Petersburg" and that these "were cast in Florence and now exist in bronze in Petersburg".¹⁶⁵ Two days later, Woodburn followed this up with further details about the *Gates of Paradise* that he had obtained from Dr Gustav Waagen, who had a plaster copy in the Berlin Museum. The ever-enterprising dealer assured the Duke he would be able to obtain "the necessary permission to have casts in bronze" and actually had "a very able person who is willing to go to Florence and do them".¹⁶⁶

¹⁶⁰ On 13 March 1851 Ritchie received £65 for the "Cherubs &c" on the interior of the mausoleum. Payments of £50 on 24 September 1852 and £228 15s on 27 June 1853 almost certainly relate to the three heads and the *Lions* (HTHL, Mausoleum Accounts, p.17).

¹⁶¹ HA, drawing 46.

¹⁶² Lions are not present on Bryce's proposal for a five-arch entrance to the crypt, HA, drawings 39 and 40. They are included as flanking figures to the single arch entrance on drawing 41. On elevation drawing 44, they are sited to the sides of the mausoleum, facing away from it.

¹⁶³ On 15 May 1849 William Leighton wrote to Bryce, on the Duke's behalf, asking him to send "the Drawings of the Doors to the Vault of the Mausoleum, as also of the Chapel in order that wood may be got and cut of suitable sizes so as to be properly seasoned". Leighton acknowledged receipt of "the drawings for the doors of the Mausoleum" on 26 May: see HTHL, HELB 1848-50, pp.207 and 215.

¹⁶⁴ HA, C4/843A/16, Woodburn to Duke, 26 June 1850.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ HA, C4/843A/17, Woodburn to Duke, 28 June 1850.

Woodburn's letter seems to have convinced the Duke that he should follow the Tsar's example, despite the doorway to the chapel (on the west side of the mausoleum) being much smaller than the *Gates of Paradise*. One assumes that the Duke interpreted Woodburn's comments about Russia as a reference to the copy of the *Gates of Paradise* which was made around 1805 for the west doorway of Kazan Cathedral in St Petersburg,¹⁶⁷ but it is conceivable that he thought Tsar Nicholas I had commissioned a second set, as the great doors for St Isaac's were being produced between 1848 and 1850.

Whichever way he read Woodburn's letter, the idea of a copy of the *Gates of Paradise* must have appealed to the Duke for at least three reasons. The original *Gates* were the most important work of sculpture of the early Italian renaissance and a copy would reflect well on the Duke's connoisseurship; their importance was endorsed by the Tsar of All the Russias; and a copy would neatly commemorate his time in both Italy and Russia.

Fortunately, there was a complete plaster copy of the *Gates* in the Royal Institution in Edinburgh (now the Royal Scottish Academy),¹⁶⁸ and on 31 October 1850 David Bryce wrote to the Secretary of the Board of Manufactures for permission for moulds to be taken. This was granted a week later, on condition that John Steell (1804-91), who was Sculptor in Ordinary to Queen Victoria, would superintend the copying of the casts, the bronze castings were made in Scotland, and the moulds became the property of the Board after the first cast was taken.¹⁶⁹

The result was copies of the lower six of the ten scenes, mounted in much simplified frames (Fig.107), which cost at least £800¹⁷⁰ and were finally installed in 1856.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁷ See Jaeger 2007, pl.91.

¹⁶⁸ Bought in 1836, the copy had been in Edinburgh since 1837: see NAS, NG1/1/37, pp.96-7, 110 and 124.

¹⁶⁹ HA, Bundle 665, copy of letter from B. Primrose to Bryce, 7 November 1850.

¹⁷⁰ Steell was paid £200 on 9 September 1851, £200 on 5 January 1853 and £400 on 22 May 1854 (HTHL, Mausoleum Accounts, p.17, and HA, F2/1117, p.18). The *Scotsman* of 9 May 1857 records that the doors were produced at Steell's own foundry in Edinburgh, which is what one would expect. Later statements that they were cast by James Milne or Milne and Son of Edinburgh should be discounted.

¹⁷¹ See *Hamilton Advertiser and News Letter*, 19 July 1856, p.2.

It is all too easy to focus on the derivative aspect of the mausoleum and the Duke's lack of originality, and accuse him of having a second-rate, stale mind, but this a very "modern" reaction, which fails to appreciate the importance of Antiquity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and to think seriously about what a patron was trying to achieve. The 10th Duke wanted the Mausoleum to proclaim his status and the finished *Gesamtkunstwerk* did this superbly. The mass of the population could marvel at the height of the building (120 feet), beautifully finished, large slabs and blocks of stone and minimal use of mortar. Those with Classical educations would have realized that the cylindrical form related not just to Roman tombs generally, but to the tombs of Roman Emperors (notably Augustus and Hadrian), and that the colossal *Lions* were royal and imperial symbols, as well as symbols of life and death. Artists and *cognoscenti* seeing the building, bronze doors and *Lions* would immediately have recognized that the Duke had "excellent taste" and was a connoisseur of Classical and Renaissance and later art.

But the real revelation was reserved for those privileged to enter the chapel. Visitors found themselves in a space that was both a version of the temple to all the gods, in Rome, and a Masonic Lodge. They had entered through an "Egyptian" door, which alluded to the popular belief that Freemasonry originated or was practised in Egypt, and was placed in the "correct" (west) position as the entrance to a Lodge. Before them was a "Mosaic Pavement" with Masonic symbols and references, including the circle, Sun, Blazing Star or Glory, steps, ladders, Degrees and processional circuits, and directly opposite a black marble "pedestal" behind which the Worshipful Master might be expected to sit. A senior Mason in this position, in the east, represented King Solomon, the builder of the Temple in Jerusalem, seated upon his throne. However, what the confused and awe-struck visitor actually beheld, on the plinth, was an ancient Egyptian sarcophagus containing the body of the former Grand Master Mason of Scotland and premier peer of Scotland!¹⁷²

Both the palace and mausoleum positively crackled with references to great kings, emperors, pharaohs and popes. All the visual signals hammered home the

¹⁷² The coffin had been made for a lady called Maaru. It was much too small for the Duke and there are gruesome stories about how he was "made to fit". Later, the word "Mosé" (child) on the coffin was read as a reference to the Old Testament leader Moses, but it is not clear if the Duke was aware of this interpretation: see the *Glasgow Herald*, 5 April 1921, p.3.

message that the 10th Duke of Hamilton and House of Hamilton were of regal status and had to be shown maximum respect and deference.

It was one of the most accomplished projections of status and power in Britain – and all the more fascinating because it drew so heavily on the past and was financed with such inadequate funds.

The Last Years: The Expansion and Display of the Collection, 1832-1852

The 10th Duke continued to collect during the last twenty years of his life. He was severely restrained by the *grands projets*, but nevertheless made significant additions to the collection. What has not been appreciated up until now is how much effort and resources the Duke put into acquiring Classical and Classical-related items in this period. The last chapter begins with some of these acquisitions and then moves on to examine the purchase of two Napoleonic busts, the focused acquisition of works depicting or associated with the Medici, and the “rounding off” of the collection. We end with a review of the way the Duke displayed all his material to emphasize and enhance his own status and achievements.

Collecting Classical Items

While in Paris in 1836, the Duke could not resist the temptation to attend the “most interesting sale of Greek and Etruscan vases” owned by Edmé-Antoine Durand. As he informed Beckford: “All the most well-informed antiquaries and archaeologists have attended and I could not stay away _ I ended up buying one of the most beautiful [vases] you have ever seen.”¹ This was the Athenian early-fifth-century BC red-figured *lekythos* (Fig.108) painted with an Easterner riding a camel, with an entourage of ecstatic followers (now in the British Museum).² At 2,045 francs, the oil-flask was the ninth most expensive item in the sale, but the *Supplément* to the catalogue and annotated cuttings in the Hamilton archive reveal that the Duke also bought at least another vase,³ four fragments of glass⁴ and a ring.⁵

The Duke’s letter makes clear that he would have loved to have given in to other “seductions”, but was constrained by his “undertaking” in Scotland. A year later, though, he purchased another Athenian vase (Fig.109): an early-fifth-century

¹ Bod, MS. Beckford c.20, ff.30-1, Duke to Beckford, 9 May 1836 (in French).

² Witte 1836, pp.34-5, lot 97. The Duke annotated cuttings of the catalogue entry “mon vase de Durand” (HA, F2/1069/14 and 12).

³ Witte 1836, p.197, lot 577. The *Supplément* records that this was sold to Broendsted (who was buying for the British Museum) for 96 francs, but the Duke annotated a cutting of the catalogue entry “mon petit vase de Durand” (HA, F2/1069/13).

⁴ Witte 1836, p.360, lots 1543 and 1544 and part of lot 1545. According to the *Supplément*, “Le duc de Hamilton” paid 192 francs 50 centimes for these items.

⁵ Witte 1836, p.436, lot 2110: “Grosse bague, sur laquelle est gravée *Niké*, ou plutôt *Éris*, entre deux palmes. Grav. en creux.” The *Supplément* records that “le duc de Hamilton” bought lot 2110 for 75 francs.

oinoche which shows Apollo returning to Greece on a griffin and being welcomed by his sister Artemis and mother Leto (now in the British Museum). The wine-jug had come up for sale, while he was in Paris with his sick daughter, at the auction of the collection of Greek vases found in the Etruscan tombs at Vulci, on land owned by Prince Canino (Napoleon's younger brother Lucien Bonaparte). It is an excellent example and a rare representation of the subject, but it seems that the Duke acquired this particular piece because it was the first lot in the sale of Lucien Bonaparte's collection⁶ and demonstrated his interest in Napoleon and support of the Bonaparte family.

The *lekythos* and *oinoche* appear to have been given to Beckford, either by the Duke or the Duchess.⁷ They were included in the posthumous sale of part of Beckford's collection in Bath in 1845,⁸ and consequently have always been seen as Beckford pieces. Ian Jenkins recently noted that the *oinoche* had been purchased by the Duke in 1837,⁹ but this is the first time that the much more important *lekythos* has been traced back to him.

Unfortunately, we do not know when the vases were given to Beckford, but it would seem reasonable to think that the gift was made in the late 1830s and took place before the Duke really started to concentrate on collecting Classical items.

Exactly what galvanized the Duke is hard to determine. He had moved from collecting Classical cameos and poor Classical sculptures, such as the battered bust of the *Cnidian Aphrodite* now in the British Museum, to the five bronze statues after the Antique (wrongly) associated with Francis I of France and the porphyry busts of Roman Emperors from the George Watson Taylor sale. Then, in the late 1830s-early 1840s a number of "Classical" commissions and projects – the Atlantes, proposed adapted copy of *Marcus Aurelius*, and completion and arrival of a colossal bronze

⁶ Witte 1837, p.1. A cutting of the entry for lot 1 (HA, F2/1069/15) is annotated by the Duke "My vase bought at Paris at Prince Canino's sale _ August 1837 _". The *oinoche* was auctioned on 8 May, so "August 1837" is presumably the date of the annotation.

⁷ A cutting from the Durand catalogue relating to lot 95 (HA, F2/1069/14) is annotated by the Duke "Etruscan vase donné à Pugneche". This means that he either gave the Duchess lot 95 (which was sold to Broendsted for 701 francs) or the *lekythos* lot 97, which was described on the reverse.

⁸ Both pieces are illustrated in the account of the sale in the *Illustrated London News*, 6 December 1845, p.365. The *oinoche* (lot 418) fetched 60 guineas and was bought by the British Museum shortly thereafter. The *lekythos* (lot 419) was purchased for 210 guineas by the future 11th Duke of Hamilton and was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 864) as the "Beckford Vase".

⁹ Ostergard 2001 p.367.

bust of *Jupiter Olympien* by Soyer¹⁰ – come to a head. They may be said to have provided a momentum of their own and to have encouraged the Duke to complement his holding with additional, supporting pieces of “Classical” sculpture. Moreover, by now he would have known that Buckingham Palace had a large ground-floor Sculpture Gallery and have felt the need to respond to this. Thus we have a potent combination of motives, with natural development being reinforced by the Duke’s preoccupation with “continuity of display” and his determination to match or, better still, surpass other royal and aristocratic collectors.

In the spring of 1840 the Duke turned to William Richard Hamilton, the former secretary to Lord Elgin and man chiefly responsible for actually getting the Elgin Marbles to Britain, for advice on obtaining good casts of Classical sculptures for the ground floor of the palace. Hamilton began his suggestions with the Townley *Venus* in the British Museum¹¹ and the Duke wrote to inquire if a cast was available. It was not, but the Museum offered to make one for six to eight guineas.¹² Both the British Museum and later Hamilton¹³ mentioned the successors of Sarti, Loft and Company or Loft and Scoular, in Dean Street, Soho. The Duke may have already approached them, but certainly pursued these leads.¹⁴ However, he soon realized that the selection available in London was limited and often poor in quality.

The Duke turned to Soyer. He must have attempted to buy a copy of the “Minerve Justiniane” from Soyer,¹⁵ but the founder only had a three-foot reduction and told him he would need to procure a full-size copy of “this beautiful statue” from Rome. In May 1841, if not earlier, the Duke wrote to the Roman banker Alessandro Torlonia to try to get casts of three statues in the Giustiniani Collection.¹⁶ Torlonia made inquiries and discovered that it would be impossible to obtain copies of works

¹⁰ Soyer gave the price of a “Grand Jupiter Olympien” as 8,000 francs in his letter to the Duke dated 28 August 1833 (HA, Bundle 1002). The “Jupiter Olympien” was invoiced to the Duke at 8,000 francs, with a payment for Customs duty in London, under the date 1840 on Soyer & Ingé’s bill of 24 8bre 1842 (HA, F2/1069/31).

¹¹ HA, Bundle 753, Hamilton to Duke, 6 June 1840.

¹² HA, C4/762, J. Forshall to Duke, 27 July 1840.

¹³ HA, Bundle 753, Hamilton to Duke, 14 August 1840.

¹⁴ The Hamilton archive contains a printed advertisement issued by Loft and Company, dated February 1839 (Bundle 910). The back has been annotated with measurements for “Flora”, “Isis”, “Juno” and “Susanna”. The word “no” has been written against “Juno” and small crosses placed against the others.

¹⁵ See HA, C4/840/12, Soyer to Duke, undated but with a reference to Napoleon’s state funeral in Paris, which took place on 15 December 1840.

¹⁶ See HA, Bundle 1127, Torlonia to Duke, 15 and 24 June 1841

still owned by the family, but that a cast could be acquired of the *Minerva Giustiniani*¹⁷ (which had been sold to Pope Pius VII by Lucien Bonaparte in 1817 and was on display in the Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican Museum). The necessary permission was obtained and the cast was made and shipped to London in 1842.¹⁸

The Duke still wanted casts of other important statues and asked his friend Charles de Beauvau, Prince of Craon (1793-1864),¹⁹ to find out what was on offer in Paris. The Prince went to “Dubois” and sent the Duke a catalogue of the “Platres du Musée” – presumably the Musée du Louvre.²⁰ He noted that it only gave approximate heights for the casts and that they might not be sufficient, as the Duke had apparently wanted accurate measurements, but promised to get another catalogue next time he was in Paris and send it as soon as possible.

How much came of this is still unclear, but it seems the Duke had to fall back on Loft and Company, who sent “Casts of the Statues” to Leith in April 1843.²¹

While all this was going on the Duke was able to buy two important Classical sculptures at the auction of Horace Walpole’s collection, which was sold off in April-May 1842 to pacify the creditors of the 7th Earl and Countess Waldegrave. Beckford used Robert Hume to buy many items at the famous Strawberry Hill sale,²² but the Duke seems to have concentrated exclusively on the two Classical pieces, which were both catalogued as being made of “basaltes”. On the morning it came up for sale, Hume received instructions from the Duke to bid up to 250 guineas for the small bust of *Jupiter Serapis*, from the Barberini Collection, that had been sold by Sir William Hamilton to the Dowager Duchess of Portland at the same time as the “Portland Vase”.²³ Hume bought the bust, which had been heavily restored by Anne

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Torlonia to Duke, 24 June (with the Duke’s draft reply) and 3 November 1841.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Torlonia to Duke, 16 April 1842. The cast supplied by Torlonia was probably the “plaster statue of Minerva – 6 ft. 9 in. high – on painted pedestal” sold by Christie, Manson and Woods at the Hamilton Palace sale on 12 November 1919, lot 158.

¹⁹ Charles de Beauvau took part in the invasion of Russia as a carabineer officer and was badly wounded at Voronovo. He became *aide-de-camp* to the Duke of Feltre, Napoleon’s Minister of War, and rejoined the Emperor after his return from Elba. The friendship of the Duke and the Prince was based on their involvement with Russia, support of Napoleon and the Bonaparte dynasty, and collecting. In 1852, after the endorsement of his *coup d’état* and the promulgation of the new Constitution, Louis-Napoleon appointed the Prince a Senator and he usually voted with the government.

²⁰ HA, Bundle 968, Beauvau to Duke, 19 July 1842.

²¹ See HA, Bundle 753, Carroll to Duke, 8 April 1843.

²² See Bod, MS. Beckford c.22.

²³ *Ibid.*, f.210, Hume to Beckford, 12 May 1842, and Robins 1842, p.137, lot 82.

Seymour Damer in 1787,²⁴ for £78 15s; and eleven days later, on 20 May, he secured the bust of the *Emperor Vespasian*, with a head of basalt and draped body of agate or alabaster, for £220 10s (Fig.110). Walpole's prized *Vespasian* had been in the collection of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni,²⁵ and was sold with this provenance,²⁶ but this is unlikely to have had a major bearing on the acquisition, as the Duke does not seem to have known that his Tasso tapestries had been owned by the Cardinal.

Hume's bill for the *Jupiter* and *Vespasian* came to £316 16s 9d²⁷ and the Duke gave him a draft for £340, which included money for Hume's time and expenses, on 30 May.²⁸ Hume acknowledged the payment two days later, on 1 June,²⁹ and in July the Duke annotated Hume's reference to the two works: "Jupiter & *Vespasian* precious specimens of antique work, & the qualities of la matiere (the stone) most rare & precious __ The Jupiter is of diminutive Size".³⁰

The Duke may have thought in May-June about displaying his two porphyry busts and the *Vespasian* on or near the black marble staircase. Once he had all three together, he realized that this would be a brilliant move, both in terms of the projection of status and power and "continuity of display", and ended up placing the Ottoboni/Walpole *Vespasian* on the first landing and the two porphyry busts in the hallway, under the cantilevered double staircase (Fig.97).

The Duke's obligations probably prevented him from buying other Classical items or, indeed, other works of art at the Strawberry Hill sale. The Beckford-Hume correspondence in the Bodleian records that Beckford definitely bought the small bronze head of *Caligula*, with silver eyes, from Herculaneum,³¹ but what is most intriguing about the Beckford-Hume letters is that the Duke and Beckford were not discussing their buying intentions. Both men were acting independently of one another, and the Duke wanted to keep his collecting confidential. Hume conveyed

²⁴ See Lewis and Wallace 1944, pp.272-3.

²⁵ Walpole informed Richard West on 2 October 1740 that he had bought the bust at "Cardinal Ottoboni's sale" for £22: see Lewis, Lam and Bennett 1948, I, pp.232-3. The editors believed that Beckford purchased *Vespasian* at the Strawberry Hill sale.

²⁶ Robins 1842, p.234, lot 73.

²⁷ HA, F2/1042/28.

²⁸ Noted on *ibid*.

²⁹ HA, Bundle 1001, Hume to Duke, 1 June 1842.

³⁰ The Duke also initialled and dated his annotation "Hamilton Palace July 1842". *Jupiter* was subsequently described as of green basalt and 7½ inches high (including the black pedestal supplied by Hume): Robinson 1863, p.3, no.35.

³¹ See Bod, MS. Beckford c.22, ff.209-10, 216 and 221, and Robins 1842, p.155, lot 68.

information about the Duke's purchases to Beckford, his main customer at the time, but asked him not to reveal this to his son-in-law.³²

As we shall see, the Duke would go on to buy more Classical items, but during this late period he also added extensively to his library and developed two of his "special areas of interest": items relating to the Bonapartes and works associated with the Medici.

Collecting More Napoleonica

The first of the Duke's late Bonaparte acquisitions – a second marble bust of the Princess Pauline Borghese – has been entirely forgotten. Unlike the others, it came about more by chance than resolution and pursuit. In May 1838 Charles de Beauvau wrote to the Duke:

Do you still feel like having the bust of Princess Borghese that we saw together at Laneuville? The owner Corvisart, the nephew of Napoleon's old doctor who was one of my old comrades in arms, is offering it to me. He thinks it is for me and is asking me for 100 louis (2,400 francs). If it suits you, tell me what you want to pay and I will argue your interests as if they were my very own.³³

The matter proceeded slowly, partly because the Prince went off to Italy for four months. In May 1839 he advised the Duke, in a postscript, that "As the owner of the Borghese bust has gone to the country, I cannot carry out your commission. It will have to wait my return" [from another visit to Italy].³⁴ At the beginning of March 1840 the Prince reported that Corvisart wanted 3,000 francs and that he had offered 2,000.³⁵ He wondered if the Duke would go halfway and offer 2,500 francs? The Duke's response has still to be tracked down, but on 12 April 1840 the Prince was able to "announce [...] the conclusion of the purchase you asked me to undertake":

After quite a battle with Monsieur Corvisart I eventually managed to get him to deliver the bust of the Princess for the sum of two thousand three hundred francs. I am therefore in possession of it in my lodgings in the Rue du Luxembourg. Please therefore give me your instructions so that I may know where to send it to you. I shall

³² See *ibid.*, ff.210 and 224.

³³ HA, Bundle 914, Beauvau to Duke, 6 May 1838. The Prince's letters are in French and translations have been used here. The bust of Princess Pauline may have been owned by Napoleon's personal physician, but the reference to Laneuville suggests that Dr Corvisart's nephew had bought it on the art market.

³⁴ HA, Bundle 968, Beauvau to Duke, 29 May 1839.

³⁵ HA, Bundle 708, Beauvau to Duke, 2 March 1840.

take every precaution with the packing so that the bust does not suffer from the journey and arrives intact.³⁶

Later letters, including one from the Prince,³⁷ confirm that the bust was, indeed, purchased for 2,300 francs. It evidently joined the bust of the Princess already in the Duke's private apartments, but is difficult to identify. The 1835 inventory records the existing bust in the Duke's Sitting Room, as "A Marble Bust of the Princess Borghese on Granite Column and red porphery Plinths", valued at £130,³⁸ while the 1853 inventory simply notes "a rich marble Bust of the Princess Birghese" in the Duke's Bed Room and "a finely sculptured Marble Bust of the Princess Borghese" in the Duke's Cabinet.³⁹ The first of the 1853 entries has subsequently been annotated "By Bosio, given to the Duke by the Princess" and the second "By Canova, the gift of the Princess". One might infer from this that the bust attributed to François-Joseph Bosio was the new addition, but this is little more than speculation at this stage.⁴⁰

Nonetheless, we now know that in 1840 the Duke acquired a bust of Pauline Borghese and that he thought it sufficiently good to place with the existing bust, which had almost certainly been given him by the Princess. Above all, though, we are left with the extraordinary spectacle of a married man, with a family, choosing to underline his admiration for a notorious dead woman by a second, late purchase and then going on to display both busts in his main private rooms.

The Duchess cannot have been enraptured, but she supported her husband's attempts to get their son to marry the Princess Marie of Baden, the daughter of the adopted daughter of Napoleon, the Grand Duchess Stéphanie of Baden (1789-1860).⁴¹

³⁶ HA, C4/845, Beauvau to Duke, 12 April 1840.

³⁷ HA, Bundle 708, Beauvau to Duke, 19 June 1840.

³⁸ HA, Volume 1223, p.159.

³⁹ HA, Volume 1228, pp.161 and 164.

⁴⁰ The working theory is that the "Bosio bust" may have been lot 327 in Christie, Manson and Woods' sale of "The Remaining Contents of the Palace" on 13 November 1919. This had been displayed in the re-arranged Tribune and is described as: "A bust of a lady, her hair dressed in the Empire manner, sculptured in statuary marble, by F. Bosio, on pedestal of veined yellow marble, with white base sculptured with a laurel wreath and rosettes." The following lot – "A bust of a gentleman, with Classical drapery, life-size, by Thomas Campbell, Rome, 1822, on similar pedestal to the preceding" – could have been one of Campbell's busts of the 10th Duke, while lot 329 – "A bust of a lady, with plaited hair, life-size, on granite pedestal" – might have been the other bust of Princess Pauline on a different stand.

⁴¹ Stéphanie was the niece of the Empress Josephine's first husband, Alexandre de Beauharnais. After Baden was made part of the Confederation of the Rhine, Napoleon wanted a marriage alliance between the Crown Prince of Baden and his relative. The reigning Grand Duke, Carl Friedrich,

Indeed, it was the Duchess who visited Germany and used her “tact and talent” to ensure that William became engaged to Marie in October 1842 and married her, in Mannheim, on 23 February 1843.⁴²

The Duke’s correspondence with Stepney Cowell from 1839 to 1842⁴³ indicates how keen he was for his son to marry the Princess. We have already seen how the union complemented Queen Victoria’s marriage to Prince Albert, but Napoleonic marriages were becoming increasingly fashionable. Lord Dudley Stuart had already married Christine, daughter of Lucien Bonaparte, and in November 1840 the Russian millionaire Prince Anatole Demidoff wed Princess Mathilde, the daughter of Jerome Bonaparte, former King of Westphalia, and the niece of Napoleon. At the same time, the Baden match was something for a connoisseur really to savour, because the Grand Duchess Stéphanie was the only member of the Bonaparte family to remain in power and maintain her exalted position, and that of her children, after the final defeat of the Emperor.

The Duke almost certainly considered Princess Marie a “Napoleonic acquisition” and there were splendid celebrations, involving a four-mile-long procession, triumphal arches, crowds of 40,000-50,000 and celebration dinners for about 2,800 people, when the Marquis and his “illustrious bride” were received at Hamilton Palace on 14 September 1843. A book with large lithographs of the great event by Maclure and Macdonald of Glasgow was produced⁴⁴ and copies were distributed to family and friends and also handed out later to important visitors to the palace.

The marriage would lead to the acquisition of many more items associated with Napoleon I and Napoleon III (who was a cousin of Princess Marie) by the 10th Duke and the 11th Duke and Duchess. Three years later, the 10th Duke celebrated the

demurred and Napoleon crushed his opposition by adopting Stéphanie and making her the Princess Stéphanie-Napoleon. As the Emperor wanted, the couple were married in the Tuileries Palace in April 1806. Stéphanie’s husband, Carl Ludwig Friedrich, reigned as Grand Duke from 1811 until his death in 1818.

⁴² Cowell assured the Duke, in a letter written on 24 October 1842, that “your Duchess [...] has both tact & talent to carry all things through” (HA, Bundle 1425). For a printed account of the wedding, see HA, C4/958/12.

⁴³ See Appendix 18.

⁴⁴ *Some Brief Particulars Regarding the Arrival of the Marquis of Douglas and His Illustrious Bride, Her Royal Highness The Princess Marie of Baden, at Hamilton Palace, on Thursday, September 14, 1843* (Glasgow, 1843). For an insight into the production process, see HA, Bundle 6291, Maclure and Macdonald to Brown, 12 March 1844.

new era and the birth of the future 12th Duke of Hamilton⁴⁵ with what is unquestionably the most spectacular and significant of them all: Thorvaldsen's colossal, 100-centimetre-high marble bust of *Napoleon Apotheosized* (Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen) (Figs.111-112).

From both a Whig and a collecting standpoint, this was a long overdue addition to the Hamilton Palace Collection, as many other collectors already owned large marble sculptures of Napoleon. The 6th Duke of Devonshire had two colossal busts of the Emperor, at Chatsworth and Chiswick, while the Prince Regent had graciously presented – or unkindly lumbered – the Duke of Wellington with Canova's heroic statue of a nude Napoleon as Mars the peacemaker (Apsley House) in 1816. North of the border, John Waldie had bought a 122-centimetre-high bust of Napoleon, which he believed had been “done in the Studio of Canova [...] under his direction”, during his stay in Rome in 1828.⁴⁶ Shortly afterwards, in the spring of 1829, Alexander Murray of Broughton⁴⁷ had commissioned what became *Napoleon Apotheosized* from Thorvaldsen. Waldie's bust formed part of a large, recently assembled collection at Hendersyde Park, near Kelso, while *Napoleon Apotheosized* was the *chef d'oeuvre* in a group of important sculptures displayed in the marble vestibule of Murray's impressive residence, Cally House, one mile south of Gatehouse of Fleet and about 70 miles south of Hamilton Palace.

The Thorvaldsen bust was an ideal acquisition. It was the most successful glorification of Napoleon in sculpture and by the modern sculptor most respected by

⁴⁵ Princess Marie gave birth to a still-born son in February 1844. William, the future 12th Duke of Hamilton, was born on 12 March 1845.

⁴⁶ Waldie 1859, pp.114-5. Waldie's bust was included in Christie's sale, *The Nineteenth Century*, London, 28 October 1993, lot 184.

⁴⁷ Alexander Murray (1789-1845) was the natural son of the entrepreneur James Murray (1727-99), who tried to turn Gatehouse of Fleet from a single house into the “Glasgow of the South” and had succeeded in establishing four cotton mills by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Alexander Murray married Anne Bingham, the second daughter of the 2nd Earl of Lucan, in 1816. Between 1821 and 1824 Thorvaldsen's studio was apparently working on portrait busts of Anne and one of her sisters (see Sass 1963-5, I, pp.368-80, and III, p.78) and these earlier orders may have encouraged Murray to order a copy of Thorvaldsen's bust of Byron and the bust of Napoleon from Thorvaldsen in 1829: see *ibid.*, I, pp.334-40, II, pp.230-8, and III, pp.76-7 and 97. A letter written by Murray to Thorvaldsen, from Nice on 28 October 1829, reveals that the bust of Napoleon was ordered when Murray was in Rome with his wife in the spring of 1829. Another letter, written by W.H. Gibbs, for Murray, to Thorvaldsen on “Mardi 9. Mars”, which would have been 9 March 1830, confirms that arrangements had been made for “M. M. Torlonia” to pay for the bust of Napoleon. When completed, Gibbs requested that it be handed over to Messrs Torlonia, along with the bust of Byron, which Gibbs had already paid for: see *ibid.*, II, pp.231-2. Murray was M.P. for the stewardry of Kirkcudbright from 1838 until his death on 15 July 1845.

the Duke.⁴⁸ Moreover, the extreme Classicism of the work – including the eagle, luxuriant palm fronds and aegis based on Classical models – accorded perfectly with his concentration on Classical sculpture. As Murray had been regarded as an “Ultra Whig”,⁴⁹ the purchase and possession of the bust could also be interpreted as further proof of the Duke’s complete commitment to the Whig cause.

The Duke sent William Grant, his clerk of works, to buy the bust at the sale of Murray’s collection, which took place at Cally House in January 1846. He concentrated on the “Splendid Bust of Napoleon Bonaparte”⁵⁰ and apparently ignored the busts of Byron and George Washington by Thorvaldsen and Charles James Fox and Wellington by Bartolini which were sold as the very next lots.⁵¹

Grant purchased the *Napoleon* for 211 guineas on 20 January, the seventh day of the sale,⁵² and it was brought to the palace in February and set up in the Tribune.⁵³

The Tribune (Fig.113) was on the main arterial route from the black marble staircase (with the busts of the Roman Emperors) and the first-floor Entrance Hall (with the five bronze copies of Classical statues) to the Long Gallery and the west and east wings of the old palace. It was also where people would gather before going into the New Dining Room, and from now on they congregated under the stern, unblinking gaze of the god-like Emperor. Then, somewhat disconcerted, they went into the Dining Room, where David’s *Napoleon* looked down on them and they found themselves using the Emperor’s 1810 silver-gilt service and making polite conversation with the daughter of the adopted daughter of Britain’s greatest enemy. Later the 11th Duke or his son would place state portraits of Napoleon III and the Empress Eugénie after Winterhalter on the black marble staircase and marble busts of Napoleon III and the Empress Eugénie in the Tribune, along with a huge portrait of Princess Marie by Winterhalter behind the bust of the Emperor Napoleon III and a 52-inch-high model of the victory column surmounted by a statue of Napoleon in the

⁴⁸ The Duke had wanted Thorvaldsen to undertake the equestrian statue of the Duke of Wellington for Glasgow: see W.R. Hamilton to Duke, 6 June 1840 (HA, Bundle 753).

⁴⁹ See Murray’s obituary in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, XXIV, October 1845, p.428.

⁵⁰ Tait and Nisbet 1846, p.47, lot 1460.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, lots 1461-1464.

⁵² HA, Bundle 6313, Grant to Brown, 21 January 1846. Grant boasted in the letter that he “had to make use of out & out Management” to obtain the bust for only 211 guineas and had already been offered 1,000 guineas for it. He noted he had “also bought the cannon &c &c_ at prices far, far, below their value”.

⁵³ HTHL, 1835 inventory, “A List of Articles of Vèrtu & Furniture &c lately arrived at the Palace, but not from Bath”, p.1 (hereafter cited as the “not from Bath” list).

Place Vendôme on the table in the very centre of the room,⁵⁴ and the “visual dialogue” would become even more complex and unnatural for a house in industrial Scotland.

The store the 10th Duke set on his new acquisition is underlined by his determined attempt to obtain the “receipt” he believed Thorvaldsen had given Murray for the purchase payment, which would have proved that the Cally House/Hamilton Palace bust had been executed by Thorvaldsen. The four letters are rather complicated and are therefore discussed in Appendix 19, but they also record that the “Eagle” was probably not part of the agreement between Murray and Thorvaldsen in 1829 and that the Italian banker had paid an additional thirty pounds for the bust “on account of the Eagle being added to it”.⁵⁵

Collecting Work Associated with the Medici and Other Portraits

During this period the Duke was also adding to his collection of paintings, but it is self evident that between 1840 and 1847 he was focusing on works relating to the Medici: the most famous family of the Renaissance and the greatest patrons of the age. The Duke had been interested in the Medici since at least the 1790s⁵⁶ and already owned at least four works associated, rightly or wrongly, with some of the principal protagonists. The most important were the *Golden Gospels*, which were believed to have been presented by Pope Leo X to Henry VIII (apparently acquired in 1800), and the *Missal of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici*, written in 1520, with illumination by Matteo da Milano (Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin) (which was

⁵⁴ HTHL, 1876 inventory, pp.17 and 84-6.

⁵⁵ See Thomas Nisbet to Robert Brown, 13 February 1846, and John Brown to Montgomery Stewart, 14 February 1846 (HA, C4/769 and C4/768 respectively).

⁵⁶ The 10th Duke's early interest in the Medici is indicated by his friendship with the eminent Pisan historian Monsignor Angelo Fabroni (1732-1803), whose extensive publications included *Laurentii Medicis Magnifici Vita* (2 vols., Pisa, 1784), *Magni Cosmi Medicei Vita* (2 vols., Pisa, 1788-89) and *Leonis X, Pontificis Maximi, Vita* (Pisa, 1797). He had also been acquainted with the Pisan Cavalier Gaetano Mecherini, who translated the Liverpool historian William Roscoe's *Life of Lorenzo de' Medici* into Italian, and actually transmitted a presentation copy of the translation from Mecherini to Roscoe in 1802-3. Douglas, as the Duke then was, wrote a number of letters to Roscoe, praising and encouraging him, and offered to help obtain documents for his *Life of Leo X*. Although Roscoe did not need such assistance, he nevertheless sent Douglas a copy of *Leo X* in June 1805, which greatly pleased him, and sought his assistance in sending a copy to Mecherini. Another friend was Luigi Bossi, who translated Roscoe's *Leo X*, and there is three-way correspondence about this in 1818. See Liverpool Central Library, Roscoe Papers, 339, 1267, 1269, 1271, 1273 and 1274, and HA, Bundle 928.

definitely in his possession by 1819).⁵⁷ By 1835 he also owned a “Portrait of Cooma de Medicis first Great Duke of Etruria [by] Bronzino”, which was in the Old State Bed Room valued at £180,⁵⁸ and “a casket of ebony ornamented with gilt bronze, and oriental stones in relief, formerly belonging to the Medici family”.⁵⁹

In the early 1840s the Duke almost certainly acquired the important (now missing) drawing of the temporary façade of Florence Cathedral, undertaken by Jacopo Sansovino, Andrea del Sarto and others in honour of Pope Leo X’s visit to his native city on 30 November 1515.⁶⁰ Dr Gustav Waagen had seen the sheet in the collection of the London picture-dealer Samuel Woodburn in 1835 and discussed it in *Works of Art and Artists in England*, published three years later.⁶¹ The Duke made some sort of inquiry about the drawing in a letter to Woodburn in October 1840, and Woodburn replied:

The Drawing which your Grace mentions is not Bramante it is by J. Sansovino representing the decorations of the Church of Santa Maria at Florence on the visit of Pope Leo 10th. to that City a long description of this work is in Vasari and many of the decorations were painted in fresco by Andrea del Sarto and other great artists the size including the outside of the frame 3ft. 11½ In by 2 ft 8. and I will sell it for Eighty Pounds.⁶²

The Duke must have succumbed, because the drawing is recorded – as “A Drawing of the Church of S^t. Maria delle Fiore in a maple frame by Sansovino” – in the Ante Room to the Duchess’s Rooms in the Hamilton Palace inventory of the early 1850s.⁶³

In the mid 1840s the Duke dramatically increased his “Medici collection”. He appears to have begun by carefully cherry-picking works associated with the Medici

⁵⁷ Clarke 1819, pp.261-2. The missal of the future Pope Clement VII is illustrated and discussed in Reiss 1991 and Alexander 1994, pp.239-41.

⁵⁸ HA, Volume 1223, p.149; see also HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.169 (also with Cosimo misspelt). The high valuation suggests that this was the 34 x 26-inch portrait of Cosimo by “A. Bronzino”, “in violet dress richly embroidered, and white embroidered collar, holding a handkerchief in his right hand”, which was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale as lot 755 and sold to C.H. Waters for £126. This seems to be either the oil on wood portrait of Cosimo now attributed to Allori, measuring 34 x 25½ inches, which is currently with Dickinson London, or a closely related version of it.

⁵⁹ *New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol.6, Lanark*, p.274. This must be the “Coffer richly ornamented with all sorts of fruits & flowers florentine work”, valued at £1,000, which was in the Old State Drawing Room in 1825 (HA, M4/70, p.29). The same piece is listed in the 1835 inventory, in the Old State Bed Room, as “A Florentine Coffer of ebony ornamented with Flowers and Fruits of the raised Jasper and Agates in Mosaick Glass frame [£]1500” (HA, Volume 1223, p.147).

⁶⁰ For information about the façade and bibliographical references, see Boucher 1991, II, pp.358-9.

⁶¹ Waagen 1838, II, p.173. Waagen attributed the drawing to Andrea del Sarto and implies (see p.170) that it was one of the large number of drawings “from the celebrated collection of Sir Thomas Lawrence” that had been acquired by Woodburn.

⁶² HA, C4/843A/1, Woodburn to Duke, 21 October 1840.

⁶³ HA, Volume 1228, p.122.

from William Beckford's collection following his death in 1844. "The Adoration of the Magi with Portraits of Lorenzo de Medicis, and His Children Petro de Medicis and Giovanni afterwards Pope Leo the 10th [by] Sandro Bottocelli" from the Dining Room of Lansdown Crescent, and "A pair of Medici Raphael ware Bottles" from Lansdown Tower,⁶⁴ were sent from Bath and arrived at Hamilton Palace on 25 August 1846.⁶⁵ The first was the small *Adoration of the Kings* now attributed to Filippino Lippi in the National Gallery, London (which does not seem to have anything to do with the Medici),⁶⁶ while the bottles must have been the maiolica "pilgrim bottles" decorated with the arms of Ferdinand I de' Medici and his wife Christina of Lorraine that Beckford had acquired, through Hume, at the Strawberry Hill sale in 1842.⁶⁷

The Duke apparently then went on to acquire three more portraits of members of the family: Eleonora of Toledo, the wife of Cosimo I de' Medici, with one of their sons, by Bronzino and workshop, after the original in the Uffizi (now in Detroit Institute of Arts) (Fig.114);⁶⁸ "Clement VII by Sebastian del Piombo", which is now regarded as a copy after Sebastiano by Giuliano Bugiardini and was acquired by the Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin, in 1996 (Figs.115-116);⁶⁹ and "Don Garzia di Medici [by] J de Pontormo".⁷⁰

In an undated note the Duke recorded that the last of these was purchased from Samuel Woodburn: "I bought of Woodburn Don Garzia di Medici _ J de

⁶⁴ Bod, MS. Beckford c.58, pp.10 and 25.

⁶⁵ HTHL, 1835 inventory, "List of Articles of Vèrtu, Furniture &c _ &c sent from Bath to Hamilton Palace", p.1 (henceforward cited as list of items from Bath).

⁶⁶ See Davies 1986, pp.287-8.

⁶⁷ See Robins 1842, p.232, lot 53, and Bod, Beckford MS. c.22, ff.217-8, Hume to Beckford, 19 and 21 May 1842.

⁶⁸ For a discussion of the status of the work following cleaning, see Urry 1998. The boy is now generally identified as Giovanni.

⁶⁹ Figure 115 is taken from the Sedelmeyer Gallery, *Illustrated Catalogue of the Sixth Series of 100 Paintings by Old Masters* (Paris, 1900). The portrait was cut down after it was sold in New York in March 1938. Figure 116 shows it as it was when it went through Christie's in 1993. For a recent discussion of the work, which might be the left-hand half of a painting of Clement VII blessing Baccio Valori, see Kruse 1999, pp.449-50.

⁷⁰ Don Garcia was the seventh son of Cosimo I and Eleonora of Toledo. The portrait was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale as lot 753, and catalogued as "A. Bronzino. Don Garcia de Medici, in richly embroidered slashed dress, embroidered collar and cuffs, holding a missal in his right hand[.] 3 ft. by 2 ft. 2 in." A portrait of "Don Garcia de Medici" attributed to Bronzino, which follows this description and was said to be from the Hamilton Palace Collection, was with Agnews in 1948. It was illustrated in colour on the cover of *Apollo* for April 1948, with measurements of 45 x 34 inches.

Pontormo _".⁷¹ The "Portrait of Don Garcia de Medici [by] Bronzino" reached Hamilton Palace on 15 May 1847.⁷²

The other two paintings are listed immediately above "Don Garzia" on the Duke's note,⁷³ with lines between the entries, and the impression is given that they were separate, and earlier, acquisitions. They do not seem to be connected with Beckford's final collection and its bequest to the Duchess,⁷⁴ and are recorded on the same "List of Articles of Vèrtu & Furniture &c lately arrived at the Palace, but not from Bath", as "Don Garcia",⁷⁵ which means that they are not from, or directly from, Beckford's two properties in Bath.

Both portraits arrived at Hamilton Palace on 9 October 1846, along with two other works: "a Painting of the Herodiah _ by Cranach [and] a [Painting] of Phillip the IV of Spain _ [by] Velasquez".⁷⁶ The Cranach was probably acquired to improve the representation of the German School now that Princess Marie was a member of the family, while the Velázquez provided the Duke with a portrait of another great patron and complemented the full-length allegorical portrait of Philip II and his infant son, attributed to Titian, already in the Old State Breakfast Room.⁷⁷ Fortunately there is a receipt, dated 6 August 1846, from Woodburn for "two hundred pounds for a Picture painted by Lucas Cranach representing Herodius with the head of S^t John"⁷⁸ (which is now in the Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco, as *Portrait of a Lady of the Saxon Court as Judith with the Head of Holofernes*⁷⁹ (Fig.117)).

The Velázquez appears to be the signed full-length portrait of *Philip IV of Spain in Brown and Silver* now in the National Gallery, London (Fig.118), which

⁷¹ HA, F2/1069/26.

⁷² HTHL, "not from Bath" list, p.2.

⁷³ "Bronzino portrait Elene of Toledo _ who married Cosimo de Medicis, & her Eldest son Clement VII by Sebastian del Piombo" (HA, F2/1069/26).

⁷⁴ Beckford's estate included a "Portrait of Cosmo Dei Medici [by] Bronzino" and a "Portrait of Bianca Capella [by] Bronzino": Bod, MS. Beckford c.58, pp.13 and 10 respectively.

⁷⁵ "a [Painting] of Eleonora of Toledo & her Son _ Bronzino a D^o of Pope Clement the VII Piombo".

HTHL, "not from Bath" list, p.1.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁷ See Appendix 2, number 102.

⁷⁸ HA, Bundle 660.

⁷⁹ A number of Cranach paintings of *Salome* or *Judith* have been associated with the Hamilton painting, but the *Judith* in San Francisco has the Hamilton Palace sale label on the back. For the painting itself, see Friedländer and Rosenberg 1978, p.141, no.360, and Rosenberg 1955.

was looted from the Spanish royal collection and awarded by Joseph Bonaparte to General Jean-Joseph-Paul-Augustin Dessolle in 1810.⁸⁰ Although it is not mentioned by either Passavant or Waagen in their “appreciations” of Beckford’s Bath collection, scholars have associated this important and technically extremely interesting painting with the “Portrait of Phillip of Spain [by] Velasquez” listed in the Duchess’s Drawing Room in Lansdown Crescent on the 1844 inventory of Beckford’s collection.⁸¹ However, an annotation alongside the entry records this painting was sent to “London”, and it is almost certainly the “Portrait of Philip of Spain [by] Velasquez” which was in the Duke’s house in Portman Square, along with most of Beckford’s other paintings, in February 1850,⁸² and the “Phillip 2nd of Spain [by] Velasquez” that subsequently hung on the Principal Staircase of the 11th Duke of Hamilton’s house in Arlington Street.⁸³ The identification of the 1846 arrival at Hamilton Palace as NG 1129 is supported by Stirling Maxwell’s 1848 catalogue entry on *Philip IV of Spain in Silver and Brown*, which states that it had been purchased from Dessolle’s daughter by Woodburn and was already in Hamilton Palace by 1848,⁸⁴ and by Waagen having apparently seen it in the New Dining Saloon (where the 1846 arrival is listed as having been placed⁸⁵) in 1851.⁸⁶

It is tempting to associate the two Medici portraits and “Phillip the IV of Spain [by] Velasquez” with a receipt from Woodburn, dated 12 September 1846, for “Fifteen hundred Pounds on acc^t of the purchase of three Pictures and a Hebrew Manuscript at the price of Two Thousand five hundred Pounds thus leaving a

⁸⁰ MacLaren/Braham 1988, pp.114-9.

⁸¹ Bod, MS. Beckford c.58, p.16.

⁸² HA, M12/51/1, list of “Furniture, Pictures, China &c &c at Portman Square from Bath Feby 1850”, p.5.

⁸³ HA, M4/78, inventory of Hamilton House, Arlington Street, Piccadilly, London, December 1864, p.70.

⁸⁴ Stirling Maxwell 1848, III, p.1397.

⁸⁵ HTHL, “not from Bath” list, p.1.

⁸⁶ Waagen 1854, III, p.297: “Velasquez. – Portrait of Philip IV., King of Spain. Whole-length, life-size. This looks a fine picture, but, being placed between two windows, it admits of no opinion.” The 1876 inventory appears to record the same painting in the Dining Saloon (“[Full Length Portrait of] Phillip the 4th of Spain [by] Velasquez”) and the Beckford painting in the Tribune, as “Phillip IV of Spain [by] Velasquez”: HTHL, 1876 inventory, pp.3 and 86. The descriptions of the paintings and their sequence in the inventory suggest that the work in the Tribune was one of the two half-length/bust-sized portraits hanging above the chimneypiece in Figure 113, and probably the one on the right. Although only the bottom half of this portrait is discernible, it seems to match the bust-sized Rubens of *Philip IV, King of Spain* now in the Kunsthau, Zurich: see Huemer 1977, I, pp.161-2 and fig.111. This portrait was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 22) as Philip IV of Spain by Rubens after Velázquez, and seems to have been ascribed to Velázquez during most, if not all, of its time in the Beckford and Hamilton collections.

ballance of One Thousand Pounds due on this accompt”.⁸⁷ The fact that the two Medici paintings and the “Phillip the IV” arrived at the palace about twenty-seven days after the date of the receipt, and there are no other possible candidates on the 1845-48 “not from Bath” list, supports this hypothesis. It is also interesting to see that the Duke had some imprecise details and allegations about the recent provenance of all three works,⁸⁸ and that these look like the sort of snippets he would have got from Woodburn.

Rounding Off the Collections

Beckford’s bequest of his collection to the Duchess led to a massive influx of paintings and other items into the Hamilton collection and reduced the need for further large and expensive additions.

In September 1847 Woodburn offered the Duke the opportunity to buy £12,000-worth of paintings, from a selection of seventeen works, for a down payment of £2,000 (which would be paid before Woodburn set off to Italy to try to secure “two fine Pictures”) and ten instalments of £1,000, at six-monthly intervals, over five years.⁸⁹ It was an alluring offer, but the Duke did not rise to the bait.

The simple truth is that he did not have this sort of money. Had he taken on such a commitment, the Duke would have found it well nigh impossible to have done much more collecting during the last five years of his life. He would have been unable to have bought more large-scale “Classical” sculpture at the sale of the bankrupt Duke of Buckingham’s collection at Stowe in 1848, or to have “rounded off” the Hamilton Palace collection of paintings to his own satisfaction, once the Duchess and he had resolved what to do with Beckford’s paintings.

⁸⁷ HA, Bundle 660.

⁸⁸ On an undated memo (HA, Bundle 1001), the Duke recorded:

“Clementi VII (Sebastiano del Piombo) bought at R Florence came from Rome

Bronzino Helena of Toledo with her son afterwards Clemento VII belonged to Count Bardi near Bardi near Florence on the road towards Arezzo”.

He was, of course, wrong about Eleonora’s son becoming Clement VII.

On this memo the Duke states that the Velázquez “came from the royal Palace at Madrid” and was one of four paintings taken by General Dessolle. On F2/1069/26 he noted that it was one of three paintings selected by Dessolle. The notes allege that General Sebastiani, General Dessolle and Marshal Soult or Joseph Bonaparte each chose three or four paintings, and the Duke lists most of them.

⁸⁹ HA, Bundle 1001, Woodburn to Duke, 9 September 1847.

At the Stowe sale on 21 August 1848 Hume bought the full-size bronze copy of the *Laocoon*, which had been cast in Paris by Charles Crozatier for George Watson Taylor and in Beckford's collection at Fonthill, for £567.⁹⁰ Six weeks later, on 3 October, he succeeded in buying three of the eight Classical marble statues in the Saloon at Stowe – “Apollo, with the attributes of the God of Medicine”, “A Roman Consul in the act of speaking”, and “Paris holding out the Apple of Discord” (Figs.119-121) – for a total of £266 14s.⁹¹

These purchases were a logical extension of the Duke's collecting over at least the last thirty years. However, it emerges that around this time the Duke was also trying to improve his collection of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings, albeit for a very limited outlay.

In October 1846 Beckford's “Interior of a Church [by] De Lorme” was transported up from Bath to Hamilton Palace, and in May 1847 four more Dutch/Flemish paintings from his collection – “the Smokers [by] Teniers”, “Landscape with white Horse [by] Ostade”, the “Great Church at Haarlem [by] Berkheyden” and “Landscape & River Scene [by] Vangoyen” – were brought up and placed in the Old State Rooms.⁹² During the first few months of 1848, the Duke acquired a “Calm” by Willem van de Velde (now at Ardgowan) (Fig.122) from Hume.⁹³ Beckford's “Dutch Interior [by] Ostade” arrived in May 1848, and was

⁹⁰ Forster 1848, p.46, lot 733.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.265, lots 30, 31 and 34. *Apollo* sold for 44 guineas, the “Roman Consul” for 160 guineas, and *Paris* for 50 guineas. Hume charged £28 7s commission on the *Laocoon* and £13 6s 9d for the three statues, plus £23 10s for making, packing and moving five crates: see HA, Bundle 1000, bill dated 11 November 1848.

The three Roman statues were included in Christie, Manson and Woods' sale of old English furniture and objects of art from the Hamilton Collection on 5 November 1919, as lots 43, 45 and 46. *Apollo* was in the Parke-Bernet sale of *Art Treasures from the William Randolph Hearst Collection*, 7 December 1951, lot 19. The “Consul” or “Senator”, which was with Spink and Sons as “Hadrian” around 1929, does, indeed, have the head of the Emperor, but its status is unclear from the old photograph. *Paris*, which is stated in the Stowe catalogue to have been discovered by Gavin Hamilton in 1771, and appears to be one of his fabrications, was sold at an Anderson Galleries auction in New York on 29 January 1921, lot 798, and was last reported (letter and note from Professor Cornelius Vermeule, February/March 2003) in a private collection in England, minus the apple.

⁹² HTHL, list of items from Bath, pp.1-2. The paintings by Jan van Goyen and Isaac van Ostade are mentioned by Waagen (Waagen 1854, III, p.300) and were included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale as lots 36 and 34. They sold for high prices: £388 10s and £556 10s.

⁹³ The panel, which bears the name of the French dealer Alexis Delahante on the back, seems to have been one of three Dutch paintings, allegedly from the duc de Berri's collection, offered by Hume around the beginning of 1848 (see HA, Bundle 1000, sheet with the shapes and measurements of three “D^e Berri Pictures”, dated 4 January 1848, and Hume to Duke, 18 April 1848). Hume's letter records that he was willing to accept “the two Pictures of Animated Nature” and £250 cash for the “Calm”. The “Calm” was sent up to Hamilton by train on 21 April and Hume acknowledged receipt of “the

followed, in July, by “Le Charlatan or Dutch fair [by] Ferg” and Beckford’s copy of Elsheimer’s small version of *Tobias and the Angel*.⁹⁴

Then, late in 1848 or early in 1849, the Duke appears to have bought a painting of “A wooded bank of a river, with fallen timber, and a sandbank in the foreground, and a beautiful sky – upright”, attributed to Jacob van Ruysdael.⁹⁵ Hume had purchased the painting independently at the Stowe sale for £169 1s and offered it to the Duke, with a range of other items, on 23 November.⁹⁶ In the souvenir catalogue of the Stowe sale the journalist and writer on the aristocracy Henry Rumsey Forster commented “We believe this picture is now added to the Duke of Hamilton’s collection”, and the 1882 Hamilton Palace catalogue states that the Ruysdael “Woody Scene, with a river falling in a cascade among rocks, some broken trees on the right [...]”, came “From Stowe”.⁹⁷

Unfortunately it is not easy to identify or locate the Stowe painting. It is unlikely to be the “pretty landscape” which Waagen noted in the New Sitting Room in 1851 and attributed to “Solomon Ruysdael”,⁹⁸ as a “Landscape [by] John Rysdale” valued at £50 is listed in this room in 1835.⁹⁹ It may have been one of the unattributed “Landscapes” in the Old State Rooms in 1853 and subsequently the “Landscape [by] J. Ruysdael” in the Old State Dressing Room in 1876,¹⁰⁰ but more investigation is needed because Beckford owned a very similar “Upright Landscape”¹⁰¹ and only one such Ruysdael was included in the 1882 and 1919 sales.

balance for the Calm „£250,, W.V.Velde” a few days later (*ibid.*, Hume to Duke, 21 April and 25 April 1848). It was displayed in the Breakfast Room (HA, Volume 1228, p.140, “Sea View and Shipping [by] Vanderveldi”).

⁹⁴ HTHL, list of items from Bath, pp.2-3. The Ostade was probably the “Interior of a Carpenters Shop [by] A. Ostade” on the 1844 Beckford inventory (Bod, MS. Beckford c.58, p.11), which is annotated as having been sent up to Hamilton Palace. The July arrivals were hung in the First State Dressing Room (HA, Volume 1228, pp.148-9, “The Charlatan” and “Tobias and the Fish”).

⁹⁵ See Forster 1848, p.193, lot 425.

⁹⁶ HA, Bundle 1000, Hume to Duke, 23 November 1848.

⁹⁷ 1882 HPSC, lot 78. Seymour Slive published what he believed to be the Stowe/Hamilton painting in Slive 2001, p.236, no.279.

⁹⁸ Waagen 1854, III, p.304 (“Solomon Ruysdael. – A very pretty landscape for him”). The 1853 inventory simply records this as “Landscape”, with the addition “J. Ruysdael”: HA, Volume 1228, p.106.

⁹⁹ HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.155.

¹⁰⁰ HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.105.

¹⁰¹ The painting Beckford bequeathed to his daughter is described as an “Upright Landscape Woody Scenery with a rapid stream running amongst, fallen Timber in the foreground [by] J. Ruysdael” (Bod, MS. Beckford c.58, p.21). It is recorded, as “Upright Landscape [by] J. Ruysdael”, at Portman Square in February 1850 (HA, M12/51/1, p.7) and, as “Upright Landscape _ Woody Scenery with a rapid

It is to be hoped that the uncertainty over the Stowe painting can be resolved, but we can see that there is clear evidence that the Duke was wanting to build up a better selection of seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish paintings at Hamilton Palace in 1846-48.

It has to be said that the Beckford bequest was both a glorious doubling of the Hamilton collection and a problem as far as the Duke was concerned. It distracted him from his own collecting, because he had to help the Duchess sort out her father's collections. He had to be physically present in Bath and assist his wife, who was suffering from very poor eyesight.¹⁰² More importantly, he had to come to an agreement about where to put the thousands of Beckford items that were not sold in Bath in 1845 and 1848.

In the end the couple made two fundamental decisions. First, to move Beckford's manuscripts and books up to Hamilton Palace and build a "Beckford Library" for them. Secondly, to keep the majority of Beckford's paintings and *objets d'art* together and in the south, either in the London townhouse(s) or at Easton Park in Suffolk (which the Duke had inherited from the 5th Earl of Rochford in 1830).

The Duchess naturally wanted to keep her father's collections as separate entities, but there is every reason to think that the Duke was in almost complete agreement about this. While supplementation of his own collection from Beckford's *embarras de richesses* was very useful, the last thing the Duke would have wanted was the large-scale dilution and confusion of his own achievements at Hamilton Palace, through the addition of all of his father-in-law's collections.

In the last years of his life, the Duke returned to his own special interest in Italian *quattrocento* and *cinquecento* paintings.

stream running amongst fallen Timber in the foreground [by] J. Ruysdael", in the Yellow Drawing Room of Hamilton House, Arlington Street, in 1864 (HA, M4/78, p.137).

¹⁰² HA, Bundle 6308, Duke to Brown, 10 September [1845]: "the state of the Duchess's eyes quite breaks my heart _ When we are settling any matters together; every now & then, when she has any thing to examine, she is unable to see what is placed before her eyes". The couple's poor eyesight helps explain why such items as the Greek vases and Gentile Bellini's *Doge Giovanni Mocenigo* (Frick Collection, New York) were included in the 1845 sale and the illuminated miniature of *Louis XII with Saints* by Jean Bourdichon (Getty Museum), from the *Hours of Louis XII*, and *Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery* by Mazzolino (National Gallery, London) in the July 1848 sale. The sales seem to reflect two elderly people making sweeping decisions to avoid being overwhelmed by the sheer scale of the bequest.

Although many of Beckford's Italian paintings had been dispersed by 1844,¹⁰³ the Beckford bequest still included the two exquisite panels of the *Annunciation to the Virgin* by Fra Angelico (Detroit Institute of Arts),¹⁰⁴ *Madonna and Child* by a follower of Giovanni Bellini (Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York),¹⁰⁵ *St Jerome in the Desert* by Cima (National Gallery, London)¹⁰⁶ and the *Portrait of Vincenzo Cappello* by Titian (National Gallery of Art, Washington).¹⁰⁷ Ownership of these and other works did away with the need to make similar purchases.¹⁰⁸

Six days after his father-in-law's death on 2 May 1844, the Duke tried to retrieve the portrait of *Doge Leonardo Loredan* by Giovanni Bellini, which Beckford had sold to the National Gallery in London in April 1844. Needless to say, he failed, as the purchase had been agreed by the Trustees, Beckford and the Treasury; the desired sum of £630 set aside by the Treasury ready for payment to Beckford's agents; and the painting installed in the Gallery as part of the National Collection.¹⁰⁹

It was certainly worth the effort, but there was a very good representation of Venetian paintings in the enlarged Hamilton collection. The real deficiency lay in works by the leading Florentine and Roman artists. The Duke therefore moved on and decided to replace the large *Stag Hunt* ascribed to Snyders in the Tribune with a huge altarpiece of the *Assumption of the Virgin* attributed to Botticelli, and to acquire works by Marcello Venusti after designs by Michelangelo. The *Stag Hunt* seems to have been a heavily restored, if not poor, painting¹¹⁰ and was evidently deemed inappropriate, both in terms of quality and subject-matter, for this key room, whilst

¹⁰³ The "losses" included the *Agony in the Garden* by Giovanni Bellini (now in the National Gallery, London), which was in the 1823 Fonthill sale, and four paintings Beckford sold to the National Gallery in London to help finance the completion of Lansdown Tower. The latter comprised *St Catherine of Alexandria* by Raphael, the *Holy Family with Saints* by Garofalo and the *Holy Family with St Nicholas of Tolentino* by Mazzolino (all sold in 1839) and the *Virgin and Child with St John* by Perugino (sold in 1841).

¹⁰⁴ Kantner and Palladino 2005, pp.128-9.

¹⁰⁵ Humfrey *et al* 2004, pp.66-7.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, pp.74-5.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.124-5.

¹⁰⁸ The panels by Fra Angelico were brought up to Hamilton Palace in August 1846 and the "Spanish Admiral by Tintoretto" (Titian's *Vincenzo Cappello*) in September 1848: see HTHL, list of items from Bath, pp.1 and 4. The other two paintings were sent to Portman Square.

¹⁰⁹ Bod, MS. Beckford c.39, ff.123-4, George Saunders Thwaites to Duke, 14 May 1844.

¹¹⁰ In a letter written to the Duke on 23 July 1850, Hume remarked: "The Snyders is a fine and good Composition but the sky is very much repainted and I think your Grace was right in parting with it on that account" (HA, C4/843A/20).

its replacement could be read as an early indicator of the celestial quality of the Hamilton collection and even divine acknowledgement of the Duke's activities and status.

At the time these acquisitions seemed to fill the obvious gaps in the Hamilton Palace Collection for major works by Botticelli and Michelangelo and meant that almost all the "big name" artists of the Italian, Dutch and Flemish Schools between 1450 and 1700 appeared to be represented in the collection. They also demonstrated that the Duke had bettered Beckford, who only owned the small *Adoration of the Magis* then attributed to Botticelli (and now to Filippino Lippi) and Venusti (now associated with Girolamo da Carpi) at the time of his death.¹¹¹

The altarpiece of the *Assumption of the Virgin* and the Venustis were supplied by Samuel Woodburn, who offered the Duke a range of expensive packages in 1847-48,¹¹² and even tried to get him to buy the "whole Collection" he was endeavouring to sell to the National Gallery or the 4th Earl of Ashburnham, for £12,000 in May 1849.¹¹³

Woodburn had offered the Duke the Michelangelo/Venusti-related *Christ driving the Money Changers from the Temple* and the *Holy Family* (both now in the National Gallery, London¹¹⁴) (Figs.123-124), along with the *Annunciation* by Venusti, as early as 1832. The Duke was then committing his resources to completing the decoration and fitting out of the interiors of the palace and was probably unable to respond to Woodburn's clever letter comparing the paintings with Michelangelo drawings of the same subjects in Sir Thomas Lawrence's celebrated collection, and emphasising their Borghese Palace provenance and documented links with the family and particular rooms.¹¹⁵

Woodburn tried to sell the *Money Changers* and the *Holy Family* again in early September 1847, for £1,200 and £800 respectively.¹¹⁶ In late November he offered the "Botticelli" *Assumption of the Virgin* for £1,050,¹¹⁷ after Lord

¹¹¹ Bod, MS. Beckford c.58, pp.10 and 11, and Ostergard 2001, p.393.

¹¹² See HA, Bundle 1001, Woodburn to Duke, 13 and 29 December 1847 and 18 January 1848.

¹¹³ HA, C4/843A/13, Woodburn to Duke, 10 May 1849.

¹¹⁴ Gould 1987, pp.154-5.

¹¹⁵ HA, Bundle 1001, Woodburn to Duke, 5 November 1832.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Woodburn to Duke, 9 September 1847.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, Woodburn to Duke, 29 November 1847.

Ashburnham had expressed an interest in acquiring part of Woodburn's collection, but had decided that the *Assumption* was too large for him to accommodate.

The altarpiece – which is now attributed to Botticini and displayed at the top of the staircase in the Sainsbury Wing of the National Gallery, London¹¹⁸ (Fig.125) – must have interested the Duke from the start. It was discussed by Vasari and attributed by him to Botticelli, and there was general agreement in the mid nineteenth century that it was a major work by Botticelli.¹¹⁹

The Duke was short of money in November 1847. He apparently told Woodburn he could not make a decision, but must have suggested giving Woodburn his *Stag Hunt* in part exchange.¹²⁰ There the matter rested, and the altarpiece was soon potentially part of the "Collection" Woodburn hoped to sell to the National Gallery.¹²¹ Nothing came of this proposed block purchase, but a large sale to Lord Ashburnham once more became a possibility, and in late April-early May 1849 Woodburn asked the Duke if he still wanted to buy the "Botticelli".¹²² The Duke must have given some sort of affirmative response, and Woodburn offered to sell Lord Ashburnham a package of paintings excluding the *Assumption*.¹²³ He was "quite prepared to agree to your Graces former offer of my having the Snyders and the sum your Grace mentioned for the M. Angelo and the larger Botticelli". Although the sale to Lord Ashburnham fell through, the sale to the Duke eventually went ahead on the basis of the exchange of the "Snyders" and a number of part payments.

The Duke paid £1,640 for the altarpiece and the *Money Changers* and seems to have received an additional trade-in allowance of at least £400 (the 1835 inventory valuation¹²⁴) for the *Stag Hunt*.¹²⁵ Woodburn's negotiating position in February 1848 had been that he wanted £630 and "the Snyders" for the *Money Changers* and £1,050 for the *Assumption*.¹²⁶ On 9 November 1849 Woodburn acknowledged receipt of £640 for "a Picture by Sandro Botticelli and a small picture by M. Venusti on the

¹¹⁸ Davies 1986, pp.122-7.

¹¹⁹ As the Duke knew, the altarpiece was commissioned by the Florentine humanist and apothecary Matteo Palmieri (1406-75) and came from the Palmieri family chapel in the destroyed church of S. Pier Maggiore in Florence.

¹²⁰ HA, Bundle 1001, Woodburn to Duke, 27 January 1848.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, Woodburn to Duke, 7 and 11 February 1848.

¹²² *Ibid.*, Woodburn to Duke, 28 April and 3 May 1849.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, Woodburn to Duke, 8 May 1849.

¹²⁴ HA, Volume 1223, p.49, and HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.65.

¹²⁵ HA, Bundle 1001, Woodburn to Duke, 27 January 1848.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, Woodburn to Duke, 7 February 1848.

outline of M Angelo, leaving the sum of One Thousand Pounds due on the said purchase".¹²⁷ He sent two more receipts, each for £500, for the works on 17 April and 25 September 1850.¹²⁸

The Duke displayed the *Assumption* in the Tribune with a painting of "The Angel Michael driving Satan into his dominions [by] Ventura Salina",¹²⁹ which had been in the New State "Drawing Room" – apparently in some sort of safe storage – in 1835.¹³⁰ This was the painting of "Michael subduing Satan", measuring 7 feet 6 inches by 5 feet 6 inches, catalogued in 1882¹³¹ as by 'C. van Haarlem', with the correction "V. Salembini, signed, and dated 1603" in the Errata and Addenda to the post-sale catalogue,¹³² and was therefore the canvas by the Sienese painter Ventura Salimbeni, signed and dated 1603, measuring 90½ x 66¼ inches, which was offered at Sotheby's New York in January 2003 (Fig.126).¹³³

Furnishing the Interiors and Displaying the Collections

While all these paintings and other items were being acquired, the Duke was also spending large sums on carpets, curtains and other textiles. During the late 1830s-early 1840s, he placed a series of commissions with the foremost factory of Jean-Charles Sallandrouze de Lamornaix (1808-67) at Aubusson, which supplied the French royal palaces, for upholstery for twenty-four armchairs and six chairs for the Long Gallery; a number of carpets, including four "Louis XIV" carpets with the arms of France in the centre and crossed letter "L"s for "Louis" in the corners; and ten overdoor tapestries of flowers for the New State Tapestry Rooms.¹³⁴ The substantial correspondence reveals that the Duke gave precise instructions, provided a sample of the crimson colour he wanted used,¹³⁵ reviewed and revised drawings supplied by the

¹²⁷ HA, F2/1069/42.

¹²⁸ HA, C4/843A/13/1 and F2/1069/41.

¹²⁹ HA, Volume 1228, p.97.

¹³⁰ HA, Volume 1223, p.164, as by "Ventura Solini".

¹³¹ Lot 1017.

¹³² *The Hamilton Palace Collection. Illustrated Priced Catalogue*, p.242.

¹³³ This rather facile painting was included, by the Bob Jones University Museum and Gallery, in Sotheby's sale of *Important Old Master Paintings*, New York, 23 January 2003, lot 23, without any reference to its Hamilton Palace provenance, and was bought in. The Duke displayed the large painting of *David with the Head of Goliath* (Fig.19) with the two illustrations of divine power and authority and the Thorvaldsen bust of *Napoleon*, and this must have made the Tribune an even more unsettling experience.

¹³⁴ Most of the letters for 1839-42 are in HA, C4/841.

¹³⁵ See HA, C4/841/1 and 13, Feuillet Dumus to Duke, 8 December 1840 and 7 July [1841].

factory, responded to queries, and sent additional information and sketches of suite and room layouts himself.¹³⁶ He requested crimson grounds on the upholstery and the first three overdoor tapestries, asked that the proposed background colour on the armorial carpets be changed from yellow-brown to crimson, and reacted to the delivery of the first three tapestries by ordering that the remaining seven should have mixed white, green and yellow backgrounds. The upholstery was to be woven with the ducal coronet above the Garter containing the initials “CHB”, and with small Hamilton heraldic motifs of mullets or stars, lilies, and “fleurs” or “Feuilles” “à cinq branches”. The armorial carpets also followed the Duke’s “instructions” and were apparently based on a drawing specially commissioned, by Aubusson, from the eminent applied art designer Jean-Baptiste-Amédée Couder (1797-1864).¹³⁷

The full cost of the Aubusson orders has still to be established, but £988 15s was spent on the upholstery (£158), three carpets for the “Boudoir”, “petit Salon” and Duchess’s Bed Room (£732 15s) and seven of the tapestries (£98).¹³⁸

These are only the tip of the proverbial iceberg and the total cost of all the orders to French and British manufacturers and suppliers between 1832 and 1852 must have exceeded £5,000. In August 1847 and January 1848 there were deliveries of a “Brussels Carpet”, two large hearth rugs and “Splendid New Crimson Cloth Curtains trimmed with rich laces & fringes” for the Long Gallery.¹³⁹ By this stage, though, not everything could be expensive and brand new: the carpet for the Music Room was “cut from one had of Lord Bellhaven”; the crimson damask curtains for the Music Room and the Duchess’s Ante Room were “from Stock”; and the crimson cloth curtains to all the doors in the Tribune were “made out of old Gallery Curtains”.¹⁴⁰

That said, by the time of his death the Duke had developed an extremely strong flow of colours and heraldry through the palace. The key colours were black and crimson. The “visitor experience” began with the black marble staircase and

¹³⁶ For the last, see C4/841/20 and 25.

¹³⁷ See HA, C4/841/1, 10 and 19. All four armorial carpets were included in Christie, Manson and Woods’ Hamilton Palace sale on 13 November 1919, as lots 299, 303, 310 and 317. One of the carpets is now in the British Embassy in Paris.

¹³⁸ See HA, Bundle 2092, bill from the Aubusson factory, dated 16 May 1842, and C4/841/5, 6, 11 and 12.

¹³⁹ See HTHL, “not from Bath” list, p.2.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, pp.2-3.

marble floor and was quickly followed by the two colossal black marble chimneypieces, door surrounds and plinths for the sculptures in the Great Entrance Hall, along with another marble floor, and by the two colossal black marble chimneypieces and door surround in the Gallery.

At the same time, a “Crimson bordered Brussels Carpet” on the black marble stairs and landings and a “crimson ground” carpet on the Duchess’s Stairs provided a foretaste of the sumptuous crimson textiles that lay beyond the Great Entrance Hall.¹⁴¹ The Gallery was ablaze with crimson, with crimson curtains and soft furnishings and a “crimson Brussels Carpet of the Ducal crest pattern”, which echoed the ceiling. All five rooms on the first floor of the west wing were hung with crimson curtains. Four had crimson carpets, and at least three were woven with the “Ducal Crest Pattern” or “‘Hamilton Crest’ Pattern”. Similarly, the first-floor Library and New Sitting Room behind the façade of the north block had crimson curtains and crimson “Cinque feuille pattern” Brussels carpets. Crimson curtains and carpets also furnished the Music Room and Old Dining Room, and – as curtains and druggets – some of the lobbies and landings.

Many other rooms had crimson curtains. Variety and even richer effects were achieved by combining crimson (or scarlet) curtains with Turkey carpets (which would have included red) in the Tribune, Old State Breakfast Room, Duke’s Sitting Room,¹⁴² Duke’s Bed Room, two Cove Rooms and two Red Rooms,¹⁴³ and by laying an Axminster carpet with a crimson ground in the New Dining Saloon.¹⁴⁴ Elsewhere, crimson was employed with other colours: the Marquis of Douglas’s suite of four rooms had “crimson and gold silk Brocade Curtains”, upholstery and bed furnishings (and Turkey carpets), while the Duke of Newcastle’s Bed Room and Mademoiselle d’Este’s Room had crimson and white curtains and bed furnishings (and crimson carpets). The coordination often extended to other fabrics and leather and sometimes to other items – as for example the red leather armchair and crimson glass match vase in the Duke of Newcastle’s Dressing Room – and red marble table-tops and red

¹⁴¹ The following paragraphs are based on the 1853 inventory, HA, Volume 1228.

¹⁴² The curtains in the Duke’s two rooms are described as scarlet in the inventory.

¹⁴³ These last four bed and dressing rooms, on the second floor, above the Gallery, had “Turkey Pattern Brussels Carpet[s]”.

¹⁴⁴ The 1853 inventory does not record the colour of the carpet in the New Dining Saloon, but it is described as “A Rich Crimson Axminster Carpet” in 1876 (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.1).

porphyry slabs, busts, sculptures, vases and other pieces made everything even more magnificent and regal or imperial.

The principal exceptions to this crimson “wash through” were the Duchess’s Rooms in the east wing, which had blue curtains and carpets, and the New Tapestry Apartments. Here the 1853 inventory focuses on the yellow-gold of the Sienna marble chimneypieces, gilt surrounds to the grates and gilt fenders in the first three rooms, linings of gold-colour silk to the brocade curtains, “rich gold colour silk Bell Pulls and Tassells”, gilt woodwork, and “gold Brocade” in the Boudoir. However, the inventory subsequently states that that the “entire Walls” of the Boudoir were “covered with rich Oriental wrought in gold Crimson silk Brocade same as Chairs and Sofa”. Moreover, we know that the armorial carpets had crimson backgrounds, and entries in the 1876 inventory and 1882 sale catalogue reveal that some of the brocade curtains and upholstery had “crimson” grounds.¹⁴⁵ The 1853 inventory records red or red and white marble tops on the clock cabinet now in the Gilbert Collection and Riesener commode now at Versailles, a firescreen with crimson silk panels, a crimson bedside hassock, and red leather tops on the two writing tables. It suggests that crimson/red was “underplayed”, but the fuller entries in the 1876 inventory indicate that the rooms would have been much more crimson than this in the early 1850s.

Consequently, there were two main colourways (crimson and black), a different but complementary, crimson-gold colourway (in the New Tapestry Rooms), and a separate, almost independent blue section (in the Duchess’s Apartments).

The Duke’s use of colour as a uniter and unifier is paralleled in his displays.

He “ran” his “Classical” collection up the black marble staircase (the busts of the Roman Emperors) and the Duchess’s Staircase and Basement (with the statue of Venus acquired by the 8th Duke and three plaster copies of statues of “Minerva, Aeschinus and the Venus of Cos”) through the Great Entrance Hall (with the bust of *Jupiter Olympien* and five bronze statues after the Antique) and the Tribune (with a reduced copy of the Warwick Vase and a bronze of a centaur teaching the infant Bacchus to ride) and into the New Dining Saloon (with Crozatier’s copy of the *Laocoon* displayed on the Farnese Table, marble bust of the *Cnidian Aphrodite*,

¹⁴⁵ See 1882 HPSC, lots 1907 and 1926-1928.

porphyry head of “Alexander” and two “antique” *giallo antico* tripods). On the ground floor, this rolling or sequential display was connected, augmented and almost physically supported by “3 Plaster Figures from the antique” in the Marble Corridor; “Colossal” plaster statues of “Achilles” and the “Venus of Melos” and “Colossal” plaster busts of “Juno” and “Romulus” in the Lower Entrance Hall; “Colossal” plaster bust of “Minerva” and “Colossal Bust of horned Bacchus” by Soyer (which had arrived in June 1847¹⁴⁶) outside the Duke’s Apartments; and an “antique Marble Bust of young Caracalla” in the Duke’s Sitting Room and plaster busts of “Psyché”, “Aesculapus” [sic] and “Isis” in his bedroom.

The Duke complemented the busts of the three Roman emperors with the bronze busts of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great¹⁴⁷ (and the colossal bronze bust of himself by Campbell) in the Lower Entrance Hall, and with Thorvaldsen’s *Napoleon* in the Tribune. The impact of all this Classical-Imperial material was increased when the 45-inch-high Classical-style silver “testimonial”, which weighed 1,191 ounces and had been presented by the Duke’s Scottish tenants in 1849, was placed on the dining room table. This candelabrum-centrepiece (Fig.127) was developed from a design of the Duke’s own choosing (Fig.128)¹⁴⁸ and the statuette of Minerva was a careful copy of his cast of the *Giustiniani Minerva*.¹⁴⁹

Most of the other main items in the collection were deployed within the framework of the Gallery, dedicated to full-length family paintings and Rubens’s *Daniel in the Lions’ Den*; the picture gallery-treasury in the five rooms of the west wing; and the larger public rooms in the new north block. All the latter were “show” rooms, but the rooms in the New State or Tapestry Rooms were laid out after the Baroque model with an enfilade of Sitting Room, Bed Room, Dressing Room and Boudoir, and were essentially exhibition spaces for important eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century furniture. They were usable, but were the forerunners of the

¹⁴⁶ HTHL, “not from Bath” list, p.2.

¹⁴⁷ Previously in the Old Dining Room.

¹⁴⁸ See Hume’s letters to the Duke for 1848-49 in HA, Bundle 1000, and HTHL, HELB 1848-50, pp.8-10, Leighton to Hume, 3 July 1848. The latter, along with the next letter, is in Appendix 9.

¹⁴⁹ See HTHL, HELB 1848-50, pp.48-9, Leighton to James Muirhead, 25 August 1848.

An unexpected discovery has been that the marble statues from Stowe, which arrived at Hamilton Palace on or around 4 November 1848, are not recorded in the 1853 inventory. Hume hoped that they might “Suit the Staircase”, but they were apparently damaged during transportation (see HA, Bundle 1000, Hume to Duke, 15 October and 11 November 1848). They must therefore either have been in storage or in the grounds, “preparing” visitors for the sequence of “Classical” sculpture inside the palace.

“period room” displays in later European and American collectors’ houses and major museums.

Many of the rooms were densely hung with paintings, with over 118 paintings in the west wing and twenty-two in the New Sitting Room, and eight Ottoboni tapestries were displayed on the main walls in the first three rooms of the New State Rooms. They provided excellent “backdrops”, but what distinguished the Hamilton Palace Collection was the quality and importance of the furniture and the way that it was arranged.

The displays began with single major items – a *pietre dure* table with a gilt bronze base by Dénrière in the Tribune (Fig.113) and the (*pietre dure*) Farnese Table in the New Dining Saloon (Fig.61) – and then expanded into groups of three, four, five and even more important items in each room.¹⁵⁰ The Library, for example, contained the *bureau plat* and *cartonnier* owned by the duc de Choiseul (Fig.70) and the two ebony and *pietre dure* cabinets by Hume from the 1832 Watson Taylor sale (Fig.86), while the New Sitting Room served as the setting for a *pietre dure* cabinet allegedly designed by Michelangelo (now at Elton Hall) (Fig.129), an eighteenth-century copy of the commodes supplied by André-Charles Boulle for Louis XIV’s bedchamber in the Grand Trianon at Versailles in 1708 (now at Petworth House) (Fig.130), the ebony “Versailles Cabinet” decorated with a porcelain plaque, and a table and cabinet (Fig.131) made of ebony and *pietre dure*.

The quality increased as one moved through the palace. The *armoires* by Boulle now in the Louvre (Fig.62) were in the Long Gallery, along with eight pier tables with black marble tops supported on gilt wood eagles “resting” on “crimson cushion shaped” blocks and black plinths. They “continued” the black theme through the explosion of crimson, but then the Duke laid out most of his best pieces in the Old State Rooms and the New State Rooms, like two great final orchestral movements, with the black wood, lacquer and marble making powerful statement after powerful statement and acting as a foil to the *pietre dure*, coloured stone tops and smaller “treasures”.

¹⁵⁰ The entries on all the main pieces of furniture in the 1853 inventory will be found at the end of Appendix 9, along with entries from the 1876 inventory and 1882 sale catalogue, and their present whereabouts, last known ownership or sale reference.

The sequence in the Old State Rooms began, in the Breakfast Room, with one of the porphyry tables with bases by Dénière (Fig.39) and the two ebony-*pietre dure* cabinets now in the Getty Museum (Figs.132-133).¹⁵¹ The second porphyry table was in the Drawing Room, with the “Artois Commode” by Levasseur (Fig.72) and the black lacquer commode made by Riesener for Marie-Antoinette now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Fig.84). It might be thought that they were shown too early, but they were followed by the dazzling fall-front secretaire and commode decorated with Japanese black lacquer and ormolu figures attributed to Weisweiler (Figs.66-67) and the “Mazarin Chest” (Fig.65). The west wing sequence ended, in the First and Second Dressing Rooms, with the two cabinets-on-stands by the Vulliamy firm (Fig.68), two pieces of “Buhl” – a writing table and pedestal cabinet (Fig.134) – and four ebony armchairs (erroneously) associated with Cardinal Wolsey.¹⁵²

The sequence in the New State or Tapestry Rooms was even more interesting. It began with some of the Duke’s most important and impressive pieces. These included the clock cabinet supplied by Hume (Fig.44), the fall-front secretaire made by Riesener for Louis XVI’s private study in the Petit Trianon in 1777 (Waddesdon Manor) (Fig.90),¹⁵³ the commode by Riesener delivered for Louis XVI’s *cabinet de retraite* at Fontainebleau in 1778, which was later in the King’s library at Versailles (Versailles) (Fig.135),¹⁵⁴ and the huge *canapé à confidents* by Blanchard and Rascalon (Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon) (Fig.136).¹⁵⁵

There was only one black piece – a “Buhl” writing table – in the first room, but the black theme was taken up again in the next room. Here the Louis XVI *lit à la duchesse* now in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig.80), with its gilt wood and gold-colour fabrics, “sang out” even more vibrantly against the two pedestal-cabinets

¹⁵¹ Wilson and Hess 2001, pp.11-2.

¹⁵² Two of these armchairs, which were actually made on the Coromandel Coast, in India, around 1680-1700, are now in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the National Museums Scotland.

¹⁵³ HA, Volume 1228, p.109, and de Bellaigue 1974, I, pp.348-57.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p.109; Christie’s, *Works of Art from the Collection of the Barons Nathaniel and Albert von Rothschild*, London, 8 July 1999, lot 201; and Meyer 2002, pp.136-41. To avoid confusion, it should be noted that the Riesener commode decorated with a vase of flowers, which was made for the comtesse de Provence’s bedchamber at Versailles in 1776 and is now at Waddesdon Manor, was in the Music Room.

¹⁵⁵ This was believed to have come “from Versailles” (HA, Volume 1228, p.108), but was actually made for the Salon d’Été of Louis XVI’s aunts in the Château de Bellevue and was later in Napoleon’s apartments in the Tuileries: see Coutinho 1999, pp.278-81.

attributable to André-Charles Boulle from Bonnemaison's estate (Fig.71) and two "Buhl" commodes, now in Philadelphia Museum of Art, that must be the "Deux commodes en marqueterie d'ancien boule" from the 1831 Marchetti sale. The black theme became even louder and more dominant in the Dressing Room, which housed the enormous ebony *bureau plat* and *cartonnier* made for Ange-Laurent de Lalive de Jully in the mid 1750s (Musée Condé, Chantilly) (Fig.137)¹⁵⁶ and the black lacquer *secretaire* by Riesener now in the Getty Museum (Fig.85). The sequence came to a crescendo in the Boudoir with the black lacquer *secretaire* made by Riesener for Marie Antoinette, now in the Metropolitan Museum (Fig.83), which – like its matching commode – was fitted with a black marble top during its time in the Hamilton Collection.

The Duke also spread out his material relating to Napoleon, Peter the Great and Catherine the Great, and the Medici with care.

He spurned Beckford and Watson Taylor's creation of separate Napoleon rooms, but did form two "clusters" of Napoleonic items in the Tribune and New Dining Saloon (the Thorvaldsen bust, David portrait, and 1810 service, when in use) and in his private rooms, where the two busts of Princess Pauline were displayed along with a picture of "The emperor Napoleon on Horseback as at Battle of Wagram", two engravings of Napoleon, and 'a fine bronze Profile of Napoleon in gilt metal frame'. Other Napoleonic items were sprinkled through the palace. The two Sèvres vases bequeathed by Princess Pauline to the Duchess were apparently in the New Sitting Room and "a small Bronze Bust of Emperor Napoleon" in the New State Bed Room. In addition, the Marquis of Douglas had the small table from St Helena now at Lennoxlove in his Upper Sitting Room and a "bronze likeness of Napoleon in Metal frame" in his main bedroom.¹⁵⁷

The material relating to the two outstanding modern rulers of Russia and the Medici was more widely distributed and very carefully positioned. The bronze busts of Peter the Great and Catherine the Great were set up at the start, in the Lower Entrance Hall, but the portraits were held back until the end. The two paintings of Catherine were shown in the Old State Breakfast Room and Lady Dunmore's

¹⁵⁶ For these pieces and the clock that went with them, see the discussions in Eriksen 1974.

¹⁵⁷ See Appendix 17 for these and other allegedly Napoleon-related items in the 1853 inventory and earlier and later inventories.

Dressing Room, while the Duke's specially commissioned tapestry of the Empress was installed in the New State Boudoir, in a "richly carved & gilt frame" supplied in 1848.¹⁵⁸

The "Medici sequence" was held in reserve until the last rooms and was clearly intended to encourage people to think of the Duke and his family as the Medici of Scotland. The sequence in the west wing started with the large *pietre dure* casket (Fig.138) in the second room (the Drawing Room).¹⁵⁹ Then came no fewer than three Medici portraits – of Grand Duke Cosimo de' Medici, his wife Eleonora of Toledo, and Don Garcia – in the third room (the Bed Room)¹⁶⁰ and, finally, the "Sebastiano del Piombo" *Pope Clement VII* in the fifth and final room (the Second Dressing Room).¹⁶¹ "Sansovino"'s drawing of the decoration of Florence Cathedral for the visit of Pope Leo X was in the anteroom to the Duchess's suite in the east wing.¹⁶² The *maiolica* bottles with the arms of Ferdinand I de' Medici and Christina of Lorraine, from Beckford's collection, were exhibited on "2 high antique and richly carved and gilt Pedestals on Dolphin shaped feet" in the first room in the New State Rooms (the Sitting Room)¹⁶³ and the sequence climaxed with *Eleonora of Toledo and her Son* by Bronzino and the "Botticelli" *Adoration of the Magi* from Beckford's collection, which was thought to depict the Medici, in the Boudoir.¹⁶⁴ This was definitely intended to be meaningful, because particularly prized possessions were traditionally shown or kept in the last and smallest State Room and, in this case, it involved taking the *Adoration* from the Old State Rooms, where it had initially been placed,¹⁶⁵ and moving it right across the palace, to the very end room.¹⁶⁶

¹⁵⁸ See HA, Volume 1228, pp.81, 116, 140 and 154, and HTHL, "not from Bath" list, p.3.

¹⁵⁹ HA, Volume 1228, p.142.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p.146, and Waagen 1854, III, p.302. Waagen describes Cosimo's wife (whom he calls Isabella) as being 'consumptive-looking' and it seems the Hamilton portrait, which was stated to be 36 x 24 inches in the 1882 sale catalogue, is either the panel now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (which is 34 x 25¼ inches), or very similar to it: see Shapley 1973, fig.27 and pp.15-6, and Langedijk 1981, pp.698-9.

¹⁶¹ HA, Volume 1228, p.151, and Waagen 1854, III, p.303.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, p.122.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*, p.109.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p.117.

¹⁶⁵ HTHL, list of items from Bath, p.1.

¹⁶⁶ It is worth noting that the Duke had Beckford's magnificent manuscript *Preparatio ad missam pontificalem*, made for Pope Leo X (Pierpont Morgan Library, New York), with illumination attributed to Attavante degli Attavanti, in the Hamilton Library in 1851. He showed the manuscript to Waagen in the Hamilton Library, even though Waagen made a separate visit to the Beckford Library: Waagen 1854, III, pp.307-8.

The distribution of items associated with Michelangelo also followed this general pattern of displaying good pieces in the main public rooms and the most highly regarded work in the New State Boudoir: the cabinet believed to have been designed by Michelangelo (Fig.129) and “The Holy Family [by] Venusti” were shown in the New Sitting Room,¹⁶⁷ while the “best” Michelangelo-related item – “Christ driving the Money Changers out of the temple [by] Venusti” – was installed in the holy of holies, the Boudoir.¹⁶⁸

The final displays made extremely good use of exceptional pieces of furniture and items associated with great emperors, kings and queens, popes and patrons to project the 10th Duke’s status, bolster his claim to the dukedom of Châtellerauld, and highlight his abilities and achievements as a patron and collector. However, they were not “family or user friendly”.

Hamilton Palace, its collections and displays were one of the greatest carefully conceived constructions by any patron and collector, but they were really only useful to the Hamilton family if succeeding generations shared the 10th Duke’s tastes, outlook and priorities and wanted to use the palace as a powerhouse/treasure house for personal or party politics, grand-scale entertaining and displaying works of art. They were either an awe-inspiring asset or “tied-up funds” and a “White Elephant” with a very uncertain future ahead of them.

¹⁶⁷ HA, Volume 1228, pp.103 and 105.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.117. Five other paintings that were evidently highly regarded by the Duke were displayed in the Boudoir (*ibid.*). They included the panels of Tuccia and Sophonisba (or Artemesia) by Mantegna (National Gallery, London), which were in the same frame; Rubens’s grisaille sketch of Gasparo de Guzman, Count of Olivarez (Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels); and a “Madonna” by Sassoferrato. A rather weak oil sketch of the *Transfiguration* (now in the Courtauld Institute of Art Gallery, London), attributed to Sebastiano del Piombo by Waagen (Waagen 1854, III, p.305) but ascribed to “Polidoro” in the 1853 inventory and either a work by Polidoro da Caravaggio or one of his followers, seems to have been in the Boudoir largely because of an inscription which mentions the Emperor Charles V. Waagen understood this to mean that the painting had been presented to the Emperor in 1518, but it seems to refer to the execution of the work in memory of the Emperor (“PER M.AE.CAROLI V R.I.”), and the date 1518 raises problems as Charles was not elected Emperor until June 1519. For a discussion of the panel, see Leone de Castris 2001, pp.362-6 and pl.81.

Post Mortem: Continuity, Crisis and Collapse

Since at least 1835, eleven paintings of the *Labours of Hercules* (Fig.139) had hung in the Duke's Sitting Room¹ – presumably to inspire him. More recently, the Duke had apparently been sleeping in William Beckford's old bed,² which suggests that he saw himself as Beckford's successor and equal as a patron and collector.

He died proud of his own achievements and believing that his son and Princess Marie would preserve the palace and collection and add to them. In this he was fully justified, because the 11th Duke and his wife used the palace and enriched the Hamilton collections with antiquarian material (including the mid-sixteenth-century Milanese damascened-iron chess-table from the Débruge-Dumenil and Soltikov collections (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum)), English and Continental silver, and works associated with the Stuarts³ and the Bonapartes.

The Napoleonic items are particularly interesting because they continued and developed one of the principal aspects of the 10th Duke's collecting and patronage. However, they are associated primarily with Princess Marie's cousin, the Emperor Napoleon III, rather than Napoleon I.

During his first exile in the 1840s, Louis-Napoleon attended the christening of the couple's son in London and stayed with the family at Brodick Castle. In December 1851 Douglas and the Princess held a ball at the Hôtel Bristol, in the Place Vendôme, to celebrate the Prince-President's successful *coup d'état* four nights before. A year later the new Duke and Duchess of Hamilton rode in front of Napoléon le Grand's nephew when he made his state entry into Paris and saw him proclaimed Emperor in front of the Hôtel de Ville. After this the Hamiltons – and especially the Princess – were frequent visitors to the Tuileries. They attended functions, private meals, Mass and Christmas festivities; stayed with the Emperor at Saint-Cloud and other palaces and retreats; and Marie acted as hostess if the Empress Eugénie was not present.

¹ HA, Volume 1223, p.160, and HA, Volume 1228, p.159. These paintings were de-accessioned from the Arnot Art Museum, Elmira, New York State, in the 1970s.

² The 1853 inventory records "a fine Oak Stump Bedstead with carved head board & 3 feet wide" in the Duke's bedroom, and the entry is annotated "M^r Beckford died upon this bed at Bath": HA, Volume 1228, p.160.

³ On these, see Evans 2003b.

Louis-Napoleon's and Marie's close friendship led to the exchange of many gifts. One of the most significant early imperial presents was the table with a Sèvres porcelain top painted with flowers by Louis-Pierre Schilt (now in the Musée d'Orsay, Paris) (Fig.140),⁴ which was given to Marie by Eugénie in 1853-54, during the first year of her marriage to the Emperor,⁵ and was subsequently displayed in the Library.⁶

The declaration of war against Russia in March 1854 and movement of British and French armies to the Crimea seems to have stimulated the Duke to encourage Patric Park – who had submitted a request to borrow his bust of the 10th Duke for an exhibition in Edinburgh⁷ – to join him in Paris in June⁸ and to commission a marble bust of Napoleon III from the previously disgraced court sculptor as a demonstration of British-French solidarity (Figs.141-142).⁹ The following year the Princess commissioned a portrait of herself from Richard Buckner “for the Empress of the French”, which was priced at £42,¹⁰ and went on to order a desk for the Emperor from “Hancock” – presumably Charles Frederick Hancock of Bruton Street/New Bond Street – that turned out to be much more expensive than she had expected.¹¹

Surprisingly the two copies of Winterhalter's state portraits of the Emperor and Empress of 1853, which hung above the great black marble staircase (Fig.97), were not imperial gifts to the Hamiltons. They must have been presented by Napoleon III to the Grand Duchess Stéphanie and were sent from Mannheim in 1860 by the Princess, after her mother's death, along with “a beautiful [picture] of the Emp: Napoleon 1st”, which was “smaller”.¹²

⁴ See Bascou, Massé and Thiébaud 1988, p.196.

⁵ The presentation inscription includes the date “4 avril 1853”, but the Sèvres Archive records that the *guéridon* was not officially offered to the Princess until 29 December 1853 (Registre Vbb 11, f.295v.). I am grateful to Tamara Préaud for this reference.

⁶ HTHL, 1876 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.4.

⁷ See NLS, Acc. 10098/2, 122, Brown to Park, 9 February 1853.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 164, 11th Duke to Park, 3 June 1854.

⁹ *Building Chronicle*, 26 July 1854, p.53. Park actually produced two busts of Napoleon III and more information about them will be found in Appendix 20.

¹⁰ See the printed list of Buckner's commissions in the Witt Library, taken from his account book, p.22, under November 1855, and HA, Bundle 2834, Princess Marie to 11th Duke, 31 December [1856/7].

¹¹ HA, Bundle 2834, Princess to Duke, 11 December [1857].

¹² HA, Bundle 2837, Princess to Duke, 1 July 1860. The portrait of the Empress was apparently signed by Joseph-Nicolas Jouy and dated 1856: see Christie, Manson and Woods' sale of Hamilton paintings, 6 November 1919, lot 79. The portrait of Napoleon may have been the “Portrait of the Emperor

The Empress Eugénie visited Hamilton Palace on 27 November 1860,¹³ but the visible high point in the relationship between the two families came in July 1863, when the 11th Duke fell leaving the *Maison Dorée* and fatally hit his head on the stone steps. Both the Emperor and Empress were present at his death, with Eugénie trying to keep him alive “by the use of hot-water cloths”.¹⁴ The Emperor went into mourning for a fortnight and ordered that the Duke’s body should be transported to Scotland with all honour. It was taken to Cherbourg, where the “whole naval and military establishments of that great French arsenal were ordered out to receive it”. The coffin was then placed on board the French Imperial paddle despatch boat *Dauphin* and sent to the Clyde, accompanied by the Imperial Chamberlain, the Duke of Bassano, and members of the Hamilton family, and with the corvette *Loiret* sailing alongside as escort vessel.

At Greenock “nearly 10,000 spectators” watched the casket being taken ashore by the French and British armed forces. Four liveried servants of the Emperor walked beside it and also took part in the funeral two days later.¹⁵

This, though, was not Napoleon III’s final act of respect and solicitude, because in April 1864 he “maintained and confirmed” the hereditary title of duc de Châtellerault on the new 12th Duke of Hamilton. Despite the language it was actually a fresh creation, which totally rejected the claims of the Marquess of Abercorn in favour of his own relatives.

The 12th Duke naturally appreciated the honour and offered Napoleon III the use of his residences in Scotland after his capture by the Germans following the fall of Sedan in September 1870.¹⁶ Moreover, after the Empress’s arrival in England, the Duke crossed over to France in his new steam yacht, the *Thistle*, and rescued some of her costume and belongings from the Tuileries.¹⁷

Napoleon Ist in his Robes of State” in the Duchess’s Sitting Room, Hamilton Palace, in 1876 (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.59).

¹³ See *Times*, 29 November 1860, p.10.

¹⁴ For this and what follows, see the *Glasgow Herald*, 22 July 1863, p.4.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 24 July 1863, p.4.

¹⁶ See HA, Bundle 754, Napoleon III to 12th Duke, 17 September 1870.

¹⁷ Murat 1910, pp.214-5.

In January 1878 the Duke entertained Prince Louis Napoleon, the Prince of Wales and the Crown Prince of Austria at Hamilton Palace.¹⁸ It was the last time that the palace was really used as a powerhouse, full of treasures, because – even with better returns as a result of deep mining – the agricultural depression and credit crunch meant that it was becoming impossible to service the combination of old debt and the Duke's own extravagant expenditure when money supply was reduced and interest rates were rising.

As the 12th Duke had married a daughter of the Duke of Manchester, rather than an American heiress (which became the rapidly growing trend), the only way to reduce debt and the danger of bankruptcy was to sell a large part of the Hamilton and Beckford collections. There can be no doubt that much of the fault lay with the 12th Duke, who was preoccupied with sport and pleasure, but the forced sale of the 10th Duke's beloved collections also stemmed from his own failure to sell the Lancashire estate, which had cost over £100,000 in interest charges and had carried £125,000 in debt,¹⁹ and to invest the proceeds and other money in the development of coal, ironstone and fireclay production in central Scotland and engage more closely with the railway companies and iron masters – as Robert Brown had urged.

Thus, in June-July 1882 Christie, Manson and Woods auctioned the majority of the best fine and applied art, in 2,213 lots over seventeen days, for the then astronomic sum of £397,562 0s 6d. It was one of the greatest sales in British history and the most important sale of furniture since the dispersal of the French royal and aristocratic collections during the French Revolution. But it was only one of a number of sales. That same year, the "Hamilton Manuscripts" were sold to Berlin by private treaty sale for about £70,000. Between June 1882 and the end of November 1883, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge sold the Beckford Library, as 9,837 lots in four portions over forty days, for £73,551 18s;²⁰ and in May 1884 the same firm auctioned 2,136 lots of the Hamilton Library, over eight days, for £12,892 12s 6d.²¹

¹⁸ *Illustrated London News*, 19 January 1878, p.62. The relationship between the Hamiltons and the Bonapartes continued after this date. Following his death in 1895, the Empress Eugénie acquired the 12th Duke's second yacht, the (second) *Thistle* (launched in 1881), and used it up to the First World War.

¹⁹ HA, Volume 1260, p.506, Brown to Marquis of Douglas, 9 January 1843.

²⁰ *Catalogues of the Beckford Library*, 30 June-13 July 1882, 11-23 December 1882, 2-14 July 1883, and 27-30 November 1884.

²¹ *Catalogue of the Hamilton Library*, 1-9 May 1884.

With over ninety per cent of its first-rate contents gone, Hamilton Palace became a needless massive millstone around the family's neck. The death of the 12th Duke without a male heir in 1895, and the succession of a distant cousin who was soon confined to a wheelchair, ensured that its days were numbered. In 1915 the Ducal Trustees and Commissioners granted permission for coal to be extracted directly underneath the palace and mausoleum. This seems to have been agreed as part of the war effort, but it must have been realized that the inevitable subsidence would ease the way for the demolition of the palace.

After some disagreement and delay, Christie's held a series of sales of works of art, interiors and fittings in November 1919, and the dismantling of the palace began. In October 1921 the 10th Duke (still in his Egyptian sarcophagus) and his ancestors were removed from the mausoleum and taken on a lorry to the local cemetery, where they were interred in a large grave.

Only seventy years after his death the 10th Duke lay in a mass grave in Bent Cemetery, with most of the Hamilton collections scattered and the panelled rooms stripped out of the palace and with the interior decorators French and Company in New York. To cap it all, his great black marble staircase failed to sell at the 1919 sale and was finally bought for only £45 in 1933,²² while the Atlantes were sold to the local scrap merchant Charles Ireland. The monolithic columns of the Portico were apparently shattered and brought crashing to the ground using explosives.

It was a very tragic end and a dreadful waste of money and effort, which illustrates all too clearly the never-to-be-forgotten point that it is much easier to build and collect than to retain buildings and collections over decades, let alone centuries. That requires the immense wealth of a Frick, Pierpont Morgan or Getty, and the Hamiltons patently lacked this wealth and capability.

This, then, is the story of the rise and fall of the 10th Duke of Hamilton and his palace and collection. As we have seen, it is basically the tale of a man who became premier peer of Scotland through the death of a relative, failed to make a political and diplomatic success in his thirties - early forties, and used his collecting and patronage to demonstrate his actual status, support his claims to other titles and

²² *Hamilton Advertiser*, 18 February 1933, p.4.

honours, counter the challenges of others, and give the impression that he had much greater power and wealth than was the *actualité*. We have seen that the Duke was a successful collector of manuscripts during the first period of his life and that he went on to acquire wonderful paintings, furniture, silver, sculpture and *objets d'art* representing or associated with Catherine the Great, Peter the Great, Napoleon, Francis I of France, Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette, Roman emperors and the Medici.

What we have found is that the Duke had poor eyesight and certainly did not have Beckford's or George IV's "eye" for great art. He was inspired by them, but lacked their resources and connoisseurship. One can, of course, make comparisons between the three men, but there is actually a great chasm between them. Put bluntly, Beckford and George IV were great mainstream art collectors and patrons, whereas the 10th Duke of Hamilton was a propagandist, fabricating and projecting a politico-socio-economic image.

Looking back, what is particularly interesting about the 10th Duke's collecting and patronage are the extent of his networks of agents in Italy, Russia and France; the importance of banks, notably Hoare's, Torlonia's and Laffitte's, as agents and forwarders of items, as well as suppliers of money; and – above all – the Duke's reliance upon his principal factor, Robert Brown, and supplier and decorator, Robert Hume, in both cases for over thirty years.

These aspects cry out for comparison with other collectors and patrons, but an even more fascinating study, based on what has been uncovered here, would be the 10th Duke of Hamilton in relation to George, 7th Lord Kinnauld, his son Charles, 8th Lord Kinnauld, Archibald, 12th Earl of Cassillis, Alexander Murray of Broughton and other Scottish Whig collectors, and in contrast to the arch-conservative 4th Duke of Newcastle (whose son married the 10th Duke's daughter) and his circle. This would clarify the essential differences between Whig and Tory collectors, notably over the collecting of Napoleonica and the celebration and commemoration of British heroes of the French wars. At the same time, it would also highlight common patterns of collecting and patronage²³ and focus attention on how both Whig and Tory grandees

²³ Although Newcastle was at the opposite end of the political spectrum, he owned French furniture, had a collection of sculpture, and bought from the London Marble and Stone Company and suppliers of French carpets.

spent vast sums on land, buildings and collections during the Age of Reform, to convince themselves and others that they were still in control – even if it did lead to crushing debt and even bankruptcy. We have witnessed some bizarre behaviour in the course of this study, but the findings now need to be compared and contrasted with properly researched case studies of other individuals and families, to understand and appreciate fully both the 10th Duke of Hamilton and collecting and patronage in a century of new wealth, democratisation and never-ending change.

Postscript

After the submission of this thesis some additional letters were brought in to West Register House from Lennoxlove which relate to the employment of David Hamilton in 1822. These have not been incorporated into Appendix 11 but are referred to in my article “The Restoration and Enlargement of Hamilton Palace by the 10th Duke of Hamilton, 1806-32”, which will appear in the *Review of Scottish Culture*, Volume 21, 2009, pp.35-66. The Raeburn portrait of the 10th Duke is discussed at greater length in another article, “The 10th Duke of Hamilton and Raeburn”. This will be included in *Henry Raeburn: Critical Reception and International Reputation*, edited by Vicky Coltman and Stephen Lloyd, which is scheduled to be published by the National Galleries of Scotland, Edinburgh, in 2009. The 11th Duke and Duchess of Hamilton’s involvement with Napoleon III and France will be reviewed in more depth in my article “The 11th Duke and Duchess of Hamilton and France” in the *Journal of the Scottish Society for Art History*, Volume 14, 2009.

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1. Sir Joshua Reynolds, *Alexander Hamilton, later 10th Duke of Hamilton*, 1782.
Oil on canvas, 68.5 x 55 cm. National Gallery of Scotland, Edinburgh.



2. Girolamo dai Libri, Altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child with Saints Catherine of Alexandria, Leonard, Augustine and Apollonia*, c.1520. Tempera and oil on canvas, 398.8 x 207 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

The photograph, from the *Country Life* archive, shows the altarpiece on display on the Duchess's or East Stairs in Hamilton Palace shortly before it was sold in the 1919 Hamilton Palace sales.



3. Antonello da Messina, *Portrait of a Man*, signed and dated 1474. Panel, 32 x 26 cm. Staatliche Museen, Berlin.



4. After Andrea Mantegna, *Lodovico Gonzaga, Marquis of Mantua, and his wife Barbara of Brandenburg*, 16th century. Panel, 70 or 71 x 102 or 105.5 cm. Whereabouts unknown.



5. Attributed to a "Follower of Titian", *Mythological Scene with episodes from the stories of Adonis and Myrrha*, 16th century. Panel, 76.2 x 132.7 cm. discounting added strips. National Gallery, London.



6. Andrea Schiavone, *Ecce Homo*, c.1558-60. Oil on canvas, 121 x 147 cm. Collection of Franco Steffanoni, Bergamo.



7. Andrea Schiavone, *Christ before Pilate*, c.1555-58. Oil on canvas, 102 x 157 cm. Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.



8. Luca Signorelli, Altarpiece of *The Circumcision of Christ*, c.1491, partly repainted by Sodoma. Oil on poplar, transferred to modern composite panel, 258.5 x 180 cm. National Gallery, London.



9. Paul Storr, Pair of Covered Dishes on Warmers, 1806. Silver (dishes and covers) and Sheffield Plate (heater bases), approximately 26.5 cm. high x 33 cm. wide. With ADC Heritage, London, in 1988.

These pieces formed part of the Marquis of Douglas's expanded ambassadorial service. The dishes and covers apparently weigh 132 ounces and are therefore too heavy to be two of the "8 Shaped Dishes and Covers" totalling 250 ounces which were supplied by Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to the Royal Jewel House in 1806 for Douglas's service. With their heaters, they seem to be items added to the service by Douglas in 1806.



10. Illustration of the "Bust of Peter the Great, in armour, in bronze" published in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 1900). The illustration shows the copy after Bartolomeo Carlo Rastrelli's bronze bust of the Tsar, which was commissioned by Douglas in 1807/8 and was awaiting shipment to Britain in 1812.



11. Unknown Maker, *Bust of the Empress Catherine II* after the marble bust by Jean-Antoine Houdon, inscribed "Houdon 1780". Bronze, 86 cm. high. State Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg. Owned by Prince Alexei Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovsky (1824-96).



12. Photograph of the tapestry of the Empress Catherine II, dated St Petersburg 1811, from the "Hamilton Palace Collection" in the French and Company Archive in the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles.



13. Imperial Tapestry Manufactory, St Petersburg, *The Empress Catherine II*, dated St Petersburg 1811. Tapestry, 264.5 x 182 cm. Musée Fondation Zoubov, Geneva.



14. Two-sided Pendant with Cameo Portrait of the Emperor Tiberius and a Medici Emblem. Cameo: Roman, 1st Century A.D. (?). Pendant: Italian or French, 16th century. Agate, gold, enamel and pearl, 8 x 4.8 cm. Art Institute of Chicago, Chicago.

15. After Virginia Balfour, *The Complete Catalogue of the "British Museum"*, vol. 1, pp. 114-115, June 1742. Oil on canvas (75 x 115 cm), 1742. This is a reproduction of the work of the British Museum Library, New York, associated with the work of London, 2 May 1920, vol. 1.



15. After Vigilius Eriksen, *The Empress Catherine II riding "Brilliant" on 28/29 June 1762*. Oil on canvas (?), approximately 100 x 87.5 cm. From a photograph in the Frick Art Reference Library, New York, associated with Christie's sale, London, 3 May 1929, lot 49.



16. The 10th Duke of Hamilton's ambassadorial canopy and throne at the east end of the Gallery in Hamilton Palace in 1919. *Country Life* photograph in the Hamilton Archive.



17. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, *The Loves of the Centaurs*, c.1635. Oil on panel, 49.5 x 73.7 cm. Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon.



18. Jacopo Tintoretto and workshop, *The Resurrection of Christ*, 1555-56? Oil on canvas, 161 x 153 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. Originally octagonal, with inferior additions.



19. Formerly attributed to Domenichino, *The Triumph of David*. Approximately 211 x 150 cm. Whereabouts unknown.



20. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, *Sketch of Decius Mus addressing the Legions* for a tapestry commission, probably 1616. Oil on panel, transferred to hardboard, 80.7 x 84.7 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington.



21. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Sketch of *Christ Triumphant over Sin and Death* for the painting that used to hang over the tomb of Jeremias Cock and his family in the church of St Walburga in Antwerp, c.1618-22?. Oil on panel, 30.5 x 28.5 cm. Stolen from Brooklyn Museum of Art in 1933.



22. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, *Sketch of Henri IV during the Battle of Ivry* for the (unfinished) painting intended for the Henri IV Gallery in the Luxembourg Palace, Paris, c.1628. Oil on panel, 23 x 46 cm. Musée Bonnat, Bayonne.



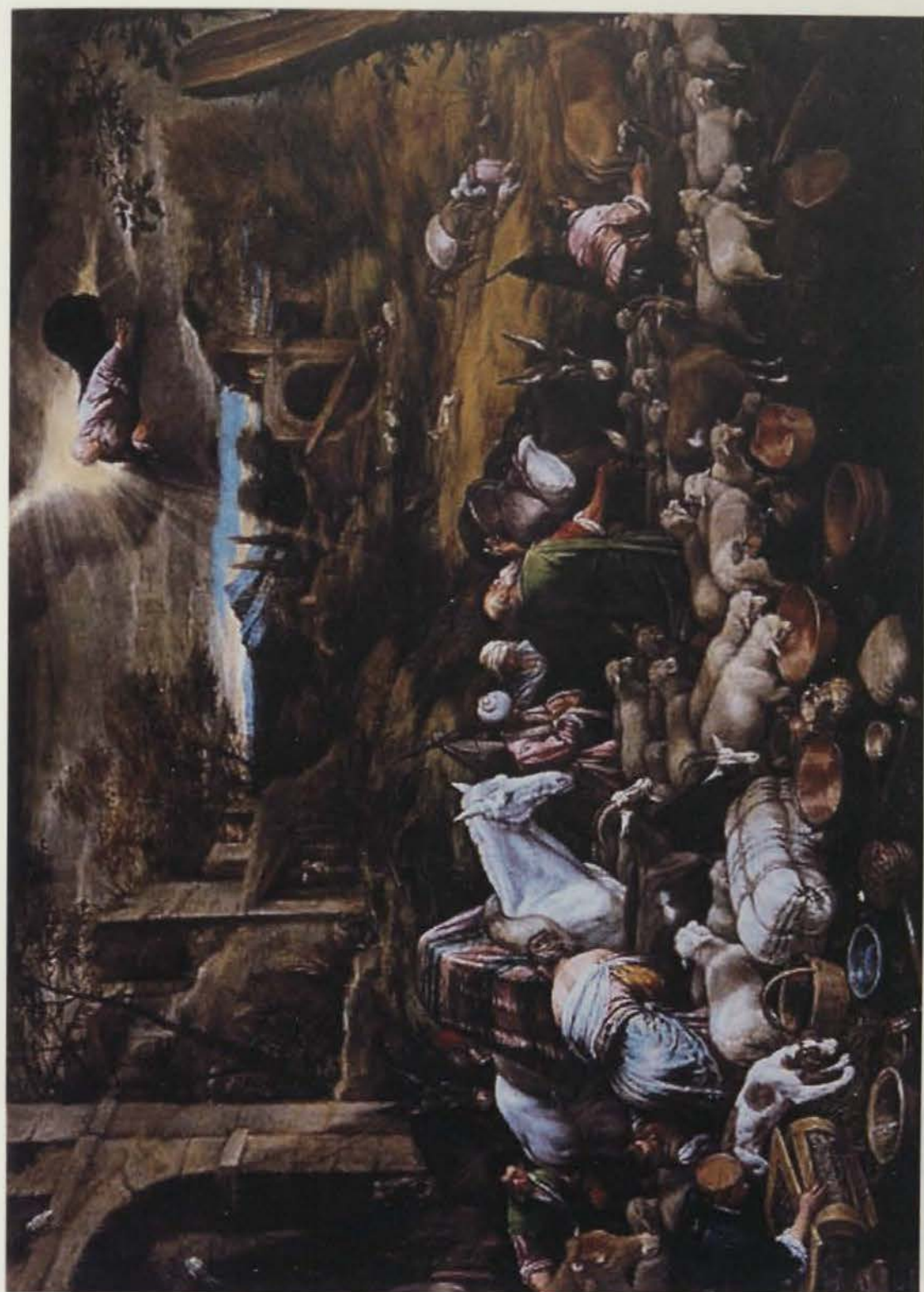
23. Meindert Hobbema, *Landscape with a Water-mill*, signed bottom left: "M. Hobbema". Oil on panel, approximately 61 x 84.5 cm. Elton Hall, near Peterborough.



24. Alessandro Oliverio, *Portrait of a Young Man*, c.1510-20. Oil on wood, 67 x 57 cm. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.



25. Nicolas Poussin, *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ*, c.1657-60. Oil on canvas, 94 x 130 cm. National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin.



26. Jacopo and Francesco Bassano, *The Departure of Abraham for Canaan*, c.1570. Oil on canvas, 191 x 257 cm. National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.



27. Guido Reni, *The Martyrdom of St Sebastian*. Oil on canvas, 167.6 x 130.2 cm. Auckland Art Gallery, Auckland.



28. Attributed to William Scrots and his studio, *Edward VI*. Oil on panel, 167 x 90.8 cm. Royal Collection, Hampton Court Palace.



29. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Sketch for a basin decorated with the *Birth of Venus* and Neptune and Amphitrite, early 1630s. Black chalk and oil on oak, 61 x 78 cm. National Gallery, London.

An inscription on an etching by Jacob Neeffs of a basin showing the same decoration and an accompanying ewer states they were made by the Antwerp goldsmith Theodore Rogiers (or Rasières) for King Charles I, after paintings by Rubens.



30. Guercino, *A Sibyl*, c.1619-21. Oil on canvas, 72.7 x 61.7 cm. The Art Fund, London.

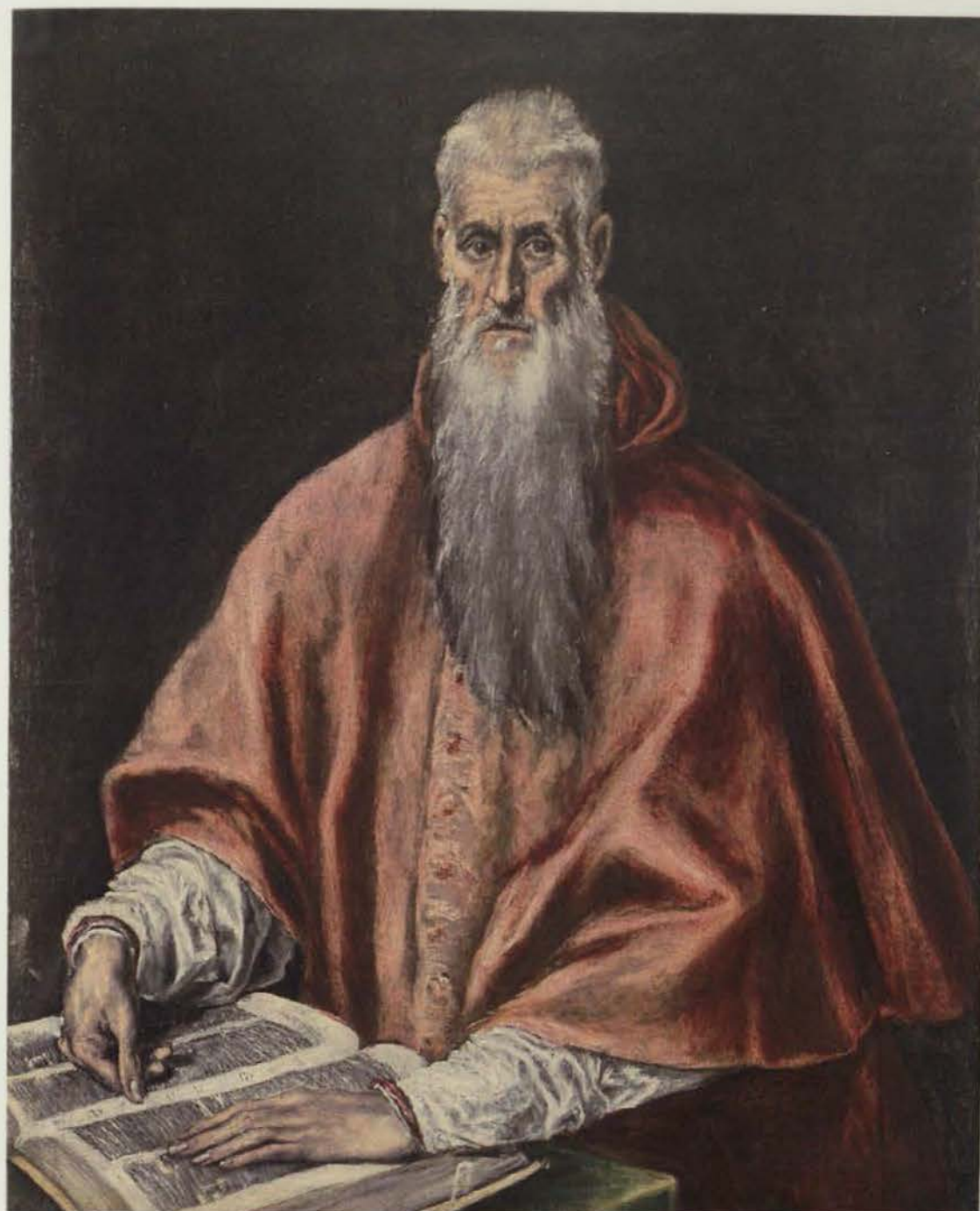
It used to be thought that Guercino executed this as a study for the figure of St Irene in the large painting of *St Sebastian succoured by St Irene* (now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale Bologna) and subsequently turned it into an autonomous picture that he could sell. However, the lack of *pentimenti* suggest that it is autograph repetition/adaptation.



31. Bartolomeo Schedoni, *The Coronation of the Virgin*, c.1608-10. Oil on panel, 47 x 38 cm. The Art Fund, London.



32. Andrea Mantegna, *The Vestal Virgin Tuccia with Sieve and Sophonisba (?) drinking Poison*, c.1495-1506. Egg tempera with gold highlighting on poplar, each 72.5 x 23 cm. National Gallery, London.



33. Attributed to El Greco, *St Jerome as Cardinal*. Oil on canvas, 1590-1600. 59 x 48 cm. National Gallery, London.



34. Sir Peter Paul Rubens, Sketch of *The Descent from the Cross* for the High Altarpiece of the Church of the Capuchins in Lille, probably 1616 or 1617. Oil on panel, 54.5 x 41.5 cm. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille.



35. Sir Anthony Van Dyck, *Henrietta of Lorraine, Princess of Pfalzburg and Lixheim, attended by a Page*, signed and dated 1634. Oil on canvas, 213.4 x 127 cm. Kenwood House, London.



36. Jacopo Tintoretto, *Moses striking the Rock*, c.1555. Oil on canvas, 118.1 x 182 cm. Städelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt am Main.



37. Jacques-Louis David, *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries*, signed and dated 1812. Oil on canvas, 203.9 x 125.1 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington.



38. Sir Henry Raeburn, *Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton*, c.1812-23. Oil on canvas, 249 x 183 cm. Trustees of the Cowdray Settled Estate.



39. One of two porphyry slabs bought by the Marquis of Douglas in Rome in 1817, mounted on gilt-bronze bases commissioned by Douglas from the Parisian *bronzier* Jean-François Dénier and signed and dated 1823. Porphyry, gilt bronze and black marble, 70 x 220 x 100 cm. Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto.



40. The Farnese Table in the Dining Room in Hamilton Palace in 1919. Photograph by *Country Life* in the Hamilton Archive.

The Farnese Table, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, was made for Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-89), 'the Great Cardinal', probably between about 1566/68 and 1573, and measures 95.3 x 379.1 x 168.3 cm. It was almost certainly designed by the Cardinal's chief architect Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, who died in 1573, and the marble piers were probably carved by Guglielmo della Porta and the Farnese Palace workshop. The *pietre dure* top, incorporating two large panels of Egyptian alabaster, coloured marbles and semiprecious stones, is attributed to the French master Jean Ménard, who was called Giovanni Mynardo in Italy.



41. Thomas Campbell, *Princess Pauline Borghese*, commissioned by the 6th Duke of Devonshire in 1824 and completed in 1840. Marble, 142 x 123.5 x 60.5 cm. Chatsworth House, Derbyshire.



42. Unknown Roman sculptor, *Variant version after the top part of the statue of the Aphrodite of Cnidus by Praxiteles*, early 2nd century AD (probably Hadrianic period) on “modern” socle. Parian marble, 83 cm. high. British Museum, London.



43. Pontormo, *Joseph with Jacob in Egypt*, c.1518. Oil on panel, 96.5 x 109.5 cm. National Gallery, London.

Vasari judged this to be Pontormo's finest painting. It is believed to have been in the Borghese collection, but it is not clear when it left the collection or whether the Borghese connection had any bearing on its acquisition by the 10th Duke of Hamilton.



44. Robert Hume and others, Cabinet with clock commissioned by the 10th Duke of Hamilton, 1820-24. Ebony, gilt bronze, *pietre dure*, jasper, lapis lazuli, agate, black marble, red Verona marble, mirrors, and other materials, 115.6 x 165.1 x 55.9 cm. The Gilbert Collection, London.



46. Workshop of Francesco di Giovanni di Taddeo Ferrucci, called Il Tadda, or his son, Romolo di Francesco del Tadda?, Copy in porphyry of the white marble bust of the so-called *Dying Alexander*, which was definitely owned by the Medici by 1579 and has been in the Uffizi since at least the end of the seventeenth century and probably longer. Porphyry and coloured marble, measurements and current whereabouts unknown.

The Hamilton Palace head seems to be more highly finished than the fine porphyry head of the "Dying Alexander", with white marble drapery, attributed to the Tadda workshop in the Museo dell'Opificio delle Pietre Dure in Florence, as well as the poorer version, with an alabaster bust, associated with the same workshop now in the Bargello. If the attribution is correct, it would seem likely that the Hamilton head was commissioned by either the Grand Duke Francesco or his brother, Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, who became Grand Duke of Florence in 1587.



47. Photograph of the Baroque part of Hamilton Palace (the southern façade and west and east wings), designed by James Smith and built between about 1693 and 1701. *Country Life* Archive.



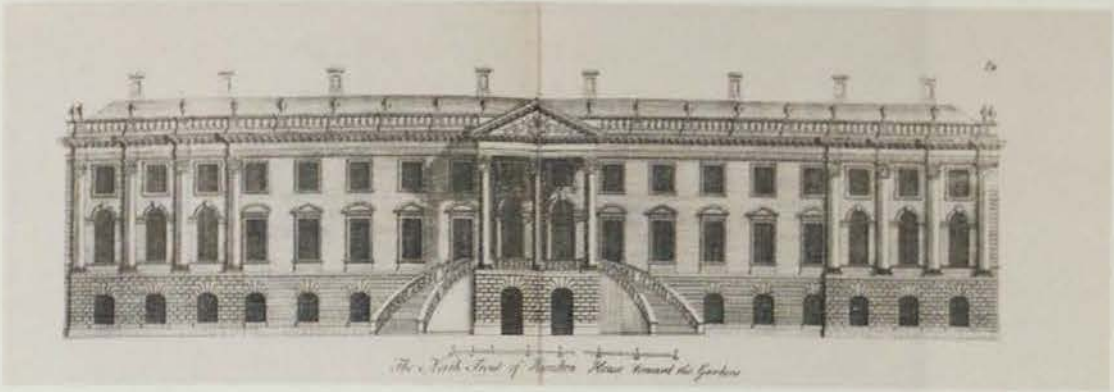
48. Thomas Cocking, *The Old North Front of Hamilton Palace*, 1789, in Robert Riddell's *Journal of a Tour in Scotland in 1789 made by Captain Grose and Captain Riddell*. Watercolour, the view 21.3 x 13.1 cm. on (tipped in) paper 24.8 x over 19.6 cm. National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh (Ms 586, p.228a). Tom Cocking was Francis Grose's "accomplished servant".



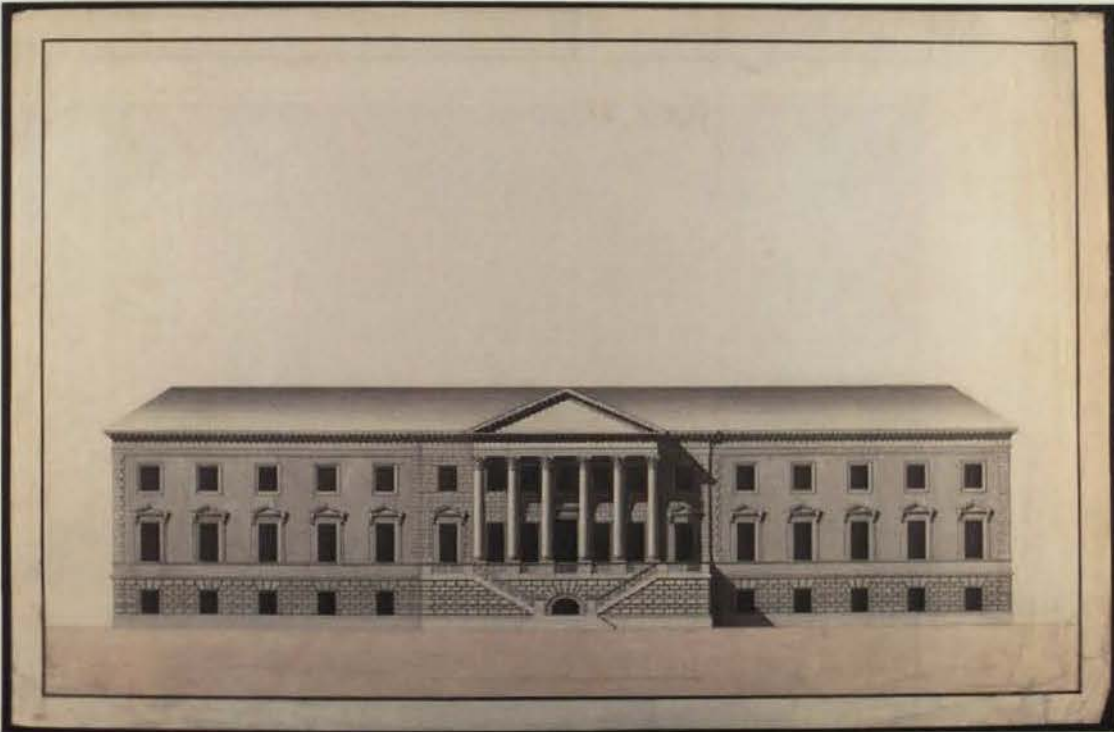
49. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Approach to the new North Extension of Hamilton Palace. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton.



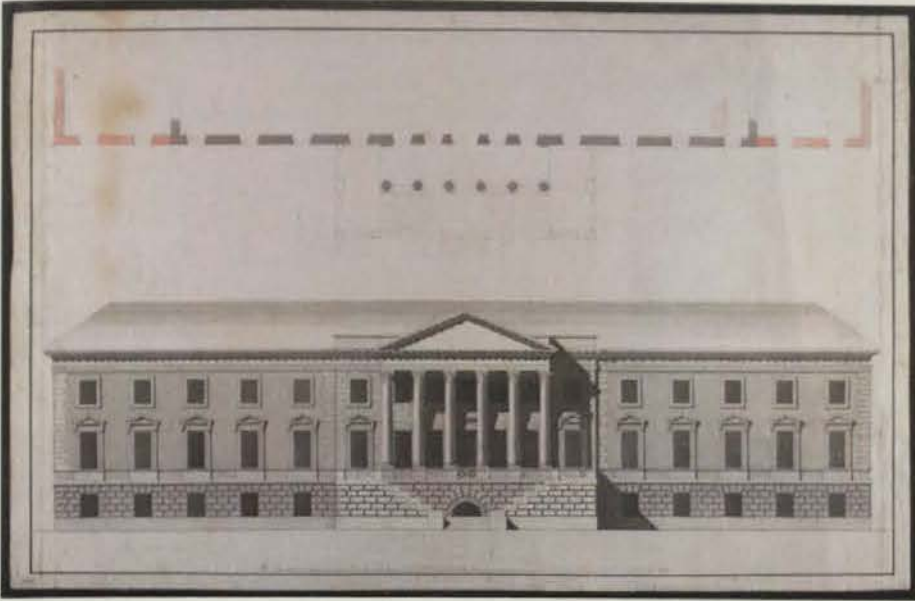
50. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the North Extension of Hamilton Palace, designed by David Hamilton and the 10th Duke of Hamilton and built between about 1822 and 1830. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton.



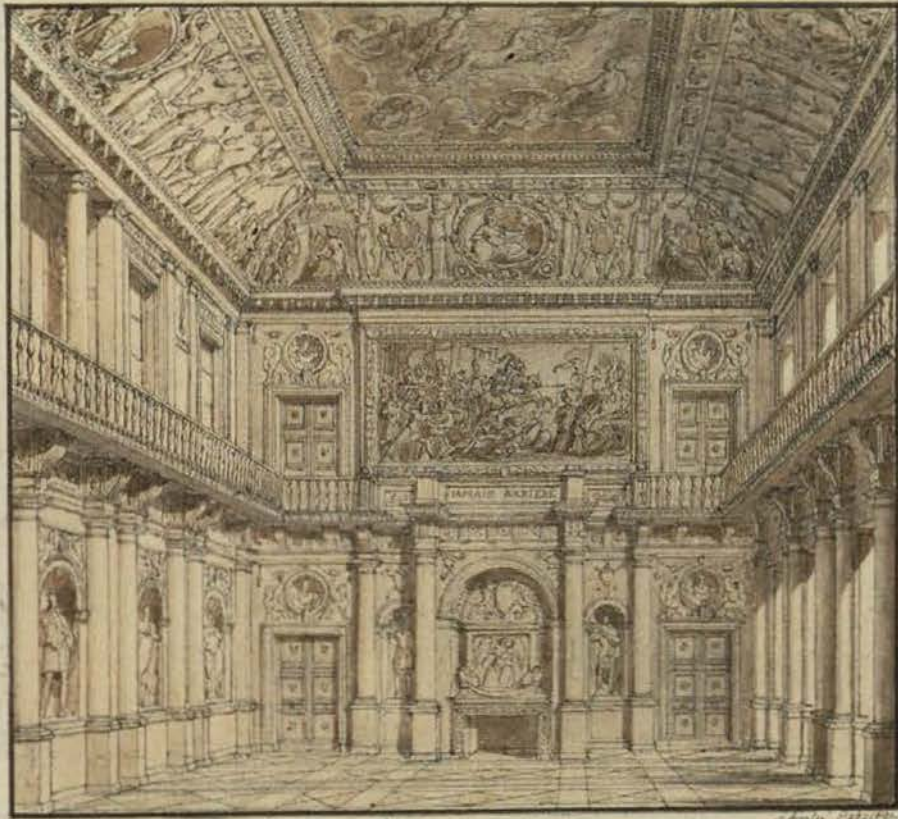
51. William Adam, *Design for the North Front of Hamilton Palace*, prepared for the 5th Duke of Hamilton between the late 1720s and the Duke's death in 1743. Published in *Vitruvius Scoticus* in 1812, plate 11. Fig. 51 has been scanned from the 1980 reprint of the copy of *Vitruvius Scoticus* in Glasgow University Library.



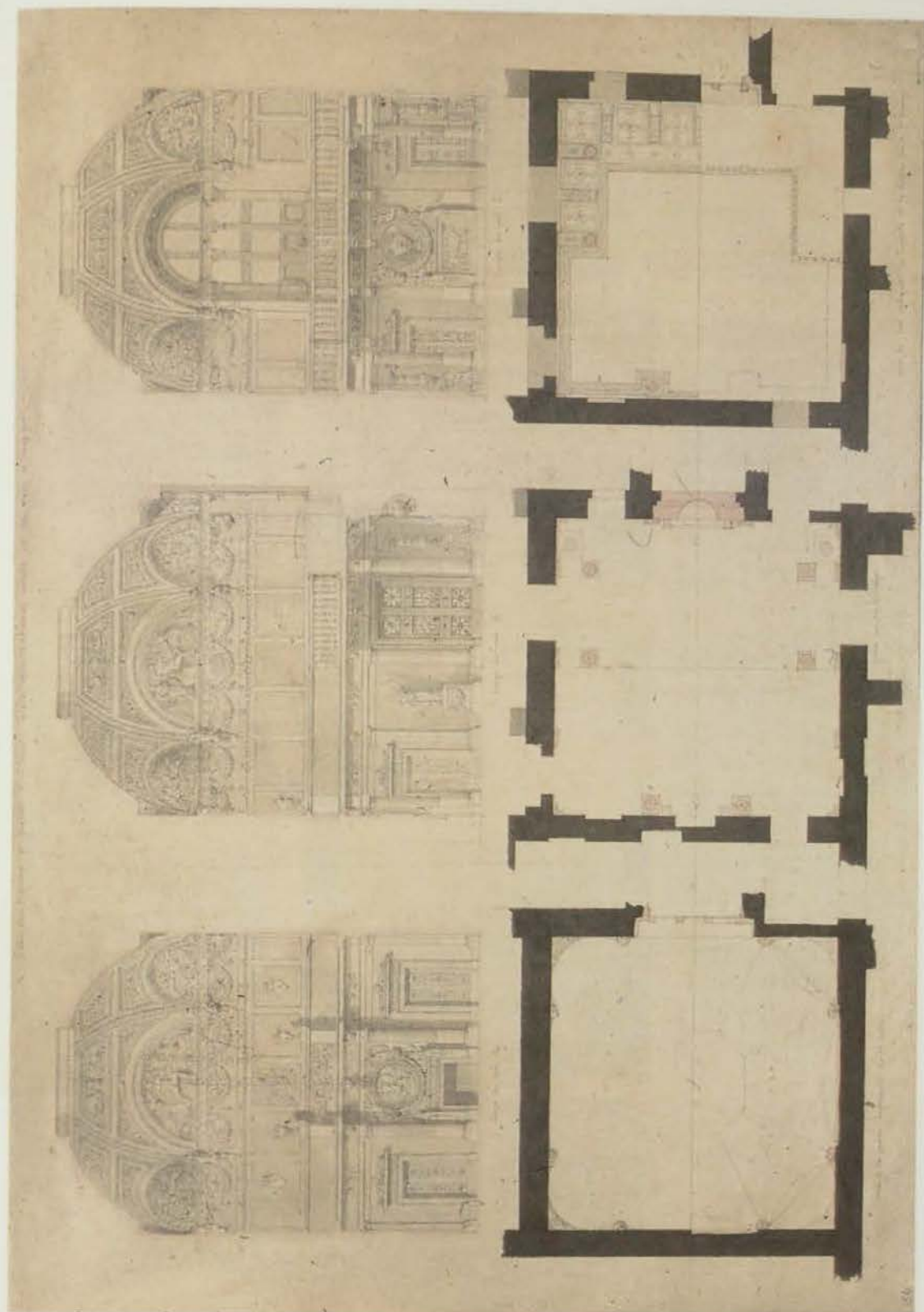
52. Francesco Saponieri, *Design for the North Front of Hamilton Palace*, signed “Francesco Saponieri Architetto Napolitano” (bottom right) and dated “Roma 1819” (bottom left). Ink and wash on paper, 54.7 x 85 cm. Hamilton Archive.



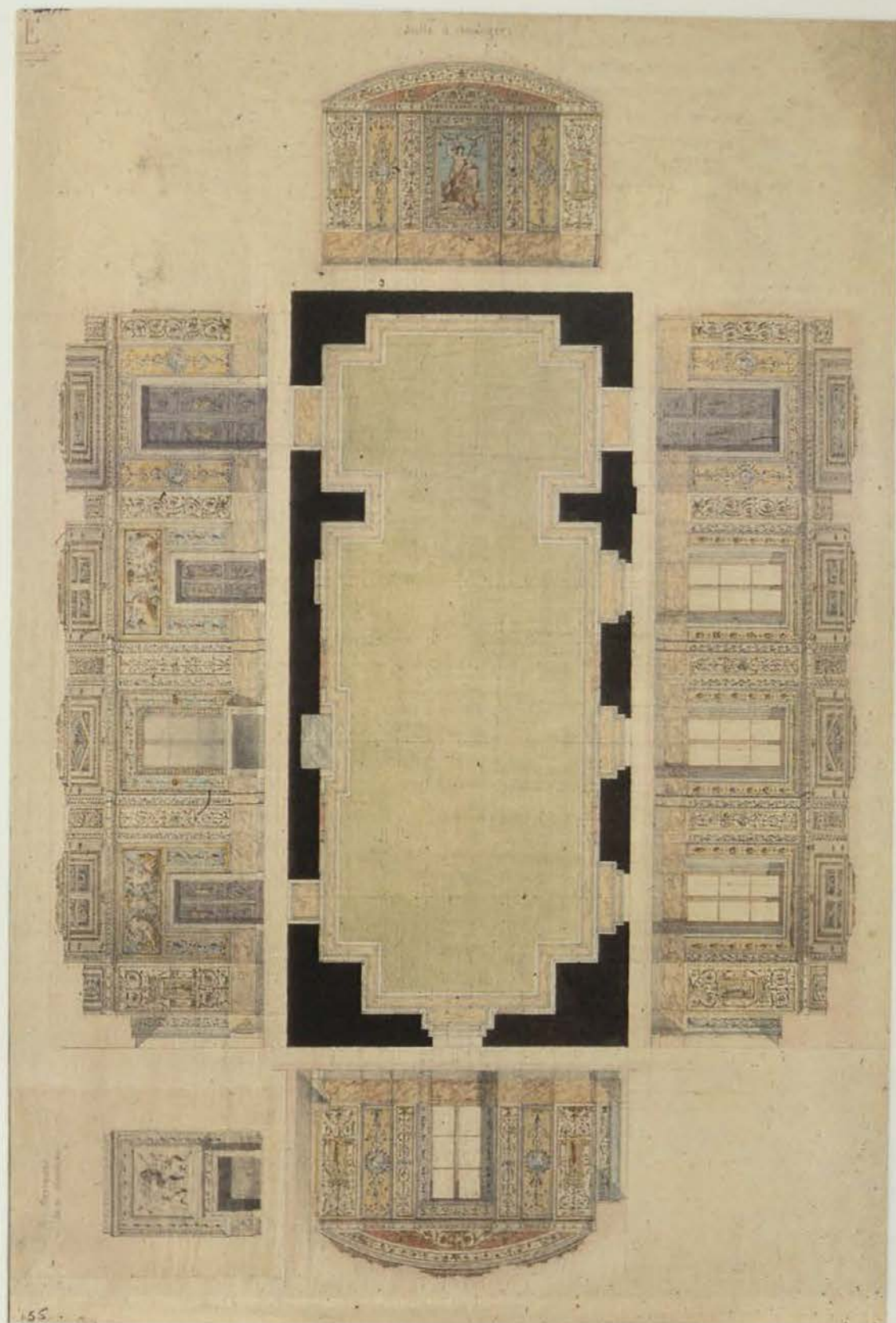
53. Attributed to Francesco Saponieri, *Design for the North Front of Hamilton Palace*, c.1819. Ink and wash on paper, 43.7 x 69.5 cm. Hamilton Archive.



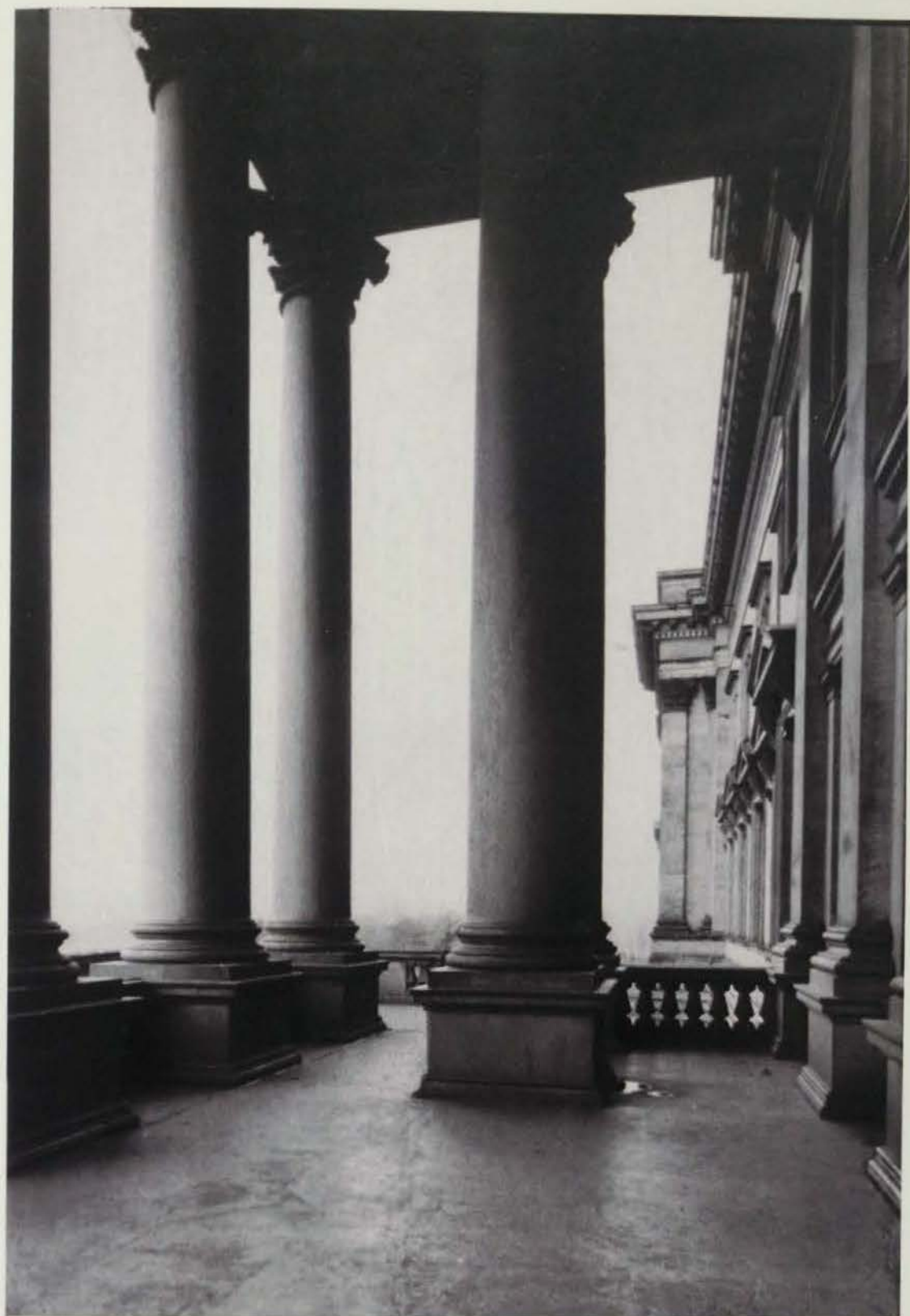
54. Charles Percier, *Design for the Grand Entrance Hall on the first floor*, probably 1827. Ink and wash on paper, 12.2 x 13.6 cm. Hamilton Archive.



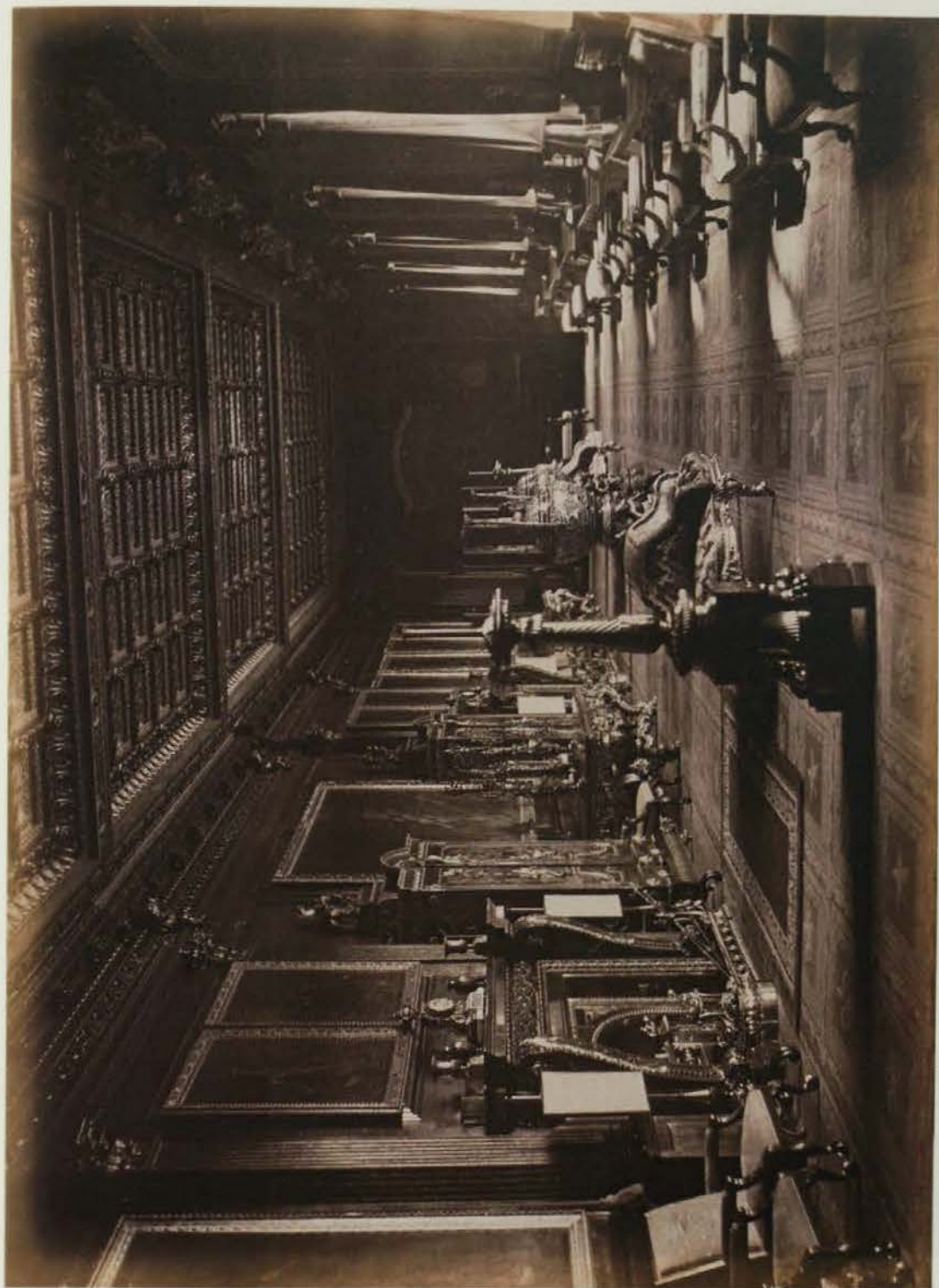
55. Charles Percier, Designs for the Tribune on the first floor, probably 1827. Ink and wash on paper, 35.6 x 48.7 cm. Hamilton Archive.



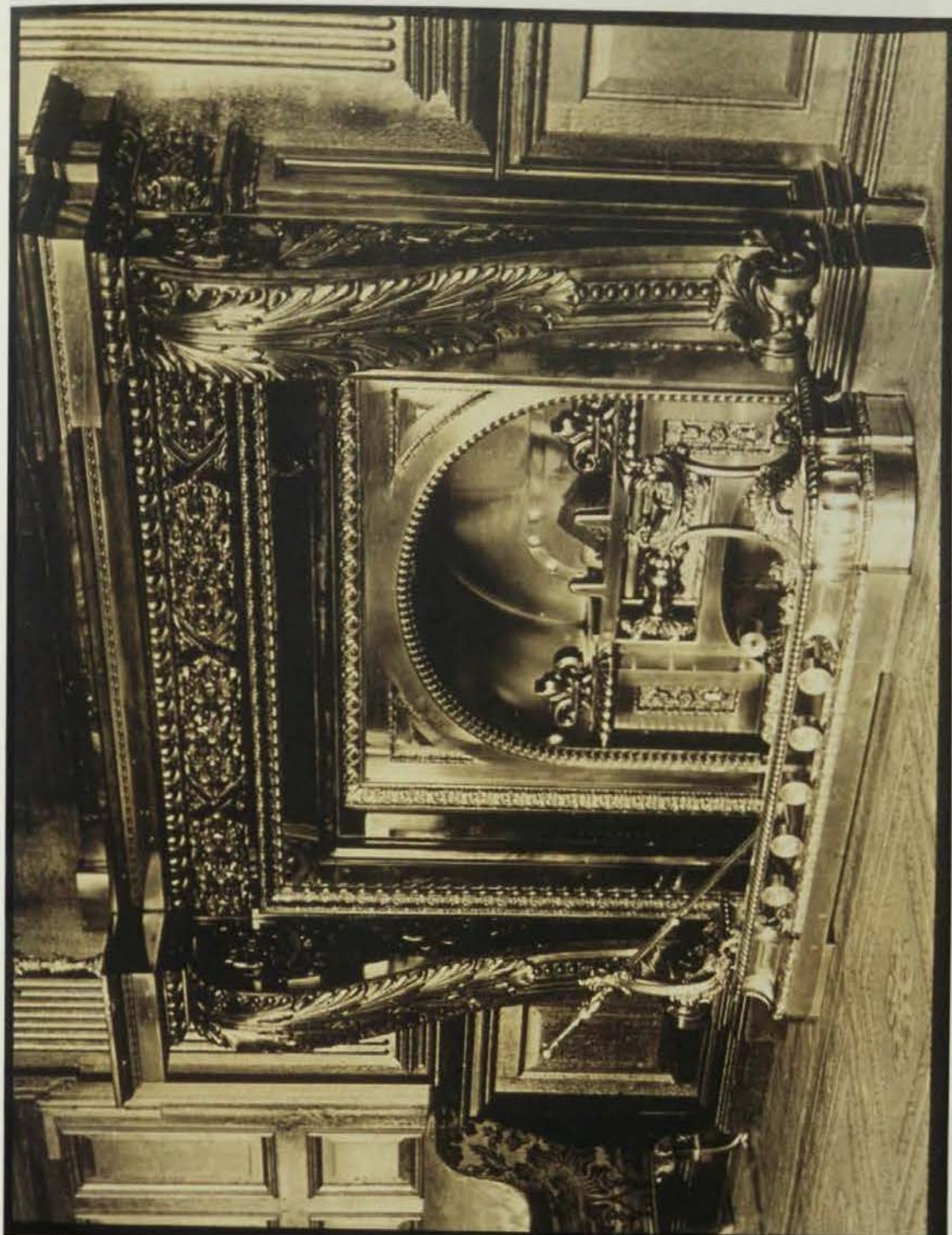
56. Charles Percier, Designs for the New Dining Room or Saloon on the first floor, probably 1827. Ink and watercolour on paper, 42.2 x 29.2 cm. Hamilton Archive.



57. Photograph of the Monolithic Columns of the Portico on the North Front, taken in 1919. *Country Life* Archive.



58. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Long Gallery or Gallery looking east towards the Duke's ambassadorial canopy and throne. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton. On the left are the two massive black marble chimneypieces. Between them is Rubens's painting of *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington) flanked by the two *armoires* by Boulle (now in the Louvre).



59. Photograph of one of the two massive Black Marble Chimneypieces in the Gallery, supplied by David Hamilton and Son and installed in 1830. *Country Life* photograph in the French and Company Archive in the Getty Research Institute, Los Angeles. Both chimneypieces were given to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, by the Hearst Foundation in 1956, but were de-accessioned in 1970.



60. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Hamilton Library. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton. The *bureau plat* and *cartonnier* of the duc de Choiseul are at the back. To the left are the *pietre dure* cabinets acquired from the 1832 George Watson Taylor sale and the Sèvres table presented to Princess Marie of Baden by the Empress Eugénie in 1853-54.



61. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the New Dining Room or Saloon. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton. The bust of the *Aphrodite of Cnidus* from the Braschi Palace (now in the British Museum) is on the right. At the back, in an alcove to the left of the entrance, is the Farnese Table (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York). The sculpture on the Farnese Table is the large bronze cast of the *Laocoon* by Crozatier from the 1848 Stowe sale.



62. André-Charles Boulle, One of a Pair of *Armoires* or Wardrobes, c.1710. Oak with ebony veneer, *première partie* marquetry in brass and tortoiseshell, and gilt-bronze mounts, 286.7 x 152.5 x 59 cm. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



63. Attributed to Bernardino Luini, *Boy with a Puzzle* (formerly called *The Laughing Boy* and ascribed to Leonardo). Oil on wood, 43 x 34 cm. Elton Hall, near Peterborough.



64. Carlo Bononi, *Sibyl* (formerly called the *Libyan Sybil* and ascribed to Lodovico Carracci), c.1610-12. Oil on canvas, 125 x 290 cm. Cavallini-Sgarbi Fondazione, Ferrara.



65. Unknown Japanese Maker, The Mazarin Chest, c.1635-40. Wood, gold and silver *hiramakie* and *takamakie*, with gold, silver and mother-of-pearl on a black lacquer ground, and metal mounts, 56.5 x 100.3 x 63.5 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.



66. Attributed to Adam Weisweiler, Fall-front Secrétaire, late 1790s? Wood decorated with panels of Japanese lacquer, ebony veneers and gilt-bronze mounts, 139 x 92.7 x 43.2 cm. Sold Sotheby's New York, 5 December 1991.



67. Attributed to Adam Weisweiler, Commode, late 1790s? Wood decorated with panels of Japanese lacquer, ebony veneers and gilt-bronze mounts, 97.8 x 161 x 67.3 cm. Sold Sotheby's New York, 5 December 1991.



68. Benjamin and Louis Vulliamy, One of a Pair of Cabinets on Stands made for William Beckford, c.1803. Mahogany, Japanese lacquer, ebony, gilt-bronze mounts, and marble, 147 x 66.5 x 45 cm. Elton Hall, near Peterborough.



69. Unknown French Maker, Chandelier with eight arms, c.1720. Gilt bronze, 110.5 x 97 x 97 cm. Sold Christie's Monaco at Monte Carlo, 5 December 1992. Although related to chandeliers associated with André-Charles Boulle, and of very high quality, this is not obviously after a design by Boulle. It is, however, possible that it is a product of the Boulle workshop involving another designer.



70. Digitally manipulated photomontage of two illustrations in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale of the *bureau plat* and *cartonnier* of the duc de Choiseul (lot 878). Both pieces are now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, and are attributed to Simon Oeben.



71. Attributed to André-Charles Boulle, Pair of Pedestal Cabinets, c.1700, with later gilt-bronze mounts on the bases and incurved top sections added after 1827. Wood with ebony veneer, *première partie* marquetry in brass and tortoiseshell, and gilt-bronze mounts, 126 and 125.5 cm high x 53 x 51 cm. Sold Sotheby's New York, 21 May 1996.

The *contrepairie* pair, which lack the mounts on the bases and the incurved top sections, and were never in the Hamilton Collection, are now in the Getty Museum and measure 121.2 x 55.5 x 55.5 cm.



72. Etienne Levasseur, Commode believed to have been delivered for the Bedchamber of the comte d'Artois at the Temple Palace in Paris in 1777. Wood with ebony veneer and *première partie* marquetry in brass and pewter on tortoiseshell, gilt-bronze mounts, and portor marble top; 99.5 x 164.2 x 64.7 cm. Château de Versailles.

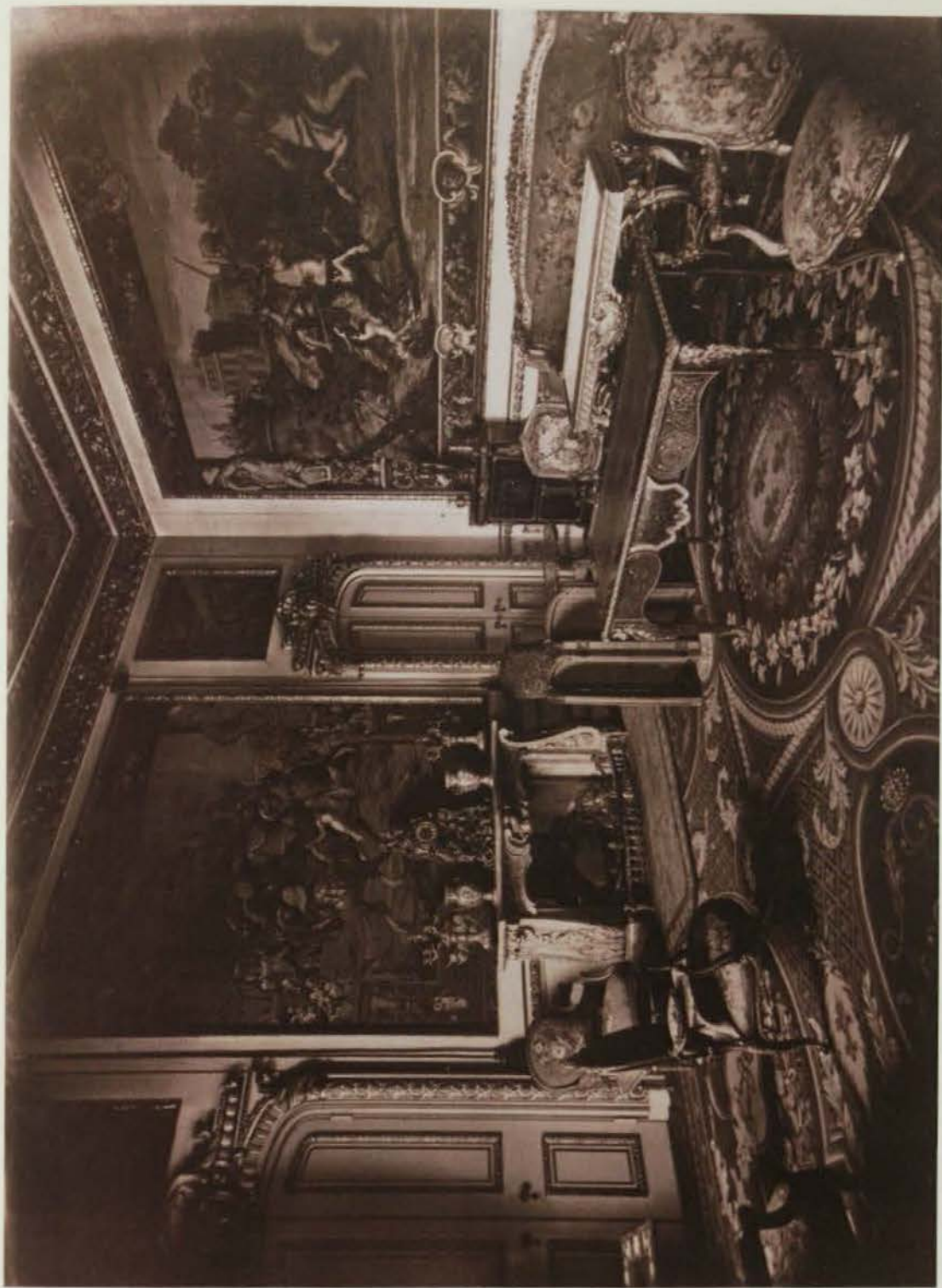
The commode had a malachite top during its time in Hamilton Palace.



73. Charles Cressent, Commode, c.1730. Oak and pine, with drawers of pine and walnut, veneered with mahogany and purplewood, gilt-bronze mounts and Brèche d'Aleps marble top, 91.1 x 158.1 x 66 cm. Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury.



74. Italian, Head of a Lion, early nineteenth century? Variegated banded marble, mounted on painted wood, 38.1 x 26.3 x 25 cm. National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh.



75. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Sitting Room in the New Tapestry Rooms. Glasgow University Library.

The photograph shows the east and south walls. It includes two of the Duke's Ottoboni tapestries, one of the "Louis XIV" armorial carpets commissioned from Sallandrouze de Lamornaix's factory at Aubusson, and the *canapé à confidents* by Blanchard and Rascalon (Fig.136) against the south wall. On the other side of the doors was the New State Bedroom.



76. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Sitting Room in the New Tapestry Rooms. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton.

Annan's photograph shows the south and west walls, the entrance (with the black marble staircase to the left), and the view through into the (first-floor) Grand Entrance Hall. The Ottoboni tapestry of *Erminia and the Shepherd* (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) is on the entrance or west wall, above the Clock Cabinet (Fig.44) produced by Robert Hume between 1820 and 1824 (now in the Gilbert Collection, London). On the cabinet are the two maiolica vases decorated with the arms of the Medici from the Beckford collection.



'Armida, from Lasso's 'General delivred', signed 'Nouzeu' with
 date 1735. ^{ROME} ~~ROME~~ ^{V. M. 1735} ~~1735~~ ¹⁷³⁵.
 H. 10 ft 6 in. W. 21 ft.

105

Sotheby's, 29 Apr. 1960 (C. John, £500)

77. San Michele Manufactory, Rome, *Armida prepares to go to the Crusaders' Camp*, signed "Nouzou" (probably Nouzon) and dated 1735. Wool and silk, approximately 320 x 670 cm. Sold Sotheby's London, 29 April 1960, lot 105.



78. Martin-Guillaume Biennais, The Tea Service of the Emperor Napoleon supplied in connection with his marriage to Marie-Louise of Austria in 1810. Silver-gilt, glass and other materials, in two leather chests; the hot water urn by Antoine Boulhier is 80 cm. high by 40 cm. wide. Musée du Louvre, Paris (chest one) and National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh (chest two). Only a selection of the flatware acquired by the 10th Duke of Hamilton is included in the illustration.



79. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Grand Entrance Hall on the first floor. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton.

Annan's photograph shows three of the five bronze copies of Classical statues which were purchased by the 10th Duke in 1831 and displayed in the Grand Entrance Hall: the *Belvedere Antinous*, *Borghese Gladiator* and *Diana of Versailles*. The black marble base of one of the other statues is on the extreme right. In the niches are two of the four faience busts of the *Seasons* made at Nicolas Fouquay's factory at Rouen before 1742, which were bought from the Parisian dealer Evans at the end of January 1852, along with a matching bust of *Apollo*, for 7,000 francs. They appear to have acquired by the 11th Duke. The 11th Duke donated *Apollo* to the South Kensington Museum in 1857, while the busts of the *Seasons* were included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale and secured by the Louvre.



80. Illustration of the *lit à la duchesse* in the New State Bed Room, published in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 1912), with one of the Boulle pedestal cabinets from the Bonnemaïson estate visible on the left.

The bed is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. It was conserved in 2006-7 and is displayed in the refurbished Wrightsman Galleries with new hangings and upholstery. The headboard is 200.7 x 186.7 cm. and the bed frame 220.4 cm. deep. The tester is 221.6 cm. deep x 181.6 cm. wide, with a dome 43.2 cm. high.



81. Jean-Henri Riesener, Fall-front Secrétaire, probably made about 1783 and remodelled about 1790, signed and dated 1790. Oak veneered with panels of marquetry of various woods and panels of plain burl ash, plain bloodwood, and plain tulipwood, all bordered with amaranth; gilt-bronze mounts; top of white marble veined with grey; 143.2 x 115.5 x 43.8 cm. Frick Collection, New York.



82. Jean-Henri Riesener, Commode, probably made about 1783 and remodelled about 1791, signed and dated 1791. Oak veneered with panels of marquetry of various woods and panels of plain burl ash and plain bloodwood, all bordered with amaranth; gilt-bronze mounts; replacement marble top; 95.9 x 144.2 x 62.6 cm. Frick Collection, New York.



83. Jean-Henri Riesener, Fall-front Secrétaire made for Marie-Antoinette's *cabinet intérieur* at Versailles, 1783. Oak veneered with ebony and old Japanese lacquer, including panels of about 1660-80 (the lower doors); the interiors veneered with tulipwood, amaranth, holly, and ebonized holly; gilt-bronze mounts; replacement white marble top; 144.8 x 109.2 x 40.6 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



84. Jean-Henri Riesener, Commode made for Marie-Antoinette's *cabinet intérieur* at Versailles, 1783. Oak veneered with ebony and old Japanese lacquer; the interiors veneered with tulipwood, amaranth, holly, and ebonized holly; gilt-bronze mounts; replacement white marble top; 93.4 x 143.5 x 59.7 cm. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



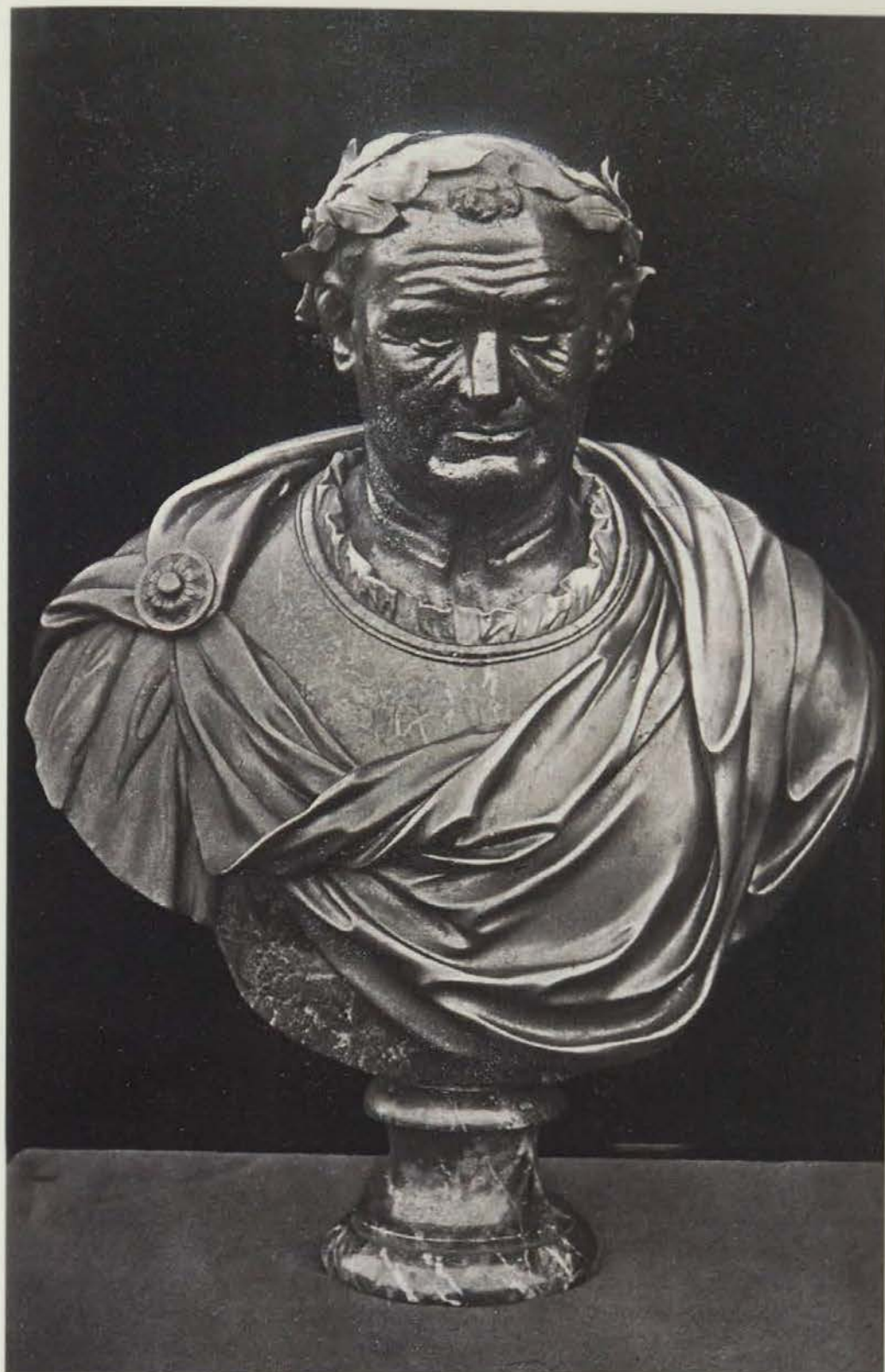
85. Attributed to Jean-Henri Riesener, Fall-front Secrétaire, c.1785. Oak veneered with amaranth and ebony, set with panels of old Japanese lacquer on Japanese arborvitae; interior fittings of mahogany; gilt-bronze mounts; black marble top; 155 x 112.5 x 47 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.



86. Robert Hume, One of a Pair of Cabinets supplied to George Watson Taylor, c.1820-25, and acquired by the 10th Duke of Hamilton from the Erlestoke sale in 1832. Wood decorated with seventeenth-century panels of *pietre dure*, Sienna marble columns, lapis lazuli, Sicilian jasper and agate, gilt-bronze mounts, and *rosso antico* marble top; 108 x 170 x 56 cm. This cabinet was in the Gerstenfeld Collection from 1990 to 2000; the other is on loan from Brooklyn Museum to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.



87. Illustration of the "Bust of the Emperor Augustus, of antique Egyptian porphyry, with gilt metal ornaments" published in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 191). Now identified as an acquisition from the sale of George Watson Taylor's collection at Erlestoke Mansion, near Devizes, in 1832.



88. Illustration of the "Bust of the Emperor Tiberius, of antique Egyptian porphyry, with gilt metal ornaments" published in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 192). Now identified as an acquisition from the sale of George Watson Taylor's collection at Erlestoke Mansion, near Devizes, in 1832.



89. Jean-Henri Riesener, Writing Table, c.1780-85. Oak, with subsidiary drawer of mahogany, veneered with purplewood; marquetry of mahogany, satinwood, boxwood, ebony, sycamore and other woods; gilt-bronze mounts; 73.3 x 59 x 41.9 cm. Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury.



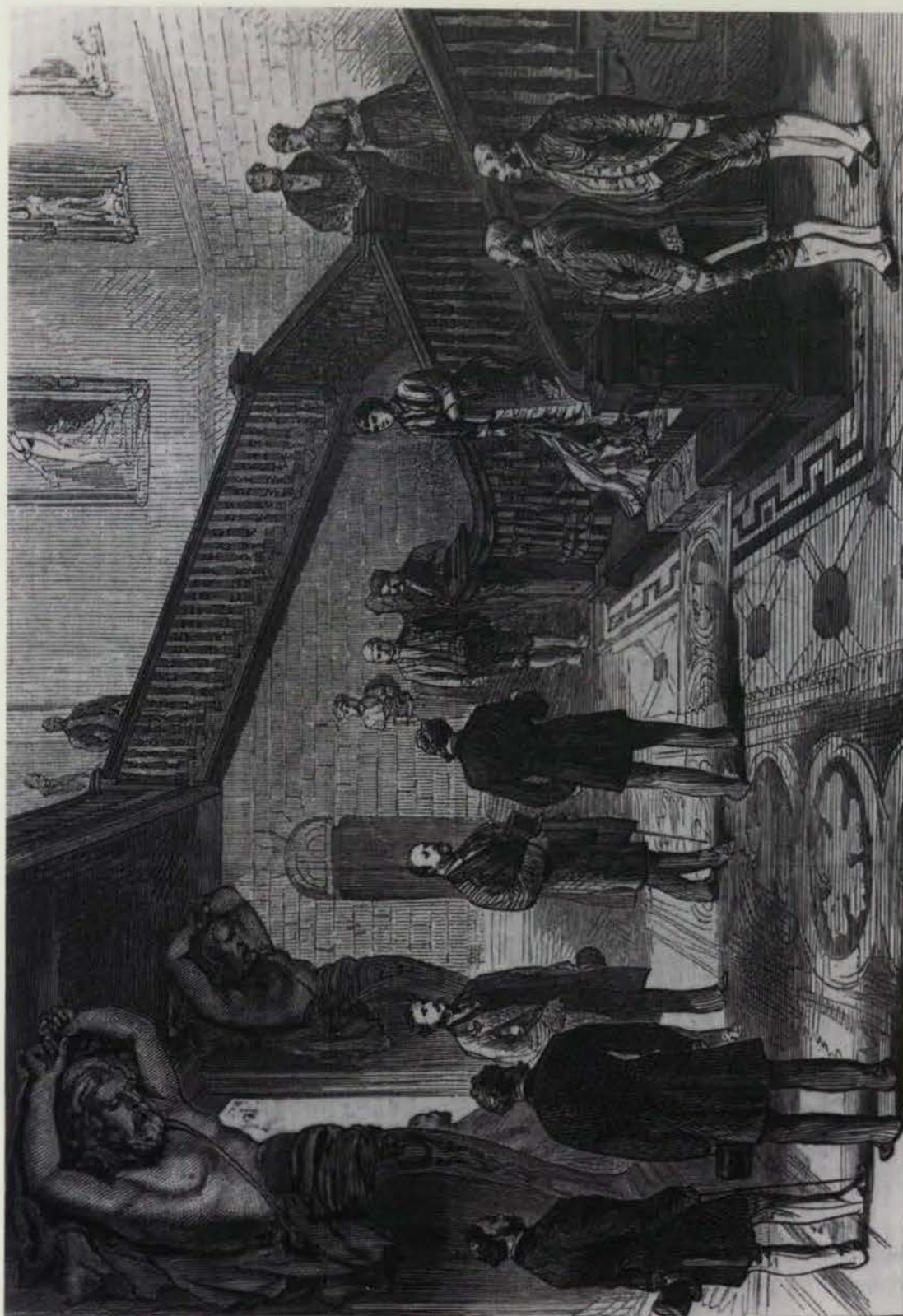
90. Jean-Henri Riesener, Fall-front Secrétaire commissioned for Louis XVI's private study in the Petit Trianon, 1777. Oak veneered with purplewood, tulipwood and mahogany; marquetry of sycamore, boxwood, holly, ebony, casuarina wood, burr and other woods; gilt-bronze mounts; and white marble top; 142.1 x 113.5 x 48.1 cm. Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury.



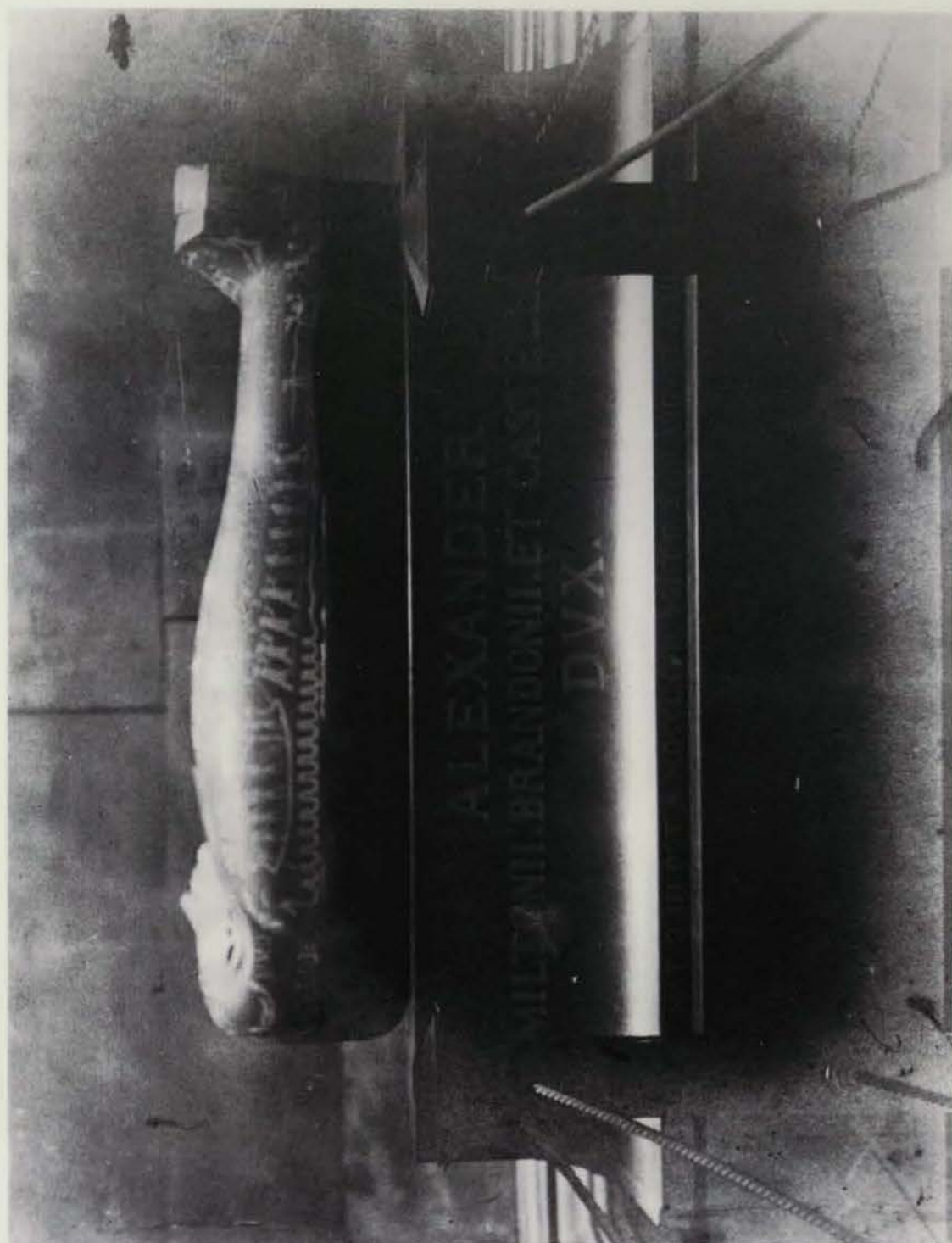
91. Unknown French Maker, *Bust of the Emperor Augustus*. Partly gilt bronze, 68.8 cm. high. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle. Purchased by Lord Yarmouth in Paris for the Prince Regent in 1818.



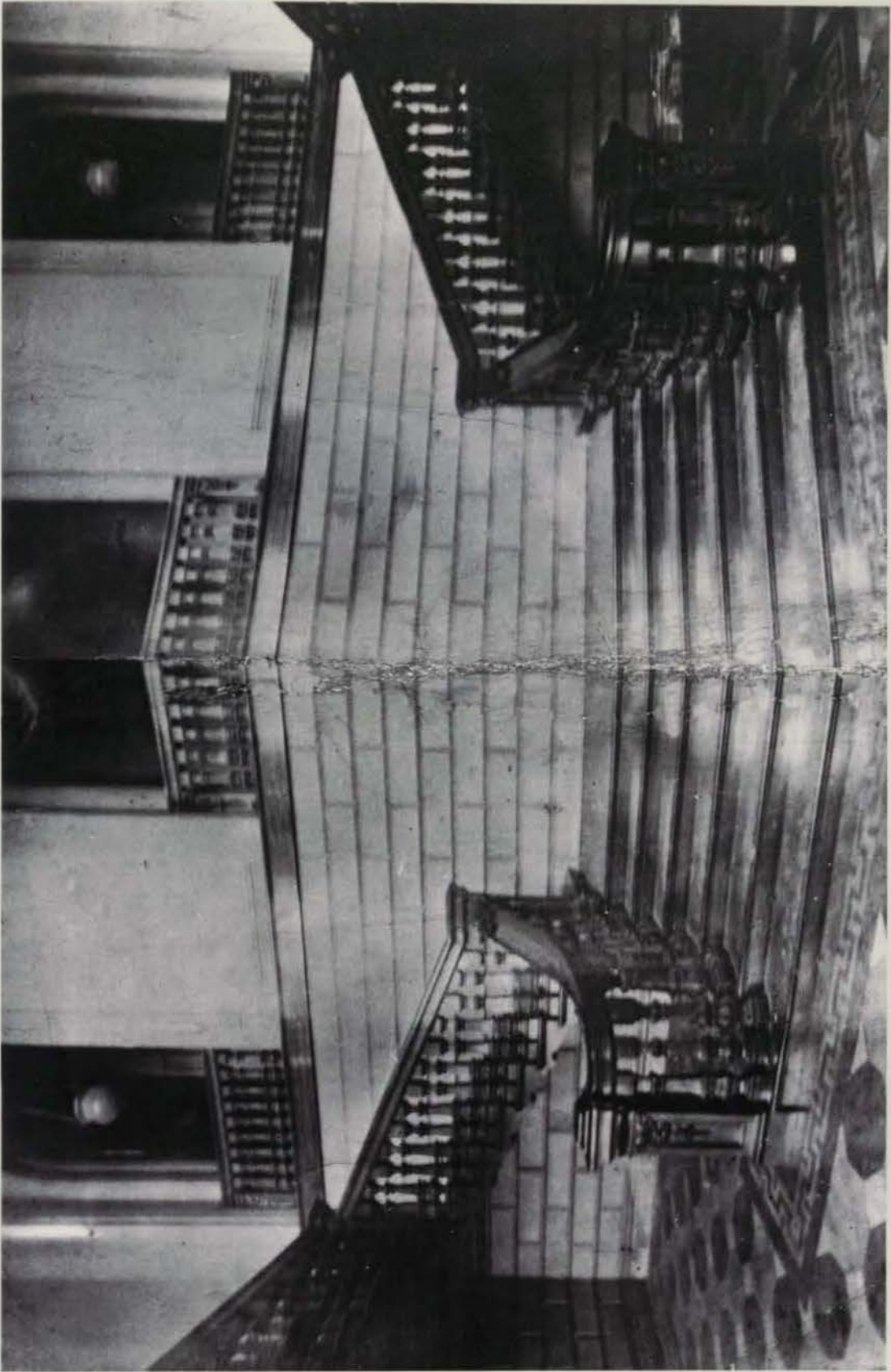
92. Unknown French Maker, *Bust of the Emperor Vespasian*. Partly gilt bronze, 69.8 cm. high. Royal Collection, Windsor Castle.
Purchased by Lord Yarmouth in Paris for the Prince Regent in 1818.



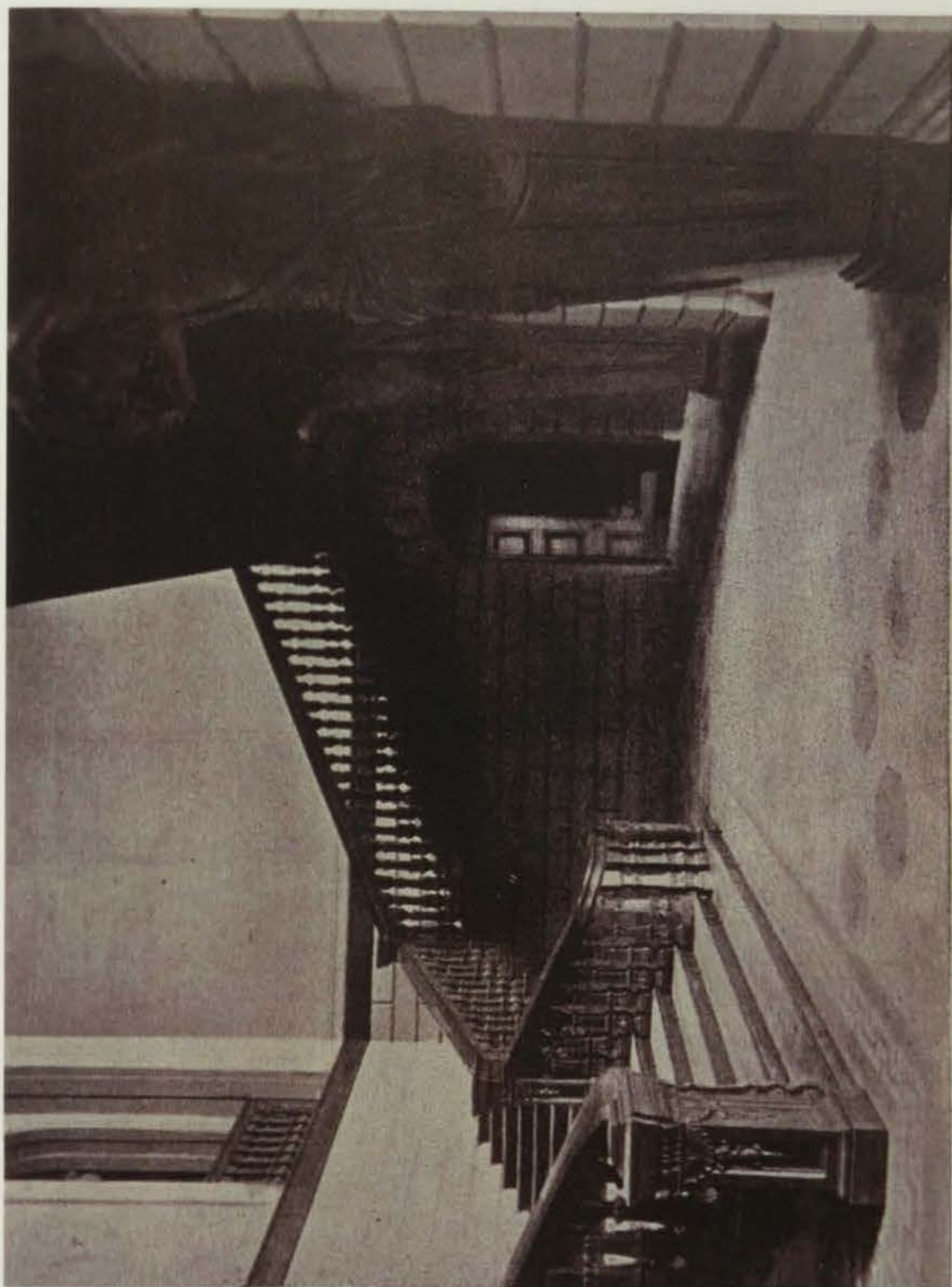
93. Illustration showing Soyer's Atlantes "supporting" the Passageway above the Black Marble Staircase. The subject of the illustration, from the *Illustrated London News* of 19 January 1878, is actually the Prince of Wales entering Hamilton Palace a few days earlier.



94. Photograph of the Egyptian Sarcophagus containing the body of the 10th Duke of Hamilton in the chapel of the Hamilton Mausoleum. From a copy owned by South Lanarkshire Museums.



95. Damaged Photograph of the Lower Sections of the Black Marble Staircase by the London Marble and Stone Company. Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland.



96. Photograph of the Black Marble Staircase, including Soyer's Atlantes. Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland. The lack of portraits, sculpture and furniture indicate that this photograph was taken after the palace was cleared in 1919-20.



97. Photograph of the Black Marble Staircase taken by *Country Life* in 1919. *Country Life* Archive. The photograph shows the basalt bust of *Vespasian* on the landing and the porphyry bust of *Augustus* under the stairs. Hanging above the stairs is the copy of Winterhalter's portrait of the *Empress Eugénie* by Jouy, acquired from the estate of the Grand Duchess Stéphanie of Baden in 1860.

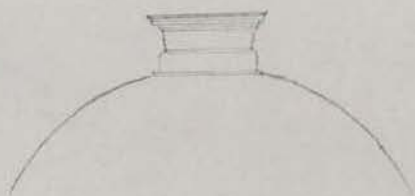
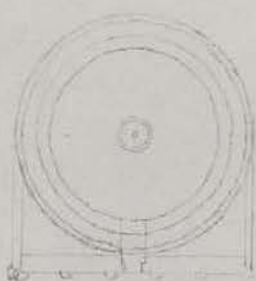


A PURCHASE AT "THE PALACE" SALE. — Ex-Bailie Graham with the giant bronze bust of Alexander Douglas Hamilton (the tenth Duke and founder of the palace), by Thomas Campbell, 1839.—"Advertiser" photograph.

98. The Colossal Bronze Bust of Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton, by Thomas Campbell, modelled in 1839, cast in bronze in 1846 and finished in 1847. The photograph, from the *Hamilton Advertiser* of 18 February 1933, shows the bust after it was sold to former Bailie John M. Graham of Hamilton four days earlier.



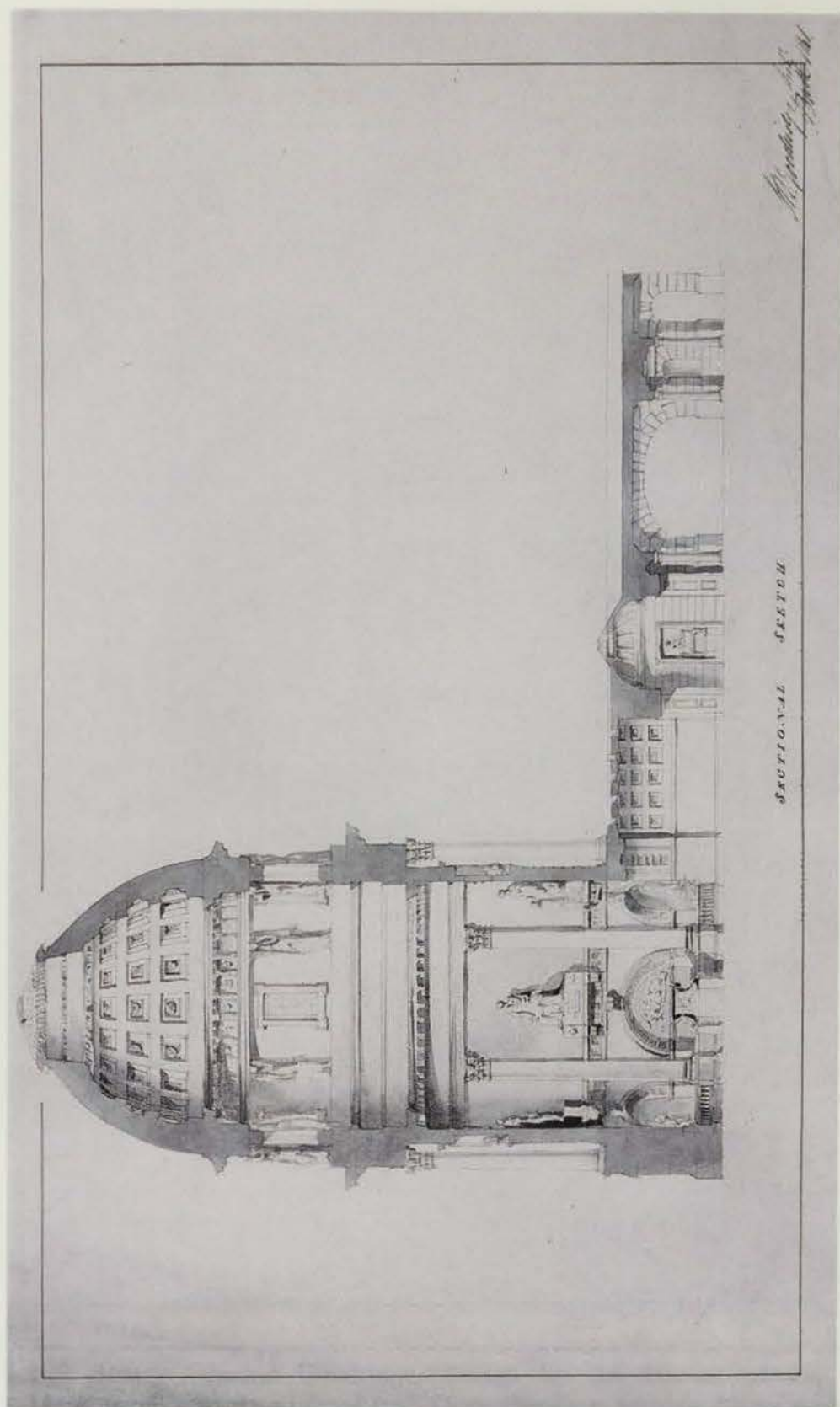
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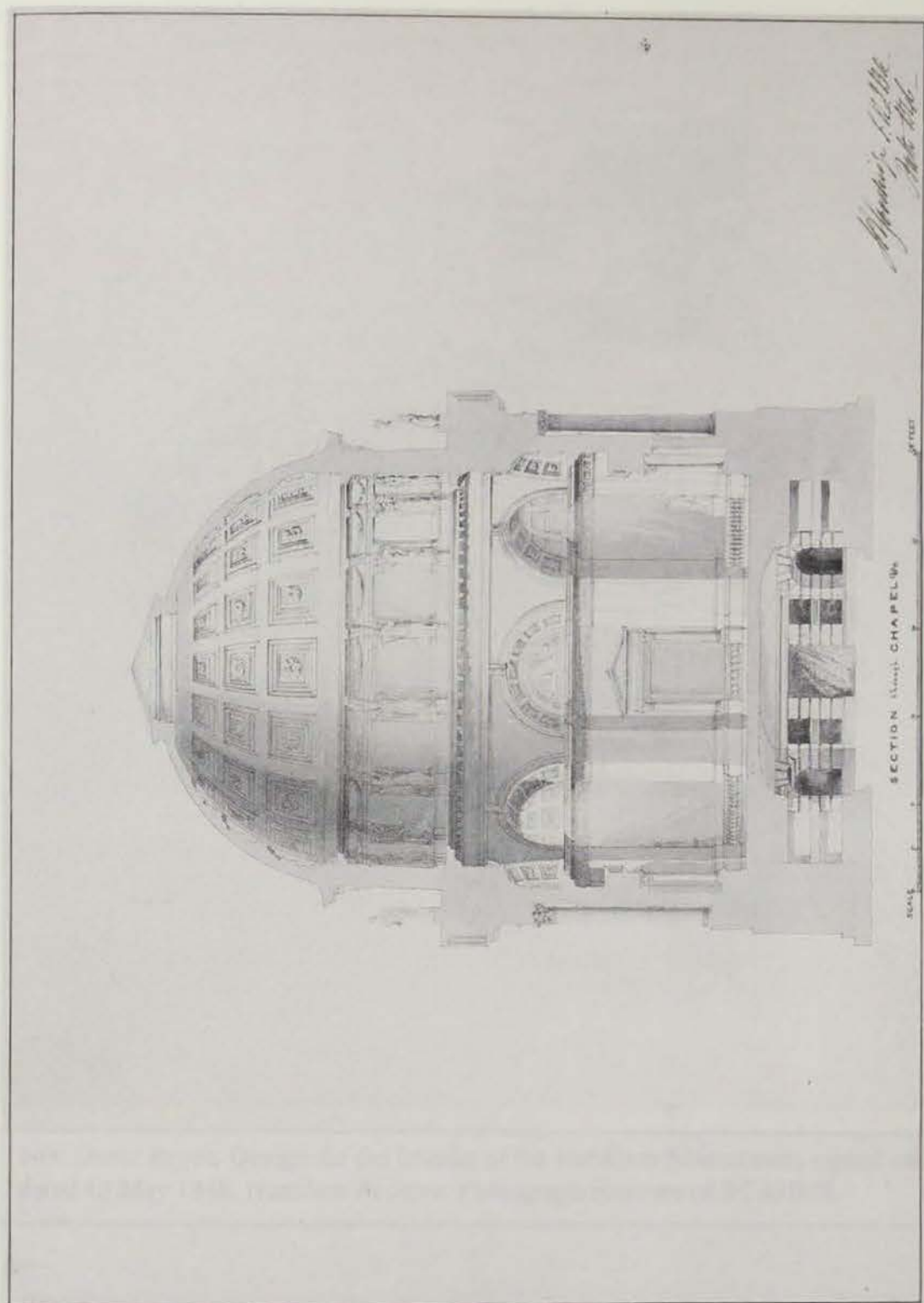
99. Attributed to David Hamilton, Design for the Hamilton Mausoleum, c.1841. Hamilton Archive. Photograph courtesy of RCAHMS.



100. Detail of an unsigned watercolour of H.E. Goodridge's proposed design for the Hamilton Mausoleum (left) and a new grand staircase for Hamilton Palace (right), showing the Mausoleum. National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh. The watercolour is directly related to drawings by Goodridge in the Hamilton Archive and RIBA Library, some signed and dated 1841, and to a watercolour at Lennoxlove, signed and dated 1841 or 1842. It seems likely that the watercolour paintings are linked to Goodridge's entry, "Alterations to Hamilton Palace", at the 1842 Royal Academy Exhibition (1036).



101. Henry Edmund Goodridge, Design for the Interior of the Hamilton Mausoleum, signed and dated Bath 1841. Hamilton Archive. Photograph courtesy of RCAHMS.



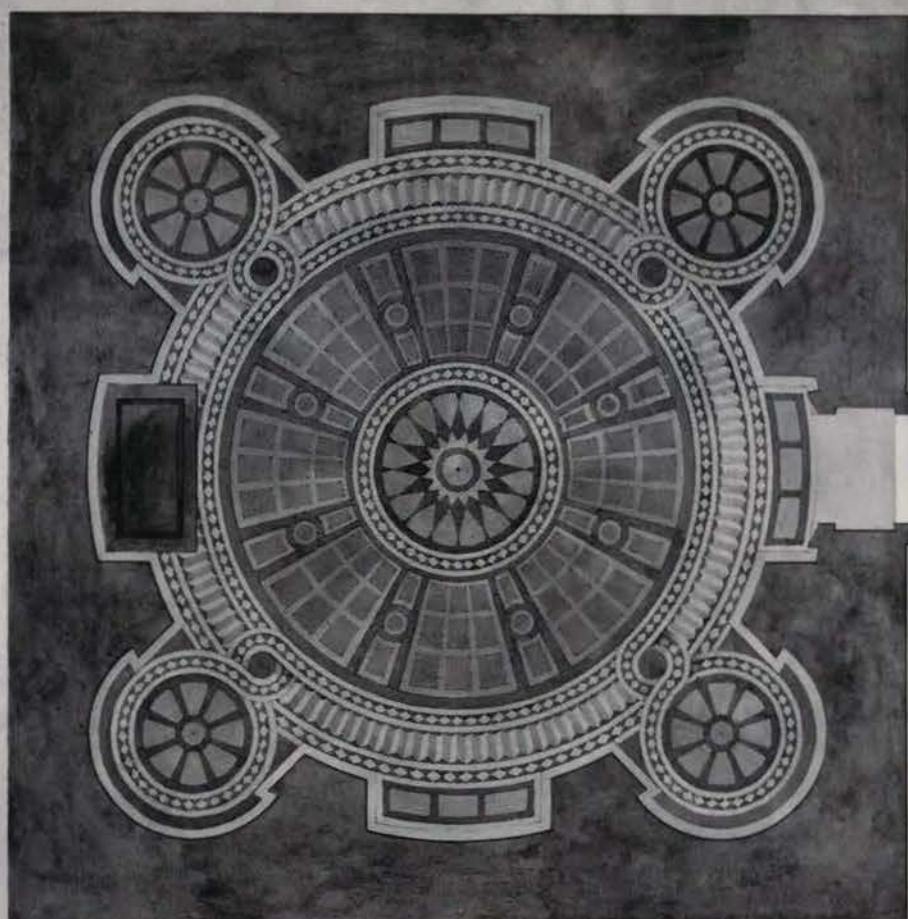
102. Henry Edmund Goodridge, Design for the Interior of the Hamilton Mausoleum, signed and dated Bath 1846. Hamilton Archive. Photograph courtesy of RCAHMS.



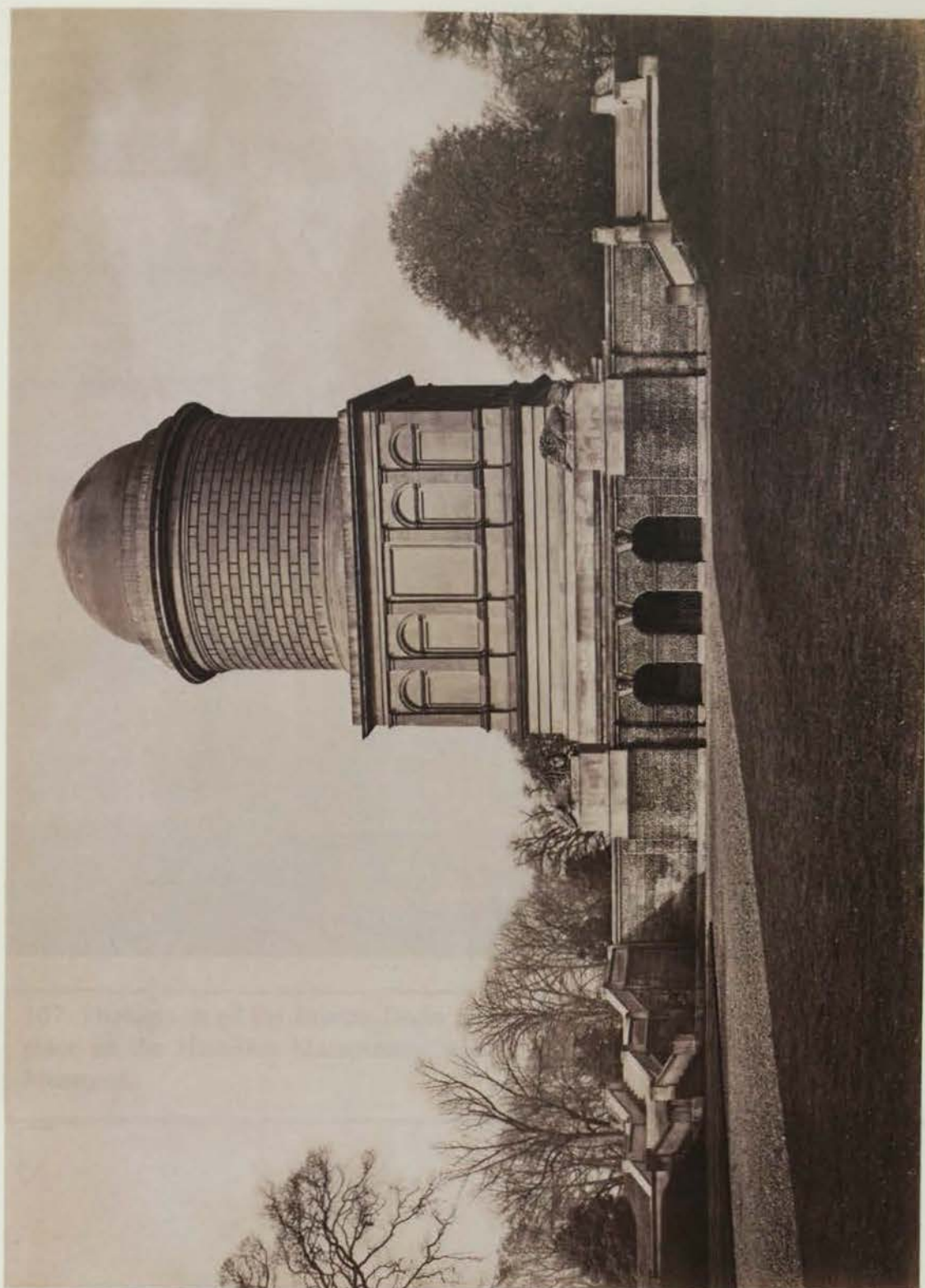
103. David Bryce, Design for the Interior of the Hamilton Mausoleum, signed and dated 13 May 1848. Hamilton Archive. Photograph courtesy of RCAHMS.



104. The West or Entrance Side of Hamilton Mausoleum.



105. David Bryce, Design for the Stone Floor of the Chapel of Hamilton Mausoleum, dated 13 May 1851. Hamilton Archive. Photograph courtesy of RCAHMS.



106. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Hamilton Mausoleum showing the east or back side, the entrance to the crypt, and the *Lions* by Alexander Handyside Ritchie. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton.

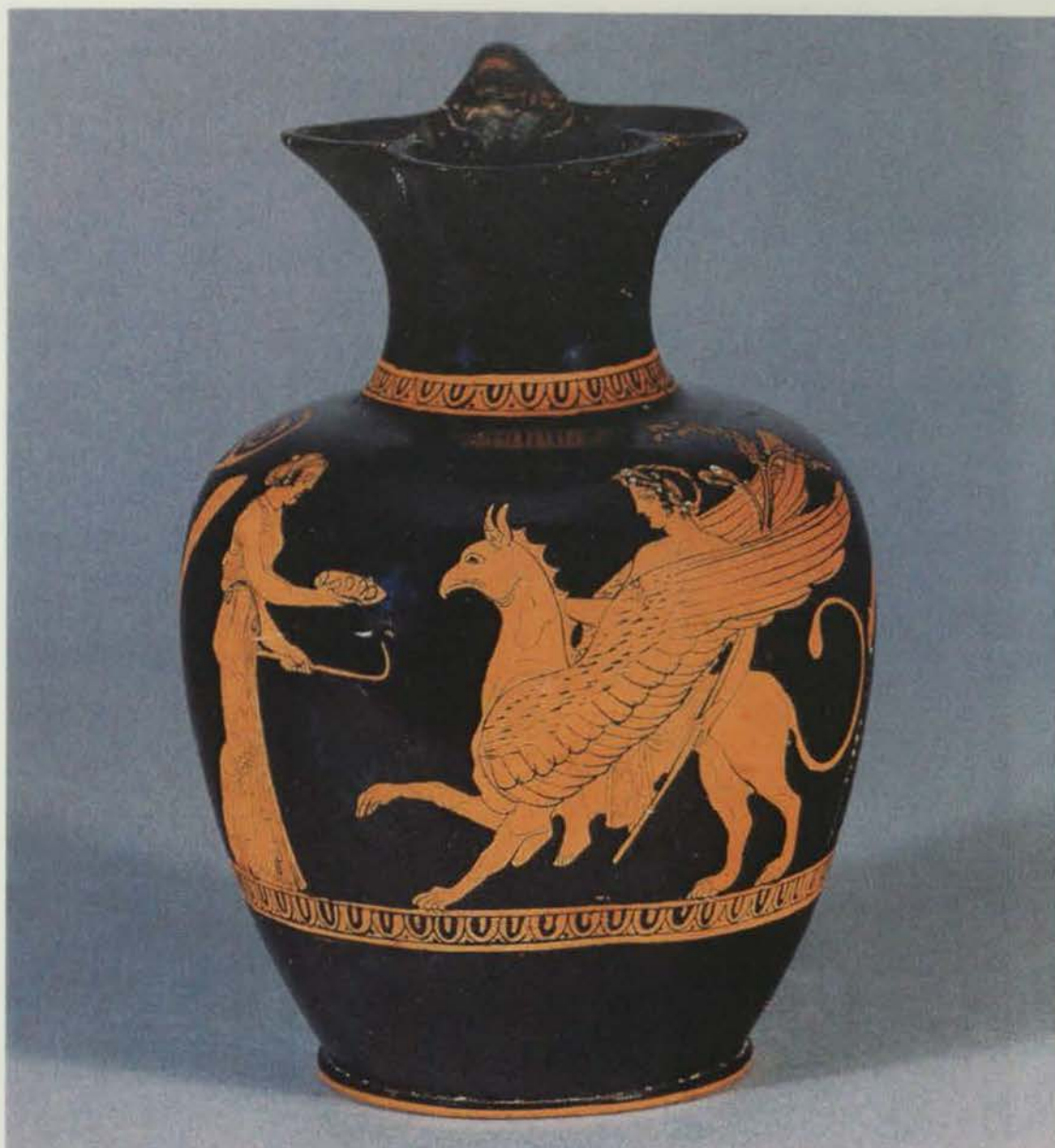


107. Photograph of the Bronze Doors based on Ghiberti's *Gates of Paradise* in place on the Hamilton Mausoleum. From a copy owned by South Lanarkshire Museums.



108. Attributed to the Athenian painter Aison, *Lekythos* (perfume or oil flask), c.410-400 B.C. Ceramic, 23.5 cm. high. Found in Basilicata, South Italy. British Museum, London.

The Easterner has been identified as an Eastern satrap, the god Sabazios and the god Dionysos.



109. The Name-Piece of the Painter of London E543, *Oinoche* (wine jug), c.420-400 B.C. Ceramic, 21 x 14.3 x 14.3 cm. British Museum, London.

110. Illustration of the "Antique Jug of the Imperial Viceroy of India" (the "Antique Jug of the Imperial Viceroy of India") from the "Antique Jug of the Imperial Viceroy of India", published in the "Antique Jug of the Imperial Viceroy of India" (1919).



110. Illustration of the "Antique Bust of the Emperor Vespasian, of black basalt, with drapery of oriental alabaster[,] From Strawberry Hill", published in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 190).



111. Bertel Thorvaldsen, *Napoleon Apotheosized*, commissioned in 1829 and probably completed in the early 1830s. Marble, 105 x 67 x 46 cm. Thorvaldsens Museum, Copenhagen.



112. Bertel Thorvaldsen, Back of the Bust of *Napoleon Apotheosized*. The aegis and eagle on the front and the palm tree on the back have been developed from a marble bust of the Emperor Hadrian which was owned by Thorvaldsen and is now in the Thorvaldsens Museum. Thorvaldsen believed this to be Antique, but it is actually an eighteenth-century forgery.



113. Thomas Annan, Photograph of the Tribune, Glasgow University Library. The New Dining Room was on the left, behind the busts, and the Hamilton Library behind the chimneypiece wall. The corridor to the Grand Entrance Hall and the entrance to the Gallery were both to the right.



114. Agnolo Bronzino and Workshop, *Eleonora of Toledo and Her Son*, c.1545-50. Oil on poplar, 121.8 x 100 cm. Detroit Institute of Arts.

The 6th hundred, Sedelmeyer Gallery, Paris, 1900.



Mentioned in Dr. Haagen's *Art Treasures* vol. III, p. 303.
From the Coll. of the Duke of Hamilton, Hamilton Palace, 1811.

Panel. 56 x 32 3/4 ins. — PIOMBO (S. del) about 1485-1548.

Portrait of Pope Clement VII.

seated in red velvet arm-chair — red cap and cape...
greenish-brown curtain in background...

115. Annotated illustration of the "Sebastiano del Piombo" portrait of Pope Clement VII published in the Sedelmeyer Gallery's *Illustrated Catalogue of the Sixth Series of 100 Paintings by Old Masters* (Paris, 1900), showing the work before it was cut down. Witt Library, Courtauld Institute, London.



116. Giuliano Bugiardini, *Pope Clement VII*, c.1532. Oil on wood, 91.2 x 74.2 cm. Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.
Christie's photograph shows the Hamilton painting cut down and as it was in 1993.



117. Workshop of Lucas Cranach the Elder, *Portrait of a Lady of the Saxon Court as Judith with the Head of Holofernes*, c.1537-40. Oil on beechwood panel, 79.9 x 55.6 cm. The Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco.

Attributed to Cranach's elder son Hans (who died in 1537) by San Francisco Museums.



118. Diego Velázquez, *Philip IV of Spain in Brown and Silver*, early 1630s(?). Oil on canvas, reduced to 195 x 110 cm. and later enlarged by additions to 199.5 x 113 cm. National Gallery, London.

This is almost certainly the portrait of Philip IV which was in the Library of the Escorial in the eighteenth century.



119. Unknown Greco-Roman Sculptor, *Apollo with the Attributes of Aesculapius*. Marble, approximately 183 cm. high. *Country Life* photograph, taken in 1919, in the Hamilton Archive.

Apollo was apparently found on the northern Greek island of Limnos and was bought in Italy by the 1st Duke of Buckingham in 1829. It was acquired by the 10th Duke of Hamilton at the 1848 Stowe sale.



120. Unknown Greco-Roman Sculptor, *Statue of a Man with the (attached) Head of the Emperor Hadrian*, called "A Roman Consul in the act of speaking" in 1848. Marble, approximately 175 cm. high. *Country Life* photograph, taken in 1919, in the Hamilton Archive.

Acquired in Italy by the 1st Duke of Buckingham in 1829 and purchased at the 1848 Stowe sale by the 10th Duke of Hamilton.

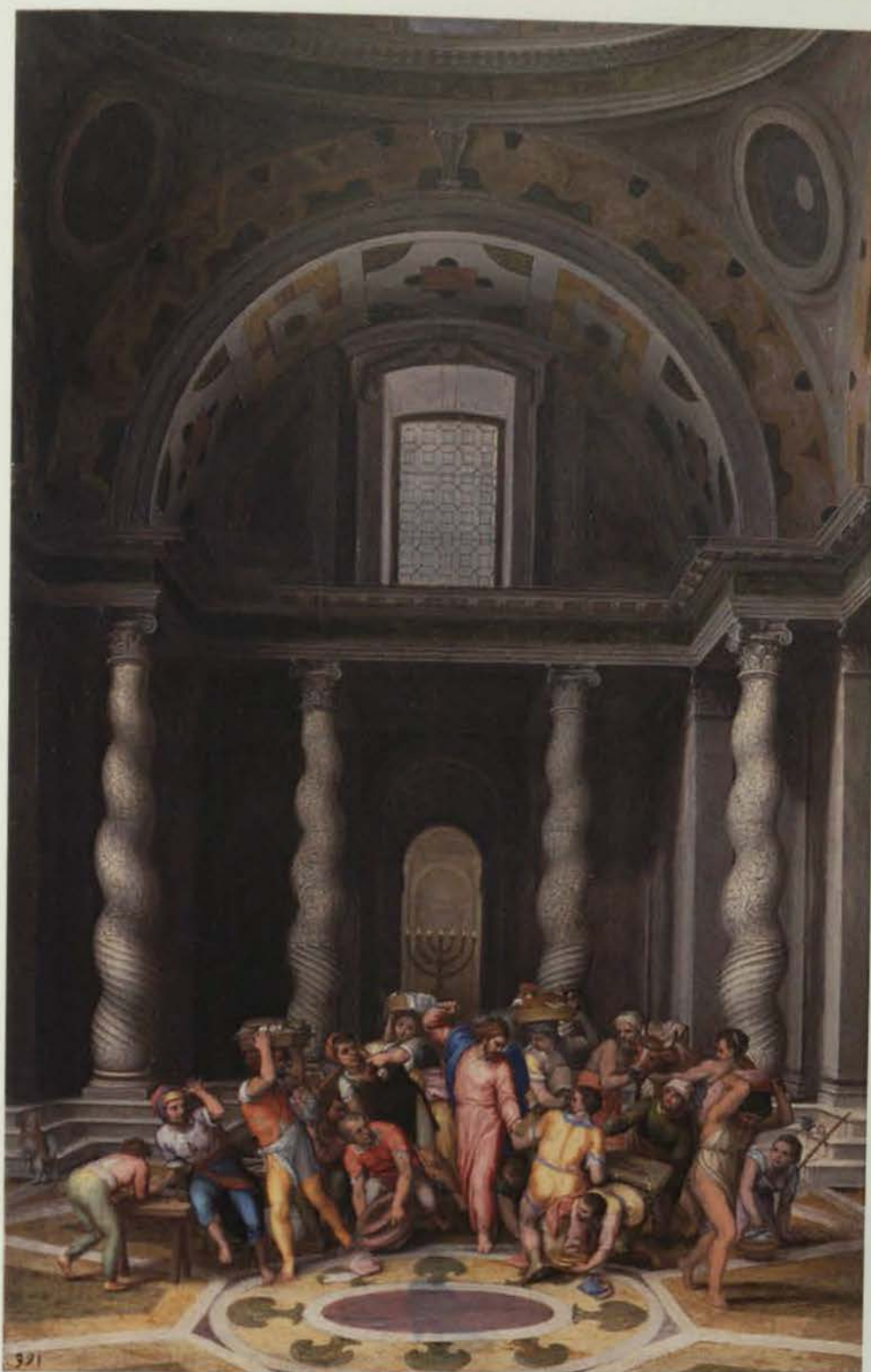


121. Unknown Greco-Roman Sculptor with eighteenth-century "restoration", *Paris holding the Apple of Discord*. Marble, approximately 190 cm. *Country Life* photograph, taken in 1919, in the Hamilton Archive.

The 1848 Stowe sale-catalogue states that this piece was "discovered near the ruins of the ancient Lanuvium, between Albano and Velletri, in 1771 by Gavin Hamilton". In letters written to Lord Shelburne in 1774 – a year after the actual find – Gavin Hamilton admitted that the neck was modern and that the left hand and half of the right arm were missing, and there can be little doubt that the artist-dealer fabricated *Paris holding the Apple of Discord*. Like the two previous statues, *Paris* was purchased by the 10th Duke of Hamilton at the 1848 Stowe sale.



122. Willem van de Velde, *A Calm Sea with Fishing Boats and a Warship firing a Gun*. Oil on panel, 36.5 x 47.2 cm. Ardgowan, Inverkip.



123. Attributed to Marcello Venusti, *Christ driving the Money Changers from the Temple*, now called *The Purification of the Temple*, after a drawing or sketches by Michelangelo. Oil on wood, 60 x 40 cm. National Gallery, London.



124. Attributed to Marcello Venusti, *The Holy Family (Il Silenzio)*, after a drawing by Michelangelo. Oil on wood, 43.1 x 28.5 cm. National Gallery, London.



125. Attributed to Francesco Botticini, Altarpiece of *The Assumption of the Virgin* painted for the family chapel of Matteo Palmieri in S. Pier Maggiore, Florence, c.1474-76(?). Wood, 228.5 x 377 cm. National Gallery, London.



126. Ventura di Arcangelo Salimbeni, *Saint Michael overcoming Satan*, signed and dated 1603. Oil on canvas, 222.9 x 168.3 cm. Sotheby's New York, 23 January 2003.



CANDELABRUM PRESENTED TO HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF HAMILTON, K.G.

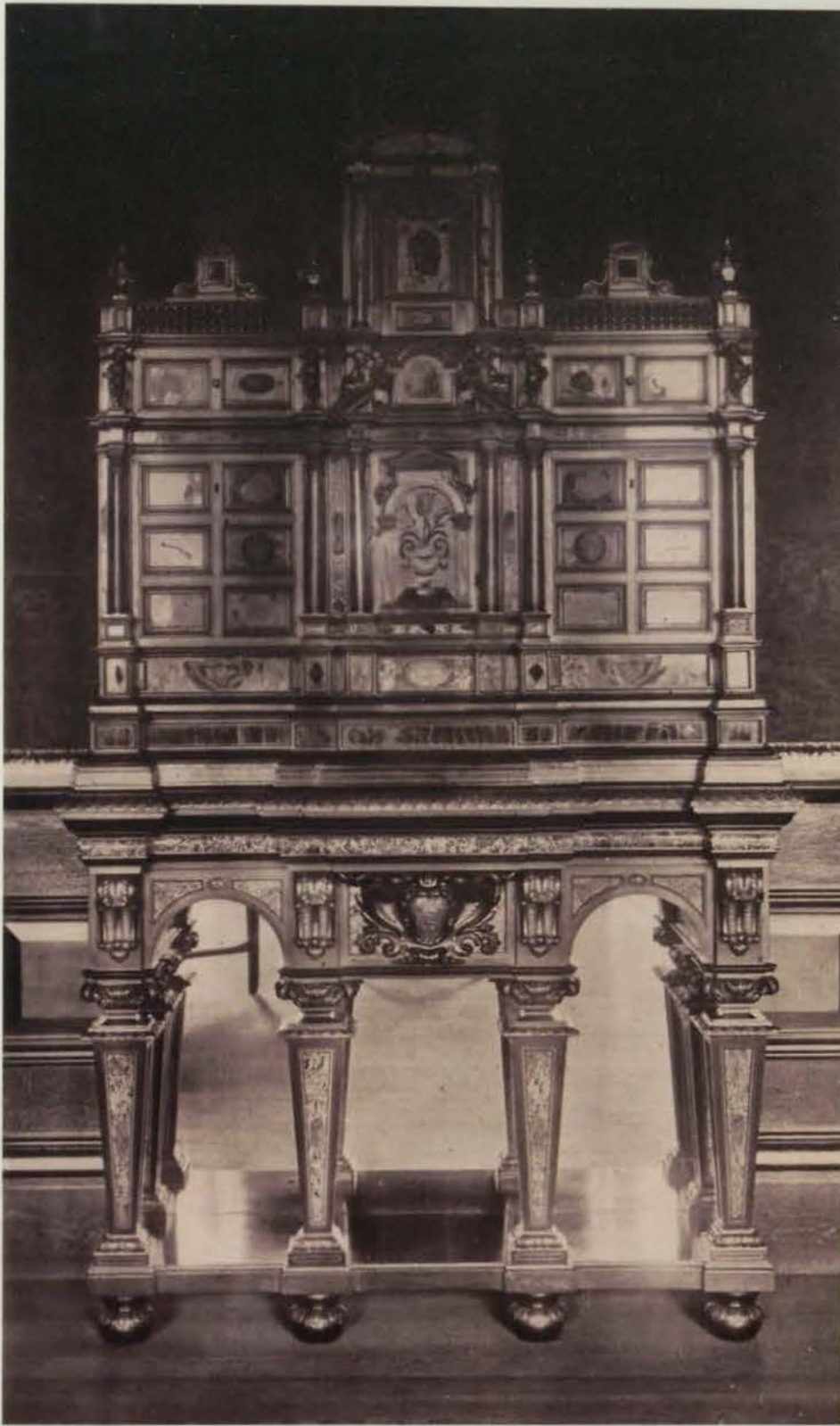
127. The Candelabrum-Centrepiece presented to the 10th Duke of Hamilton by the Tenantry on his Scottish Estates in 1849, published in the *Illustrated London News*, 14 July 1849.

The figure of Minerva is based on the Duke's plaster cast of the *Minerva Giustiniani*. The other figures are said to show "Vulcan bringing Æolus from the caverns of the earth, chain-bound, and delivering him up to Science", whilst Genius looks on, "watching the progress of the Arts". On the other side were "Ceres and Pluto disputing the riches of the earth".



128. Hunt and Roskell, Early Design for the Candelabrum-Centrepiece presented to the 10th Duke of Hamilton in 1849. Ink and wash on paper, 118.7 x 75 cm. Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton.

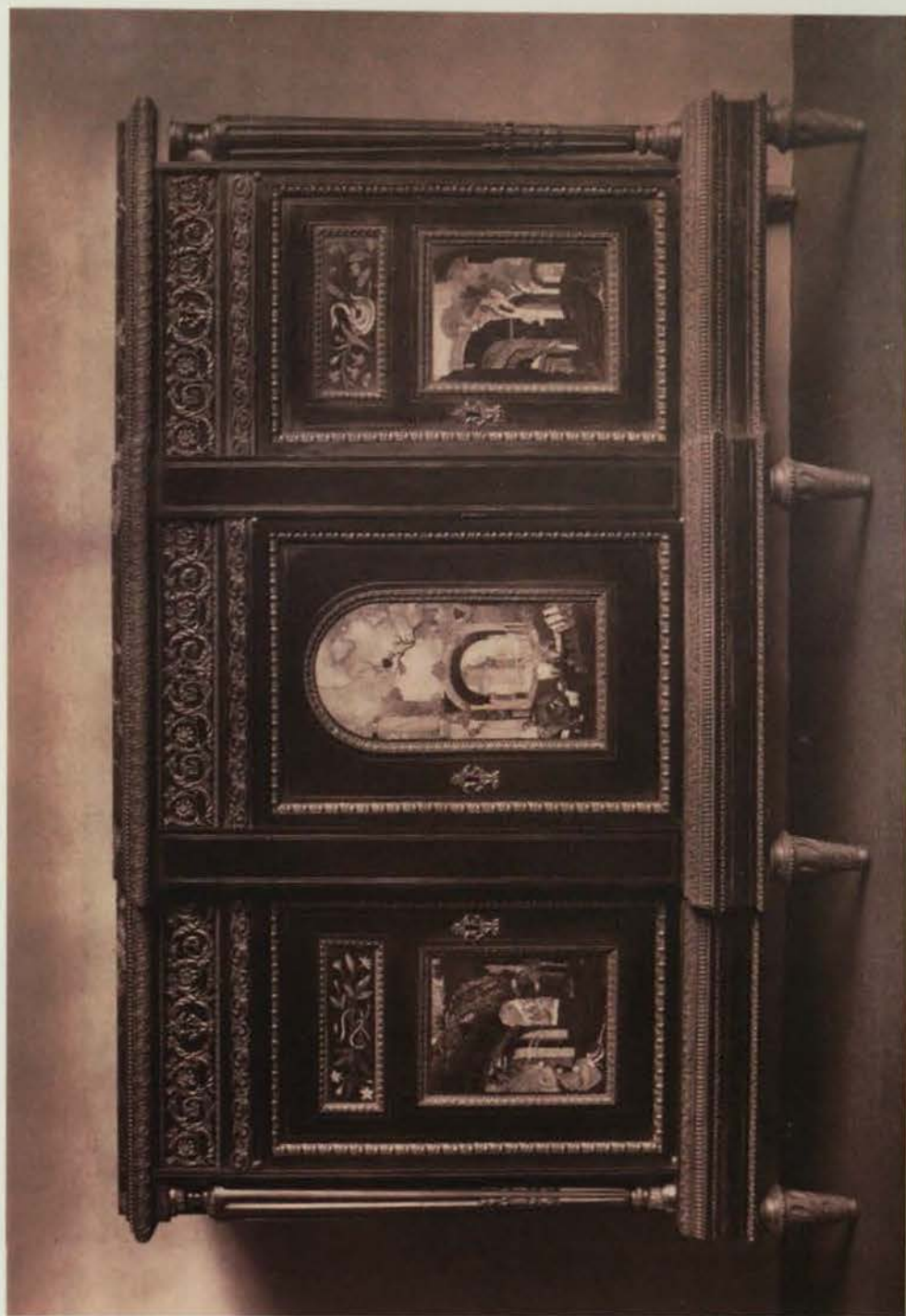
This may be one of the "three handsome Drawings" by "Storr & Mortimer" (the old name of the Hunt and Roskell business) which were sent to the Duke on 4 May 1848. The attached note identifies the subject-matter of design number 3 as "Minerva presiding over the Arts, Science, & Agriculture _ the figures on lower base, Vulcan, Æolus, & Prometheus, in reference to Hot Blast, in working Iron".



129. Illustration of the Ebony Cabinet with lapis lazuli columns and *pietre dure* plaques (wrongly) attributed to Michelangelo in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 996). Now at Elton Hall, near Peterborough.



130. Illustration of the Copy of one of the two Commodes supplied by André-Charles Boulle for Louis XIV's Bedchamber at the Grand Trianon in 1708 and now at Versailles, published in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 994). Apparently eighteenth century, fitted with a slab of Verona marble, and now at Petworth House, West Sussex.



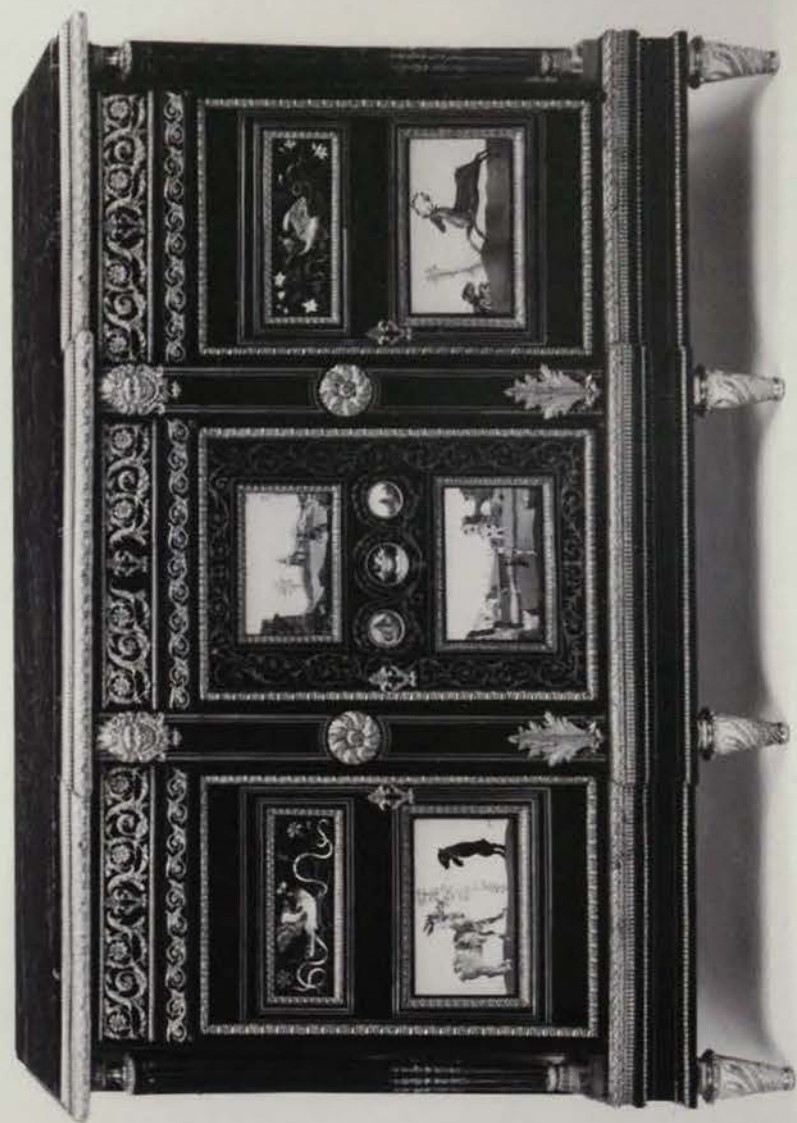
131. Illustration of the Cabinet with ebony veneer, *pietre dure* plaques, gilt-bronze mounts and veined black and gold marble top which was lot 992 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, published in Christie's sale-catalogue of the collection of Christopher Beckett Denison in June 1885 (lot 820). Now at Elton Hall, near Peterborough.

If Figures 132 and 133 were the cabinets in the Duke's collection in 1820, this seems to be the "bureau of Florentine stone work similar to my two others" sent by Quinet from Paris to Hamilton Palace in 1827 or 1826 (see Hamilton Archive, M4/70, p.185).



132. Attributed to Adam Weisweiler, Cabinet, c.1785. Oak, pine, and beech veneered with ebony and mahogany; pewter stringing; set with seventeenth- or eighteenth-century *pietre dure* plaques; gilt-bronze mounts; *portor d'Italie* marble top; 101.6 x 150.5 x 54.5 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

The carcase is stamped with the official Paris guild approval mark "JME" and was definitely made in Paris. This cabinet and Fig. 133 were probably the "2 Mosaick Cabinets and their Marble Tops" owned by the 10th Duke in 1820 (see Robert Hume's letter to Robert Brown, 13 November 1820, in Hamilton Archive, Bundle 1766).



133. Cabinet, c.1810, with restoration. Oak, pine, and beech veneered with ebony and mahogany; pewter stringing; set with seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Florentine *pietre dure* plaques and late eighteenth- or early nineteenth-century Roman micromosaics; gilt-bronze mounts; *portor d'Italie* marble top; 101.6 x 150.5 x 54.5 cm. J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles.

This cabinet appears to have been made as a partner to Fig. 132. It incorporates Roman micromosaics of the so-called *Doves of Pliny* mosaic in the Capitoline Museum and views of the pyramid of Caius Cestius that are normally regarded as Grand Tourist souvenirs of Rome. The micromosaics and *pietre dure* seem to be the spoils of a visit to Italy that were handed over to a furniture-maker. Workmen have then made up doors and used metallic paints, rather than metal inlays, to decorate and complete the surrounding areas.



134. Illustration of the Hamilton "Buhl" Cabinet with a medallion of Louis XIV published in Christie's catalogue of the 1885 Christopher Beckett Denison sale (lot 821). This low cabinet with unusual marquetry for A.-C. Boulle was either made from the top part of a cabinet-on-stand of the late seventeenth/early eighteenth century in the 1770s or '80s, or otherwise made/made up in the same period.



135. Jean-Henri Riesener, Commode commissioned for Louis XVI's private study at Fontainebleau and later in his library at Versailles, supplied in 1778. Wood with veneer and marquetry in purplewood, sycamore, tulipwood, satinwood, maple and mahogany, gilt-bronze mounts, and Sarrancolin marble top, 95 x 165 x 63 cm. Château de Versailles.



136. Jean-Nicolas Blanchard and Antoine Rascalon, *Canapé à confidents*, commissioned for the Salon d'Été of Louis XVI's aunts, Mesdames Adelaïde and Victoire, at the Château of Bellevue in 1784. Walnut and beechwood covered with gold-leaf by the gilder Dutems, 118 x 406 x 102 cm. Re-upholstered with pink floral Gobelins tapestry by 1807, when it was in Napoleon's apartments at the Tuileries. Calouste Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon.

Blanchard was a Parisian *menuisier* specializing in seat furniture, while Rascalon was a sculptor working on the decoration of the Salon d'Été at Bellevue.



137. Attributed to Joseph Baumhauer, *Bureau Plat* and *Cartonnier* made for Ange-Laurent de Lalive de Jully, c.1756-57. Oak veneered with ebony, with gilt-bronze mounts and inlaid stringing of ungilded brass or bronze; the table 86 x 195 x 108 cm. and the cabinet 161 x 108 x 54.5 cm. Musée Condé, Chantilly. These very important early Neo-classical pieces were designed by the painter Louis-Joseph Le Lorrain and are decorated with mounts by Philippe Caffiere. The table was subsequently repaired by the *ébéniste* Jean-François Leleu.



138. Illustration of the Florentine *Pietre Dure* Casket published in Christie's catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 182). The description and measurements in the 1882 catalogue tally exactly with the 1825, 1835 and 1853 inventory entries about the 10th Duke of Hamilton's "Medici Casket". The statement in the 1882 catalogue that the piece was "From Fonthill" is highly questionable. It was not one of the items acquired through Hume from the 1823 Fonthill sale and clearly has nothing to do with the collection Beckford bequeathed to his daughter in 1844.



139. German School, *Eleven Labours of Hercules* (after prints by Heinrich Aldegrever, dated 1550), second half of the 16th century or 17th century. Oil on panel, measurements not known. De-accessioned from the Arnot Art Museum, Elmira, in the 1970s.

A label removed from the back of one of the panels when all eleven were in the Arnot Art Museum records that it had been purchased in Inverness by Sir David Dalrymple, Baronet of Hailes, and had been given by him to a Duke of Hamilton to "compleat the Collection of Labours of Hercules in the abbey of Holyroodhouse" in or before 1771. The other ten panels are presumably from the "Twelve little Pictures of Herculese's labours in black Eboney frames" recorded at Kinneil Castle or House in the 1704 Hamilton inventory of Holyroodhouse and Kinneil (Hamilton Archive, M4/42, p.9). A note by the dealer and restorer William Samuel Woodburn, dated 4 July 1805, also preserved in the Arnot Museum, records that the Marquis of Douglas (i.e. the 10th Duke) had "entrusted" pictures belonging to the set to Woodburn, that Woodburn had "accidentally" found the print sources, and concluded that the Hamilton paintings were by Aldegrever.



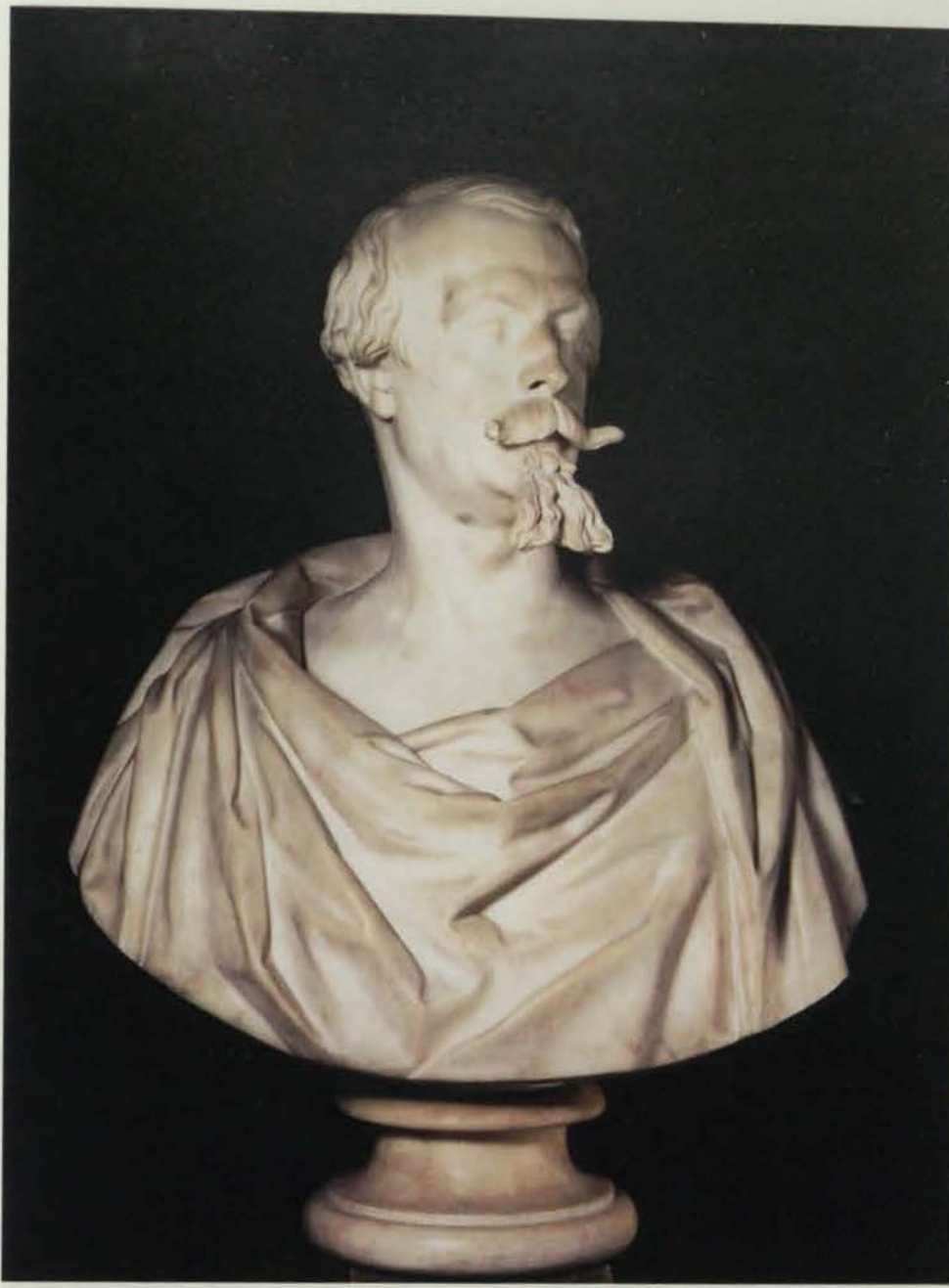
140. Top of the three-legged table presented by the Empress Eugénie to Princess Marie of Baden in 1853-54. Painted porcelain and gilt bronze, 71 x 87 x 87 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

The Sèvres porcelain plaque is signed and dated "L.P. Schilt 1850", while the ormolu is engraved: "Offert à Madame la DUCHESSE D'HAMILTON, / par SA MAJESTÉ L'IMPÉRATRICE EUGÉNIE / Sèvres, le 4 avril 1853".



141. Thomas Annan, Photograph of part of the Tribune in Hamilton Palace. Glasgow University Library.

Annan's photograph shows Patric Park's bust of the *Emperor Napoleon III* flanked by Laurence Macdonald's busts of Princess Marie of Baden and the 11th Duke of Hamilton, signed and dated Rome, 1846 and 1843 respectively. Both these busts were sent to the 11th Duke and Duchess's daughter, the Countess Festetics, in 1897 and are now at the Helikon Castle Museum (formerly the Festetics' country palace), Keszthely, Hungary. The large painting is listed in the 1876 inventory as a portrait of Princess Marie by Winterhalter.



142. Patric Park, *The Emperor Napoleon III*, signed and dated Manchester, 1 January 1855. Marble, 80 x 61 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

This bust appears to have been carved around the same time as the bust of the Emperor commissioned by the 11th Duke of Hamilton. It was displayed at the Paris Universal Exhibition in 1855 and acquired by the South Kensington Museum after the closure of the exhibition, in 1856. Park's Hamilton Palace bust was included in the 1919 Hamilton Palace sales.



143. Print from a broken glass negative of the “mahogany bed stand with two guilt figures in wood” acquired by the 10th Duke of Hamilton in 1826-27. Photograph courtesy of the *Country Life* Archive and RCAHMS.

By the time *Country Life*’s photographer took this illustration in 1919, the tester – described as “the roof mahogany with bronze likewise” – was no longer with the boat bed.

The bed is discussed in more detail in Appendix 9.

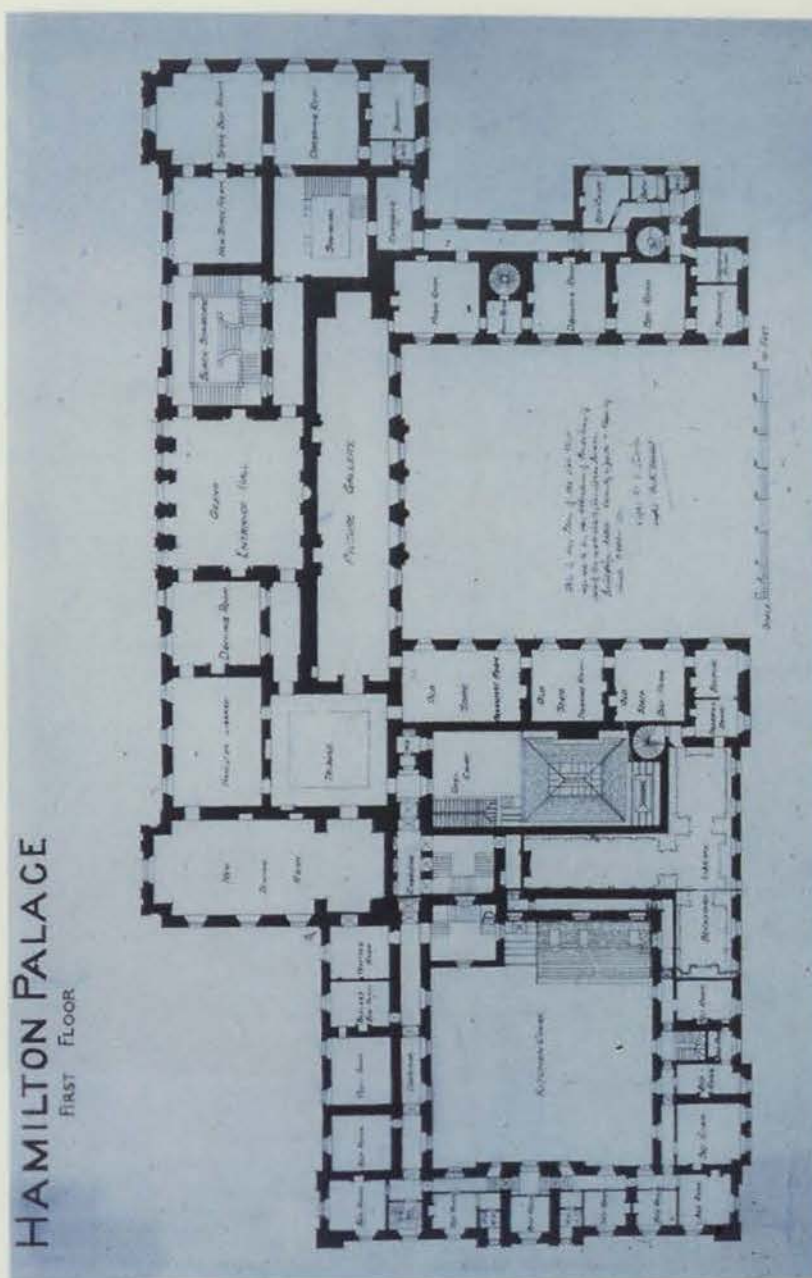


144. Detail of Thomas Annan's photograph of the Hamilton Library, showing the pair of Louis XVI-style six-light candelabra associated with "the Queen of France" (i.e. Marie-Antoinette) in the 1835 and 1853 Hamilton Palace inventories. Hamilton Town House Library.

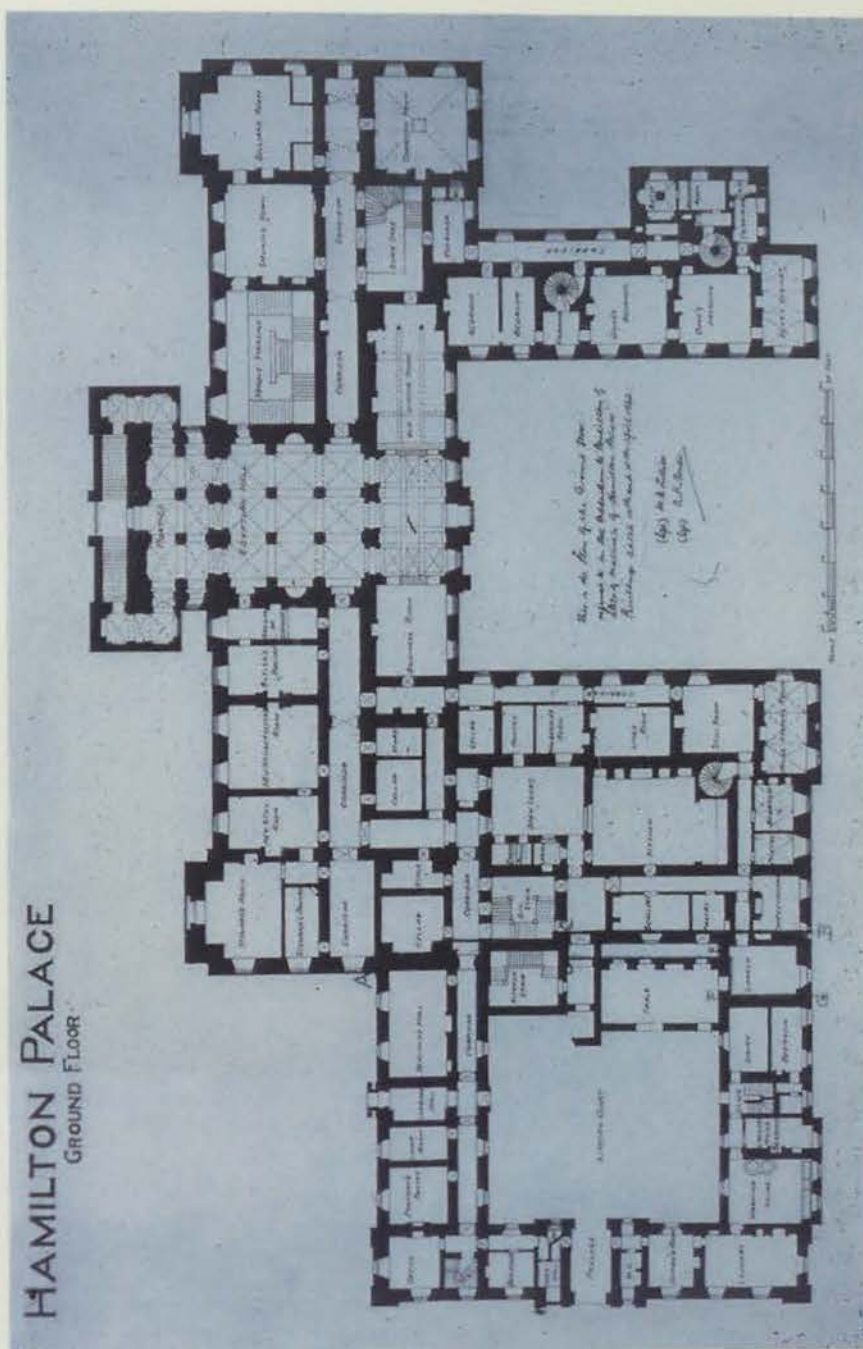
The candelabra are discussed in Appendix 9.



145. Detail of Thomas Annan's photograph of the Gallery, showing one of the two pairs of Louis XVI-style five-light candelabra that were included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale as lots 658 and 659. Hamilton Town House Library. As noted in Appendix 9, all four candelabra appear to have been sent from Paris by Jean Quinet in 1827.



146. Plan of the First Floor of Hamilton Palace, with the new North Front at the top. Photograph courtesy of RCAHMS. Although the plan is annotated with a cross reference relating to October 1921, many of the rooms have the same names as in the 10th Duke's time. The Old State Rooms in the west wing (the left-hand wing) housed over a third of the main paintings in the palace. The New State or Tapestry Rooms are on the north-east side of the new extension (top right). The first of these was a Sitting Room; the "Drawing Room" on the other side of the Grand Entrance Hall was called the New Sitting Room. The 10th Duke's wife's apartments were in the east wing (the wing on the right).



147. Plan of the Ground Floor of Hamilton Palace, with the new North Front at the top; annotated with a cross reference relating to April 1922. Photograph courtesy of RCAHMS. The plan shows the Duke's apartments in the east wing (on the right). The "Marble Staircase" is the great Black Marble Staircase. Soyer's two bronze Atlantes were set up on the walls flanking the central entrance, which was directly opposite the projecting lower flight of the staircase.

Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton (1767-1852)
as Patron and Collector

Godfrey Evans

Appendices 1 - 20

PhD, The University of Edinburgh, 2008

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Appendix 1: Annotated Inventory of Paintings inscribed 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (HA, M12/25/1 & 2)

This is a very important inventory as it records many paintings that entered the Hamilton Palace collection shortly after 1799, following the death of Douglas, 8th Duke of Hamilton, and the succession of his cousin, Lord Archibald Hamilton, who became the 9th Duke of Hamilton. At the same time, it is also a very problematical inventory because the addition 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' across the top cannot be easily accepted as the signature of the 9th Duke of Hamilton: it is neatly written and is unlikely to have been penned by the 9th Duke, who suffered very badly from gout and had appalling handwriting in the 1790s and early 1800s. The annotation simply states that somebody believed that the 9th Duke of Hamilton owned or had owned the pictures on the list, or had approved the document. Unfortunately, the inventory is undated, and the watermarks – the initials 'WJ' in the centre of the two sheets, at the central folds, with wire grid marks at about one inch intervals – do not clarify the precise date of compilation. The only thing that is certain is that M12/25/1 and 2 definitely pre-date the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, as many of the pictures are also found on that inventory.

Initially, it appeared that M12/25/1 and 2 were written in the 1790s, before Lord Archibald Hamilton became duke. This was suggested by the reference to 'His Lordships Room' on page one, which could be read as shorthand for 'Lord Archibald's Room', and should have been referred to as 'His Grace's Room' after he became the 9th Duke in August 1799. Moreover, it was possible to associate the four rooms – 'His Lordships Room', the 'Dining parlour', 'Back Drawing Room' and 'Front Drawing Room' – with rooms in Lord Archibald's London townhouse in the late eighteenth century. Lastly, the inclusion of Poussin's *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (entry 78) seemed to provide a *terminus ante quem* because the artist and diarist Joseph Farington records seeing Poussin's great late work at Hamilton Palace on 26 October 1801 (Kenneth Garlick and Angus MacIntyre, *The Diaries of Joseph Farington, Vol. V* (London, 1979), p.1682).

What research on the entries has revealed is that there are a number of works that could have been acquired in the first decade of the nineteenth century. One cannot say more than this at present, but the inclusion of one work – 'King Edw.^d 6th'.

[by] Holbeins' – seems to necessitate dating the inventory to 1807 or thereafter. Dr S.H. Spiker, the librarian to the King of Prussia, saw this painting at Hamilton Palace and was much impressed by it: 'Edward VI. in ganzer Figur, von Holbein, das einzige Bild dieses Königs, das ich in England gesehen zu haben mich erinnere, sehr kräftig gemalt' (*Reise durch England, Wales und Schottland im Jahre 1816* (Leipzig, 1818), Vol. I, p.312). The portrait was acquired by Queen Victoria after the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale and is now at Hampton Court and attributed to William Scrots. It bears a *cartellino* of the type painted on pictures owned by John, Lord Lumley (d.1609) and is listed on the 1590 inventory of Lord Lumley's collection, among the 'Pyctures caryinge the fowrme of the whole Statuary', as 'The Statuary of his sonne King Edward the sixt drawne by [blank]' (Sir Lionel Cust, 'The Lumley Inventories', *Walpole Society*, Vol. VI, 1918, p.21). *Edward VI* was later recorded in the Lodging Rooms at Lumley Castle and is believed to have been included in Thomas Dawson's sale of the late 5th Earl of Scarborough's possessions at Lumley Castle on 18 December 1807 as lot 9: 'Edward the 6th. a full length.'

Dr Spiker's description of the Hamilton painting as a full-length portrait and his enthusiasm leave one in no doubt that he was responding to the Lumley/Scarborough portrait. Thus it appears that M12/25/1 and 2 cannot have assumed their present form until after December 1807/January 1808. The only way out of this impasse would be to prove that the Lumley/Hamilton painting was actually the 'Edward the Sixth' in Christie's sale of pictures from the Scarborough collection at Lumley Castle on 11 August 1785, which is believed to have been a smaller portrait but actually sold for almost double the 1807 portrait (see entry 50 for further details and discussion).

The inventory itself is reproduced on pages 383-6, with standardized dots between the titles and attributions. Numbers have been added in brackets before each entry to facilitate cross-referencing. The basic inventory is followed by the annotated version, with the inventory entries printed in bold type for easy identification.

Archibald Duke of Hamilton

His Lordships Room

- [1] A Capital Portrait.....Rembrandt
- [2] Susannah & the Elders.....Carracci
- [3] Hercules Sacrificing.....P. Veronese
- [4] Merry making.....Ostade
- [5] small landscape.....Teniers
- [6] small landscape a Sketch.....Rubens
- [7] The Creation.....Bassan
- [8] An historical Sketch. Circular.Rubens
- [9] The Death of the Virgin small.Guido
- [10] A Battle piece a Sketch.Rubens
- [11] A Bacchanallian piece.....Rubens
- [12] A Landscape D^oD^o
- [13] A Pair of the Seasons.....Montegna
- [14] Head of S^t Francis.....Corregio
- [15] A Sea Piece.....Van Goyen
- [16] A D^o View of Amsterdam.....Stork
- [17] A Cardinal at devotion.....Murillo
- [18] A Capital historical picture.Guerchino
- [19] A Madona.....Salsaferat
- [20] Study of a head.....Guido
- [21] One of the Evangelists.....Guido
- [22] A Landscape & figures.....Teniers
- [23] A D^o.....Morland
- [24] Bacchanallian piece.....Titian
- [25] A Small head.....Rubens

Dining parlour

[26]	Old Woman cutting her nails.	Rembrandt
[27]	A View in Rome with Senators.....	Le Sueer
[28]	S ^t . George and the Dragon.....	S Rosa
[29]	A Sybil.....	Guerchino
[30]	A Landscape with Diana.....	Eckout
[31]	Two of Beggar Boys.....	Murillo
[32]	Boar hunt.....	Snyders
[33]	A Magdalens head.....	Vandyke
[34]	A Monk's D ^o	D ^o
[35]	Portrait of a Venetian Admiral.	Tintoretto
[36]	D ^o of a Flemish Lady.....	Rubens
[37]	A Large Bacchanalian.....	Jordeans
[38]	A Landscape with Cattle.	P. Potter
[39]	A D ^o with figures.....	Sal. Rosa
[40]	A D ^o D ^o	Gas. Pousin
[41]	A Pair of Small heads.....	Brawer
[42]	A Sybil.....	Guerchino
[43]	Tobit Sacrificing.....	Eckout

Back Drawing Room

[44]	Joseph & his bretheren.....	Bassan
[45]	A Waterfall.....	Ruysdeal
[46]	Gothic Architecture with figures.	Steynwick
[47]	Conversation.....	Brawer
[48]	A Large Landscape with fig ^s	Everdingen
[49]	One historical After Rapheal.	
[50]	King Edw. ^d 6 th	Holbeins
[51]	A Sketch of A Cieling.....	P. Cortona
[52]	The Nativity.....	Tintoretto
[53]	The holy Family.....	Frati

- [54] Portrait of a Lady.....Valasquez
 [55] The Virgin Child & S^t John.....After Rapheal
 [56] Two historical.....L. Giordano
 [57] A Sacrifice to Diana.....P Cortona
 [58] A Landscape with Cattle &c.Gas. Pousin
 [59] A small Pair of Landscapes.Mola
 [60] S^t John.....Corregio
 [61] A Landscape with the Angel Appearing to Agar.....Valasquez

Front Drawing Room

- [62] Scourging of Christ.....Corregio
 [The following entry is an inserted addition.]
 [63] Infant Christ.....S^r J. Reynolds
 [64] The Intombing.....Titian
 [The following entry is an inserted addition.]
 [65] Holy Family after Raphael [?like].....Carlo Mar[?ra]
 [66] S^t Cecilia.....Dominichino
 [67] ~~Ascension of the Virgin.....Valasquez~~
 [68] ~~The Virgin & Child.....Rubens~~
 [69] Christ Asleep on his Cross.Guido
 [70] A Sketch of Christ with Angels.....Rubens
 [71] The Trinity.....Carrac[h/c]i
 [The following entry is an inserted addition.]
 [72] Martyrdom of S^t Lawrence.....Bandinelli after Raphael
 [73] ~~The Last Supper.....Rapheal~~
 [74] S^t Francis.....Sal. Rosa
 [75] Abraham Offering up Isaac.Dominicheno
 [The following entry is an inserted addition written in pencil.]
 [76] The Holy Family, Journey into Egypt.....Paul Potter
 [77] S^t ~~Fran~~ Bartholomew.....Spaniolet
 [78] The Intombing of Christ _Pousin
 [79] An Interior Stile of Rubens.Teniers

[80] S ^t Sebastian.....	Guido
[81] S ^t Catherine	Murillo
[82] Moses Striking the Rock.....	Tintoretto
[83] A Landscape with a historical	Sal. Rosa
[84] figures _ Christ Scourged.	M. le Carravagio
[85] Virgin & Child:	Corregio

Archibald Duke of Hamilton

His Lordships Room

[1] A Capital Portrait..... Rembrandt

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory.

John Britton notes 'A Head, by Rembrandt' at the 9th Duke of Hamilton's main seat, Ashton Hall, near Lancaster (*Beauties of England and Wales, Vol. 9* (London, 1807), p.104). At present there is too little information to resolve whether these two references are to the same work.

The 'Capital Portrait [by] Rembrandt' could be lot 29 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Rembrandt. Portrait of the Artist, in a furred robe and gold chain, his left hand gloved, and black cap with gold ornament. 26 in. by 21 in.' Lot 29 was bought by the dealer M. Colnaghi for £703 10 shillings and was subsequently recognized to be a copy of the Rembrandt *Self Portrait in a Black Cap*, of about 1637, now in the Wallace Collection, London. For the Wallace painting, see E. van de Wetering, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings, Vol. IV, The Self Portraits* (Dordrecht, 2005), pp.238-42. The Hamilton portrait was with E.R. Thomas, New York, in the early twentieth century (C. Hofstede de Groot, *A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1916), Vol. VI, p.276), but its present whereabouts are unknown (de Wetering, *op. cit.*, and J. Bruyn *et al*, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings, Vol. III* (Dordrecht and London, 1989), p.618).

The alternatives in the 1882 sale are lot 10, 'Rembrandt. Head of a Female. 18 in. by 14 in.', which was bought by Mrs. Langton for £23 2 shillings, and lot 67, 'Rembrandt. Head of a Lady, in rich dress and cap, with pearl earrings. 22 in. by 18 in.', purchased by the dealer Winckworth for £630. However, lot 10 does not seem to merit being called 'A Capital Portrait' and lot 67 may well be entry 54 on this inventory.

Christie's 1919 Hamilton Palace sale included a third portrait attributed to 'Rembrandt': 'A Girl, in rich dress, taking a fruit from a dish which a boy

offers to her. 28 in. by 24 in.' (*Fine Historical Portraits and Ancient and Modern Pictures, The Property of His Grace the Late Duke of Hamilton*, London, 6 November 1919, lot 48). Again, this extremely concise entry does not seem to justify the accolade 'A Capital Portrait'.

[2] **Susannah & the Elders..... Carracci**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory.

'1 _ Susana and the 2 Elders By Hanibal Carracci [£]20 ,, ,' is listed in 'Mademoiselles Bed Room' on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.59, and HTHL, p.75). The 1853 Hamilton Palace inventory records '1 D^o [i.e. Painting] Susannah and the 2 Elders' in 'Mademoiselles Room' (HA, Volume 1228, p.91). The name of the room has subsequently been altered to 'Mademoiselle d'Este's Room'.

Probably lot 323 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'A. Caracci. Susanna and the Elders. 36 in. by 43 in.' Lot 323 was bought by Cyril Flower, M.P., for £8 8s. Cyril Flower became Lord Battersea and died in 1907. His collection went to his wife who died in 1931, and then to Anthony de Rothschild.

[3] **Hercules Sacrificing P. Veronese**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory.

Possibly lot 324 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'P. Veronese. A Sacrifice. 16 in. by 21 in.' Lot 324 was bought by A. Casella for £304 10s.

'A Sacrifice [by] Paul Veronese [£]15 ,, ,' is recorded in the Second Dressing Room of the Old State Rooms on the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.158, and HTHL, p.179). On the 1853 inventory '1 D^o [i.e. Painting] the Sacrifice' is listed in 'Mademoiselles Room'. The attribution 'P. Veronese' has been added in pencil, in very poor handwriting and possibly misspelt, and the name of the room altered to 'Mademoiselle d'Este's Room' (HA, Volume 1228, p.91).

[4] **Merry making Ostade**

Entry 4 is attributed to Adriaen van Ostade or Isaak van Ostade.

Not obviously on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory.

This is not lot 73 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'A. Ostade. Interior of a Cabaret, with a peasant seated on a tub in front of a fire, from which he is taking a lighted coal; another peasant, holding a jug in his right hand, and

offering a glass of beer to a child playing with a chair, a peasant holding a pipe, taking down a shutter from a window, a stool and utensils on the left. Signed, and dated 1656. 15 in. by 13 in.' Lot 73 was part of William Beckford's collection and was bequeathed to his daughter, the Duchess of Hamilton, in 1844. Described as 'a Painting of Dutch Interior [by] Ostade', it apparently arrived at Hamilton Palace on 19 May 1848 (HTHL, 'List of Articles of Vertu, Furniture &c _ &c sent from Bath to Hamilton Palace', inside the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory).

(Lot 73 was bought by Duncan for £1,837 10s. Hofstede de Groot noted that it subsequently passed through the collections of Beckett Denison and George Field, but the only paintings by Adriaen van Ostade signed and dated 1656 that have been tracked down to date are the (irrelevant) works in the Royal Collection and the Wallace Collection.)

[5] **small landscape Teniers**

See also entry 22, 'A Landscape & figures [by] Teniers', on this inventory. Entries 5 and 22 may be included in the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory. However, one should note that John Britton recorded 'A few small Pictures, by Teniers' at the 9th Duke of Hamilton's main residence, Ashton Hall, near Lancaster (*Beauties of England and Wales, Vol. 9* (London, 1807), p.104).

In a letter to Lord Archibald Hamilton (the future 9th Duke of Hamilton) dated 9 July 1795, the dealer John Woodburn thanked Lord Archibald for 'letting my son copy the Teniers' (HA, M4/55). Later in the same letter Woodburn begged 'permission to copy the small Teniers and one or two more during your Lordships absence if agreeable'. This clearly shows that Lord Archibald owned at least two good paintings attributed to Teniers by 1795. They could have been entries 5, 22 or 79 on this inventory.

The following pictures are ascribed to Teniers on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory and could include the works referred to in Woodburn's letter:

- [76] 'Holy Family [by] Teniers' listed as in the State Bed Room
- [89] 'Temptation of S^t. Anthony [by] D. Teniers' in the 1st Dressing Room
- [90] 'Landscape with a drunk Peasant [by] Teniers' in the 1st Dressing Room
- [97] 'Night Scene [by] Teniers' in the 1st Dressing Room
- [98] 'Landscape with Figures &c [by] Teniers' in the 1st Dressing Room.

Dr Gustav Waagen saw number 90 in the 'Third Room' (the Bed Room in the Old State Rooms) in 1851 and described it, under 'Teniers', as a 'Landscape, with a woman leading her drunken husband; animated in the figures and very transparent in colouring' (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol. III, p.302). It was lot 51 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

The 1882 Hamilton Palace sale also included the following by 'D. Teniers':

An 'Interior of a Stable, with a woman milking a cow and giving her child a bowl. 25 in. by 19 in.' (Lot 52)

'View of a Chateau, with peasants in the foreground. Signed. 7 in. by 5 in.' (Lot 63)

'An Interior with Three Peasants, one lighting his pipe at the chafing-dish. 8 in. by 6½ in.' (Lot 65)

'Interior of a Kitchen, with a peasant in a red cap with feather, holding a pipe in his right hand and a glass of beer in his left, seated at a table, with a woman holding a paper over chafing dish, a jug on the ground in front, four peasants, two of whom are playing cards, in the background. Signed. 9½ in by 13 in.' (lot 1045)

'A River Scene, with peasants, cattle, and sheep. 26 in. by 36 in.' (Lot 1051).

The 'Interior with Three Peasants' is irrelevant: it was part of William Beckford's collection and was bequeathed to his daughter, the Duchess of Hamilton, in 1844. Described as 'D°_ [i.e. Painting] of the Smoakers [by] Teniers', it apparently arrived at Hamilton Palace on 15 May 1847 and was placed in the Old State Rooms (HTHL, 'List of Articles of Vertu, Furniture &c _ &c sent from Bath to Hamilton Palace', inside the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory).

The 'View of a Chateau' is probably the 'Teniers Chatteau [£20] [by] Tenniers' on the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.172). A 'Small Upright View of a Chateau [by] D. Teniers' listed in the Dining Room at Lansdown Crescent, Bath, after William Beckford's death in 1844 (Bod, Beckford MS. c. 58, p.11) is now at Brodick Castle (see Katrina Thomson's entry in the National Inventory of Continental European Paintings).

Christie's sale of paintings from Hamilton Palace on 6 November 1919 included, as lot 68: 'D. Teniers. The Temptation of Saint Anthony. On copper

– 19 in. by 25½ in.' This is almost certainly entry 89 on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, and the painting recorded in the Old Dining Room in 1835 and in Miss Stewart's Room in 1876. A painting of the same subject, measuring 18.6 x 24.8 cm., signed 'D. TENIERS. FEC' and formerly in Horace Walpole's collection, which was bequeathed by Beckford to the Duchess of Hamilton is now at Brodick Castle (see Katrina Thomson's entry in NICE).

[6] **small landscape a Sketch Rubens**

Possibly the 'Small Landscape & Figure [by] Rubens', valued at £40, listed in the First Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms on the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.173), and before that either the 'Landscape [£]30 [by] Rubens' or the 'Sketch [£]30 [by] Rubens' recorded in the same room on the 1825 inventory (HA, M4/70, p.171).

The simplest solution would be that this is lot 68 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Rubens. A Landscape, with a castle and a gibbet on a roadside. 8½ in. by 6½ in.' This sketch-like oil on panel, measuring 17 x 22.5 cm., is now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin (inv. no. 1948). It is published by Wolfgang Adler, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XVIII: Landscapes and Hunting Scenes. Part I: Landscapes* (Oxford, 1972), cat. 61, pp.170-1 and fig.144. Adler gives its early provenance as '? Charles I, King of England (1600-1649); P.H. Lankrink, 1692; P.J. Waepenaert, 1774; Duke of Hamilton, sale [...] 17 June 1882, lot 68.'

The Waepenaert sale took place in Bruges on 30 May 1774 and the relevant entry appears to be lot 66: 'Un petit Tableau, représentant des Voleurs du grand Chemin. On ose croire que ce charmant Tableau est peint par *Rubens*. Haut 7½ pouces, large 9½ pouces. B.' (*Catalogue d'une tres-belle Collection de Tableaux de differens grands Maîtres Italiens, François, Flamands & Hollandois, recueillie avec beaucoup de goût, choix, & depense, depuis plusieurs années, par Mr. P.J. de Waepenaert Ecuier etc.[...] sous la direction de Paul de Cock*, Bruges, 30 May, 1774, p.15). A photocopy of an annotated catalogue in the Getty Research Institute gives the sale price as '4 - 10 - 0'.

[7] **The Creation Bassan**

= 'Jacob and his Flock [by] Bassan' on the 1811 inventory (my number 67).

= 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 763: 'G. Bassano. Jacob's Vision. 8 ft. 5 in. by 6 ft. 3 in.' Lot 763 was bought by G.W. Currie for £210.

This is not as ludicrous or questionable an association as it might seem. The painting concerned was included in Sotheby's sale of *Important Old Master Paintings* on 2 December 1964 (lot 97) and is now the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. It shows God appearing to an elderly man surrounded by animals and other men and women in a very rustic landscape, and could have been mistaken for a creation scene, or a scene from the book of *Genesis*, which is what it is. It probably depicts either the departure of Abraham for Canaan or the return of Jacob to Canaan.

The painting is discussed in detail in the note to entry 67 on the annotated 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory.

[8] **An historical Sketch. Circular. Rubens**

Possibly 'Germanicus haranguing his Soldiers [by] Rubens' listed as in the Breakfast Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 36). See the annotated 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory for a discussion of the 'Germanicus' and whether it is a sketch for or copy of Rubens's *Decius Mus addressing the Legions*.

If it can be proved that the Hamilton 'Germanicus'/'Decius' was rectangular then, by a sheer process of elimination, entry 8 would have to be accepted as the oval depiction, on a rectangular panel, of the *Birth of Venus* by Rubens, which was lot 44 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale and is now in the National Gallery, London (1195). This is presumably listed as 'Neptune & Amphitrite [by] Rubens' in the Drawing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory and as 'Neptune & Amphitrite [£]50 [by] Rubens' in the same room on the 1825 Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.169).

See Appendix 2, entry 74, for the main discussion of the sketch of the *Birth of Venus*.

(Up until now, the earliest nineteenth-century reference to the *Birth of Venus* was Smith's listing in his *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters, Part 2* (London, 1830), p.250, no.848). Smith records the work 'Now in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton, at his palace in Scotland'.)

[9] **The Death of the Virgin small. Guido**

Could this be the 'Magdalene [by] Lud Carracci' on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (Appendix 2, entry 60) and lot 720 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Correggio. The Dying Magdalen, attended by angels. 31 in. by 24 in.'? Lot 720 was bought by C. Vipan for £325 10s.

Another possibility would be 'Administring the extreme Unction [by] Guido' on the 1811 inventory (Appendix 2, entry 93) and lot 364 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Guido. Extreme Unction – octagonal. 13 in. diam.' Lot 364 sold to the Hon. W. Massey-Mainwaring for £21.

[10] **A Battle piece a Sketch. Rubens**

Almost certainly the 'Battle (a sketch) [by] Rubens' listed in the Breakfast Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 54). 'A Battle Sketch [by] Rubens [£]20' is recorded in the Music Room on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.107, and HTHL, p.127).

The 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records 'Germanicus haranguing his Soldiers [£]50 [by] Rubens' (HA, M4/70, p.167) in the Breakfast Room, but this is another work (see Appendix 2, entry 36). Entry 10 may have been the 'Sketch [£]30 [by] Rubens' listed in the First Dressing Room in 1825 (*ibid.*, p.171).

'A Battle piece a Sketch [by] Rubens' was lot 16 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Rubens. A Battle-Piece – a sketch. 18 in. by 9 in.' It was bought by the dealer Winckworth for £105 and is now identified as the sketch for *The Battle of Ivry*, or *Henri IV at the Battle of Ivry*, and in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne: see Leo van Puyvelde, *The Sketches of Rubens* (London, 1947), p.87, no.65, and pl.65. The sketch, measuring 9 x 18½ inches or 23 x 46 cm., was the model for the unfinished painting now in the Uffizi, which was intended for the Henri IV Gallery in the Luxembourg Palace, Paris. It would have been executed between 1627 and 1631.

Some of the battle sketches attributed to Rubens going through the London salerooms in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries were described as Constantine's battle with Maxentius or Licinius. However, there were also 'A Battle Piece' ascribed to Rubens's school (Christie's, 21 March 1806, lot 2), 'A Battle Piece' (Langdon's, 17 February 1807, lot 16) and 'A spirited Sketch

of a Battle' (Christie's 14 May 1808, lot 21). The latter sold to Wood for three pounds.

[11] **A Bacchanallian piece Rubens**

Not in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

Christie's sale of Sir Joshua Reynolds's collection on 11 March 1795 included, as lot 32: 'Rubens. Bacchanalian Nymphs and Satyrs in a Landscape, the colouring rich and splendid'. There is a fully annotated copy of the sale catalogue in the Hamilton archive which records that lot 32 was bought by Greene for eight guineas (HA, M4/53, p.6).

A 'cabinet picture' representing 'a group of Bachanalian Figures' was included in Edward Edwards's sale on 26 November 1802 (lot 156) and came up at the same auction house again on 1 April 1803 (lot 143) and 22 February 1804 (lot 67).

[12] **A Landscape D° D°**

This could be either lot 68 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, 'Rubens. A Landscape with a castle and a gibbet on a roadside. 8½ by 6½ in.' (now in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin) or lot 1013 in the same sale, 'Rubens and Wildens. Milking-Time, a landscape, with peasants and animals. 21 in. by 31 in.' (now in the Arnot Art Gallery, Elmira). The first would seem to be entry number 6 on this list. If this is correct, then number 12 could be the work now in Elmira. This almost forgotten, overlooked work is actually a free copy of Rubens's *The Farm at Laken*, which has been in the British Royal Collection since 1821. It is noted by Wolfgang Adler, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part XVIII: Landscapes and Hunting Scenes. Vol. I: Landscapes* (Oxford, 1982), p.82, but Adler incorrectly associates it with a painting which went through the Viennese salerooms three times between 1927 and 1932. Matthias Arnot bought lot 1013 at the 1882 Hamilton Palace and took it to Elmira where it became part of the founding collection of the Arnot Art Gallery in 1910.

The copy of the *Farm at Laken* has a long rectangular piece of paper attached to the back which is inscribed, in black ink: '31. Landscape. Rubens'.

'A Landscape Painting [by] Rubens [£]20 ,, ,' is recorded in the Old Dining Room on the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.139). This could refer to either entry 6 or 12 on the present

inventory, although the word 'Painting', rather than 'sketch', seems to indicate number 12.

[13] **A Pair of the Seasons..... Montegna**

= *The Vestal Virgin Tuccia with Sieve* and *Sophonisba drinking Poison* by Andrea Mantegna. These paintings on poplar panels, measuring about 72.5 x 23 cm. or 28½ x 9 inches each, were bought at the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 398) by the National Gallery, London (1125A and 1125B) for £1,785. As Paul Kristeller noted (*Andrea Mantegna* (London, 1901), p.372), they were formerly identified by some as *Seasons* and, more specifically, as *Summer* and *Autumn*. They are listed as 'Eeres and Autumn ____ And. Montigna' (i.e. Ceres and Autumn ____ And. Mantegna) on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 110), when they were in the Billiard Room. Forty years later, Dr Gustav Waagen described them, under Andrea Mantegna, as 'Summer and Autumn; two small figures of masterly execution in chiaroscuro. They vividly recall the Triumph of Scipio in Mr. Vivian's possession, and belong, like that, decidedly to the latest and maturest time of the master' (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol. III, pp.304-5).

Martin Davies followed a number of earlier writers in regarding the quality of both works as 'unworthy of Mantegna himself' and attributed them to a 'Follower of' Mantegna (*The Earlier Italian Schools* (London, 1961), pp.340-1). However, cleaning, examination and reflection have led recent art historians to conclude that they are indeed by Mantegna. David Chambers, Jane Martineau and Rodolfo Signorino observe that 'no other artist approached the subtlety of Mantegna's *Tuccia* and *Sophonisba* [...] in their delicacy of characterisation and sumptuous use of simulated bronze and marble' (*Andrea Mantegna* (London, 1992), p.24).

As noted above, Waagen saw the paintings in 1851, but this is the first time that their provenance has been pushed back before this date. The inventory shows that they were owned by the 9th Duke of Hamilton or his son by the late 1790s-first years of the nineteenth century, and had been in the hands of the Hamiltons for about half a century, if not more, when Waagen visited the palace.

[14] **Head of S^t Francis..... Corregio**

= 'St. Francis [by] Correggio' listed as in the Breakfast Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 40).

Probably lot 710 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Correggio. St. Francis in Ecstasy, holding a rosary, arched top. 20 in. by 14 in.' Lot 710 was bought by Shepherd Brothers for £22 1s.

[15] **A Sea Piece Van Goyen**

This is not lot 36 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'J. van Goyen. A Woody River Scene, with a village church and men with a boat, on the left a ferry-boat with cattle, and figures on the right. Signed. 14 in. by 13 in.' Lot 36 was part of William Beckford's collection and was bequeathed to his daughter, the Duchess of Hamilton, in 1844. Described as 'D^o. [i.e. Painting] Landscape & River Scene Vangoyen', it apparently arrived at Hamilton Palace on 15 May 1847 and was placed in the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms (HTHL, 'List of Articles of Vèrtu, Furniture &c _ &c sent from Bath to Hamilton Palace', inside the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory).

(Lot 36 was bought by the dealer C. Sedelmeyer for £388 10s. Hans-Ulrich Beck records it as 205a in *Jan van Goyen 1596-1656* (Amsterdam, 1973), Vol. II, p.98, and suggests it could be the 36 x 34 cm./14¹/₈ x 13³/₈ inch-panel which was in the collection of Eduard Arnhold in Berlin before the Second World War (*ibid.*, p.99, no.206). Beck illustrates the Arnhold painting and the 'match' with lot 36 is very good.)

[16] **A D^o View of Amsterdam..... Storck**

Probably a view by Abraham Jansz. Storck (c. 1635-after 1704), who generally signed his work. Storck painted many views of Amsterdam with the Haringpakkerstoren or Montelbaanstoren as the main feature, and also paintings of shipping off Amsterdam and other views inside the city. Alternatively, this work could have been by his son, Jacobus Storck, who produced very similar paintings of the Herring Packers Tower and other canal views in Amsterdam.

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, nor in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

[17] **A Cardinal at devotion..... Murillo**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, nor in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

Nothing like this seems to be associated with Murillo today and it seems likely that this is an incorrect attribution.

[18] **A Capital historical picture. Guerchino**

If the writer was being reasonably careful and accurate, this might be one of two works assigned to Guercino in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: '335. An Allegory, with a warrior, Time, Cupid, and a female. 48 in. by 66 in.' or '342. A Sacrifice. 46 in. by 36 in.'

A third painting – '350. The Vision of St. Jerome. 17 in. by 20 in.' – should have been referred to as religious, rather than historical, and is arguably too small to justify the word 'Capital'. (This is probably a replica or copy of Guercino's painting of *The Vision of St. Jerome* (examples in the Musée du Louvre (on copper, 42.5 x 47.5 cm.), Ashmolean Museum, and Liechtenstein Collection), rather than a preparatory sketch. It was exhibited at Sotheby's December 1973-January 1974, no.77, and was included in the Marshall sale at Bonham's on 28 March 1974, lot 36, with measurements of 17 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 19 $\frac{7}{8}$ inches or 42.9 x 50.5 cm.). Similarly, a 'Madonna and Child' (lot 349) should also be irrelevant here.

The 'Allegory' was bought by M. Colnaghi for £43 1s., while the 'Sacrifice' was purchased by T. and W. Banting for £29 8s. The description of the first as 'An Allegory, with a warrior, Time, Cupid, and a female' suggests that it was a reduced replica or copy, in rectangular form, of Guercino's *Allegory with Venus, Mars, Cupid and Time* at Dunham Massey. The latter is oval, 127 x 175 cm. or 50 x 69 inches, and has been at Dunham Massey since at least 1769. The 'Sacrifice' is less easy to identify. It could have been a replica or copy of Guercino's *The Death of Dido* (Galleria Spada, Rome), which shows Dido stabbed through the abdomen with a sword, lying on an unlit pyre, with figures to the left and right and Aeneas sailing away in the centre background. If this was indeed the case, then it would have been the obvious work to have described as 'A Capital historical painting'.

Christie's sale of 'Household Furniture and Valuable Effects' belonging to the late 9th Duke of Hamilton at Ashton Hall on 6 September 1819 included, as lot

35: 'Guercino. Music, an Allegory'. Lot 35 was bought by Rutley for £2 12s. 6d.

Christie's sale of part of the collection of the Duke of Somerset on 28 June 1890 included, as lot 66: 'Guercino. Jacob shown Joseph's Coat. 46 in. by 57½ in.' However, there is no mention of this having been in the Duke of Hamilton's collection (like many other lots in this sale), and the six guineas Murray paid for it hardly suggests 'Jacob' was a 'Capital historical picture [by] Guerchino'.

[19] **A Madonna..... Sassaferat**

Probably either the 'Madonna [by] Sassaferatta' listed in the Breakfast Room or the 'Head, Madona [by] Sassaferato' in the 1st Dressing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my numbers 56 and 83).

These paintings seem to have remained in these two rooms. A 'Madona [£]30 [by] Sassaferata' is listed in the Breakfast Room on the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167), while a 'Head of Madona [£]20 [by] Sassaferato' is recorded in the 1st Dressing Room on the same inventory (*ibid.*, p.171).

The 'Madona' in the Breakfast Room was still there in 1835 when it was valued at forty pounds. An annotation on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.159) records that this painting was subsequently 'Removed' from the Breakfast Room. The 'Madona' in the First Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms is not listed there on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library and possibly becomes the 'Madona [by] Sasso Ferrato [£]10 „ „' recorded in the Duke of Hamilton's Bedroom in 1835 (HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.187).

The 1853 inventory records 'A Magdalene [by] Sass Ferrato' in the Drawing Room of the Old State Rooms and 'A Madonna [by] Soso Ferrato' in the Boudoir in the New State Rooms (HA, Volume 1228, pp.143 and 117 respectively).

The painting in the Boudoir was lot 401 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Sassoferrato. The Madonna in Prayer. 19 in. by 15½ in.' Lot 401 was bought by the dealer F. Davis for £383 5s. According to the catalogue entry on the *The Virgin in Prayer* by Sassoferato in the National Gallery, London, a bust-

length version of the composition was with Frederick Rogers, Leeds, in 1951 and this was 'apparently ex-Hamilton Palace'. Corinne Miller, the former Senior Curator of Leeds City Art Gallery, was unable to supply any information about Rogers or his collection.

[20] **Study of a head Guido**

Possibly lot 737 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Guido. Head of a Female. 21 in. by 17 in.' Lot 737 was bought by Major-General Macdonald for £7 7s.

[21] **One of the Evangelists Guido**

Possibly 'A Saint reding [sic] [by] Guido' listed as in the Billiard Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 124). 'A Saint Reading [£]5 ..,' is recorded in Lady Susan's Dressing Room on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.85, and HTHL, p.101).

These probably become lot 345 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Guido. St. Francis reading. 24 in. by 19 in.' Lot 345 was bought by C.H. Waters for £5 5s.

[22] **A Landscape & figures..... Teniers**

See entry 5.

[23] **A D° Morland**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, nor in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

[24] **Bacchanallian piece Titian**

Not in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

[25] **A Small head Rubens**

Considerable caution is needed here, but this could be the grisaille portrait of Don Gasparo de Guzman, Count of Olivarez and Duke of San Lucar de Barrameda (1587-1645) by Rubens. The 63.4 x 43.4 cm.-panel has a small central portrait bust of Philip IV of Spain's most powerful minister and a very elaborate allegorical surround including two putti with the attributes of Hercules and Minerva, trumpets, flaming torches, palms and swags of fruit. This important work formed the basis for Paulus Pontius's engraving of Olivarez. It was lot 11 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale and is now in the Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique, Brussels.

The portrait of Olivarez is believed to have been included in the auction of the collection of J.B. Horion in Brussels on 1 September 1788. The relevant catalogue entry reads: 'P. P. Rubens. N^o. 16. Un Tableau représentant le Portrait d'Olivarez, avec figur. & attributs en grisaille, sur B. qui se trouve en estampe, gravée par Pontius. H. 23 pouc. L. 18 pouc.' (*Catalogue d'un beau Cabinet de Tableaux des plus fameux Maîtres, tels que P. P. Rubens, Vandick, D. Teniers, &c.; dont la vente se sera en argent de change le 1 Septembre & jours suivants 1788, à la maison mortuaire de M. J. B. Horion, Ecuyer, Seigneur du Jardin; située rue Notre-Dame aux Neiges, à Bruxelles,* p.6). The best annotated catalogue (of which there is a photocopy in the Getty Research Institute) records that lot 16 was bought by 'De Roy' for '124' florins.

John Smith describes the portrait of Olivarez and notes that it is 'now in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton' in his *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters, Part 2* (London, 1830), p.311, no.1151.

The earliest clear reference to this work in the Hamilton Palace inventories appears to be in the 1835 inventories, when 'A Picture Concealed, Portrait of Olivares [by] Rubens [£]80' is recorded in the Second Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms (HA, Volume 1223, p.158, and HTHL, p.179 (with lower case 'c' for 'concealed' and no comma)). It is therefore not the 'Head [by] Rubens [£]50 ,, ,,' noted in the New Sitting Room in 1835 (HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.155) and leaves the identity of this work unresolved. The 1853 inventory lists 'Portrait of Duke Olivares a sketch [by] Rubens' in the Boudoir in the New State Rooms (HA, Volume 1228, p.117).

Because of the identification/correlation of other works by Rubens, it seems that Rubens's *modello* of the Count-Duke was the 'Head with Flowers [£]50 [by] Rubens' listed in the Second Dressing Room on the 1825 inventory (HA, M4/70, p.173).

Dining parlour

[26] **Old Woman cutting her nails. Rembrandt**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory.

The dealer John Woodburn appears to refer to this painting in the first sentence of a letter to Lord Archibald Hamilton (the future 9th Duke of Hamilton) dated 9 July 1795: 'I received the honor of your Lordships Letter, and have got the two Murillo's, and the Old Woman, Rembrandt, to take off the Varnish [...]' (HA, M4/55). Later in the letter Woodburn asks for payment of 'the thirty pounds remaining due to me' for unspecified purchases and/or restoration work, and Lord Archibald has annotated the reverse: 'M^r Woodburn / 30 £ / p^d July / 12th – 1795'.

Entry 26 is probably the *Old Woman Cutting her Nails* in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Bequest of Benjamin Altman, 1913, 14.40.609), which used to be attributed to Rembrandt. Over the past century, there has been considerable discussion as to whether this Rembrandtesque work can be assigned to the leading Dordrecht painter Nicolaes Maes, or to either of the much less well-known Dordrecht artists, Karel van der Pluym or Abraham van Dijck. Hubert von Sonnenburg suggests that it could be an early work by Maes in Hubert von Sonnenburg, *Rembrandt/Not Rembrandt in The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Aspects of Connoisseurship, Volume I. Paintings: Problems and Issues* (New York, 1995), pp.122-4, while Walter Liedtke makes the case for van Dijck in the second volume, *Paintings, Drawings, and Prints: Art-Historical Perspectives*, by Walter Liedtke, Carolyn Logan, Nadine M. Orenstein and Stephanie S. Dickey (New York, 1995), pp.124-8.

John Smith listed the painting as 'An Elderly Woman cutting her Finger-Nails' by Rembrandt in his *Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters, Part 7* (London, 1836), p.75, no.180. His description was based on a mezzotint print by J.G. Haid, and he provides no information on the whereabouts or provenance of the painting itself.

Emile Michel notes that the *Old Woman Cutting her Nails* 'was brought to Russia by M. Bibikoff, and was for some time at Moscow, in the possession of M. Massaloff, the father of the well-known engraver', and that it had been 'recently bought by M. Rodolphe Kann in Russia' (*Rembrandt. His Life, his Work, and his Time* (New York, 1894), pp.131-2).

Michel also states that the *Old Woman* was 'in the Ingham-Foster collection towards the close of the last century' (i.e. in the late eighteenth century).

Virtually nothing is known about Ingham Foster. However, a copy of the sale catalogue of the 'First Part of the Museum of Ingham Foster, Deceased', in the Getty Research Institute, reveals that Ingham Foster was dead by 1783, and that Mr Barford auctioned off his 'matchless Collection of Prints and Drawings' between 24 February and 4 March 1783. It therefore seems likely that other parts of Ingham Foster's collection were also dispersed around this time, and that Lord Archibald Hamilton would have been able to acquire the *Old Woman Cutting her Nails*.

This is the first time that the painting in the Metropolitan Museum has been associated with the Dukes of Hamilton and the Hamilton collection. The picture is not recorded in the later Hamilton Palace inventories and it appears that it stayed with the 9th Duke of Hamilton, either at his main country seat, Ashton Hall near Lancaster, or in his London townhouses. It may have been given by the 9th Duke to his daughter and son-in-law, the Duke and Duchess of Somerset, along with many other paintings. Their descendants sold many paintings associated with the 9th Duke of Hamilton's collection in the late nineteenth century, and the *Old Woman Cutting her Nails* could have been a relatively early disposal. Alternatively, it may have passed out of Hamilton ownership or the Somerset collection at a much earlier date. The answer may lie in the papers of the Dukes of Somerset, rather than in the Hamilton archive.

[27] **A View in Rome with Senators..... Le Sueur**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory.

Almost certainly lot 1131 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'E. Le Sueur. Roman Senators going to the Forum. 39 in. by 58 in.' Lot 1131 was bought by M. S. Nathan for £50 8s.

There is no illustration of or reference to such a work by Le Sueur in Alain Mérot, *Eustache Le Sueur* (1616-1655) (Paris, 1987). Nor is there anything like this in the photographic collection in the Getty Research Institute.

[28] **St. George and the Dragon..... S Rosa**

Probably the 'Jasen enchanting the Dragon [by] Sal. Rosa' listed as in the Billiard Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 109). The same painting, described as 'Jason enchanting the Dragon By Salvator Rosa

£50 ,, ,,', is recorded in the Music Room on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.107, and HTHL, p.127).

= Lot 388 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'S. Rosa. Jason enchanting the Dragon. 4 ft. 5 in. by 3 ft. 2 in.' Lot 388 was bought by A. Young for £10 10s. This must be related to the signed composition of *Jason and the Dragon*, ex-Chandos and George Watson Taylor collections, in Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (60.1251). However this is only $30\frac{5}{8} \times 26\frac{1}{16}$. Another version, signed with the monogram 'SR' and measuring $30\frac{1}{4} \times 25\frac{1}{2}$ inches, was owned by the 1st Marquess of Bute and was listed as 'Salvator Rosa – St. George and the Dragon' in a catalogue of the collection at Luton Park prepared about 1797; it was sold by the Executors of the 6th Marquess of Bute at Christie's sale of *Important and Fine Old Master Pictures*, London, 9 December 1994, lot 49. A third version (believed to be a copy), which was with the Earls of Darnley until 1925, measures $33\frac{1}{2} \times 28\frac{1}{2}$ inches. There was also a fourth version or copy in the collection of the Earls of Harrowby ($39 \times 30\frac{1}{4}$ inches), which had been acquired by Lord Harrowby at Christie's on 1 June 1811 (lot 110) for 36 guineas. Other versions or copies noted to date, which require further investigation, include the canvases sold at Sotheby's, 9 December 1959, lot 38 ($29\frac{5}{8} \times 24\frac{1}{2}$ inches), and Christie's, 1 March 1991, lot 141 (98×75 cm.: about $38\frac{1}{2} \times 29\frac{1}{2}$). The latter was unsigned.

[29] **A Sybil.....Guerchino**

Entries 29 and 42 both list a 'Sibyl' by Guercino and this note covers both paintings.

Entries 29 and 42 are probably the two 'A Sybill's by Guercino listed as in the Drawing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my numbers 59 and 63).

One of these items was almost certainly lot 385 in the Hamilton Palace sale: 'Guercino. A Sibyl. 2 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft.' Lot 385 was bought by G.J. Howard, M.P. (later 9th Earl of Carlisle) for £27 6s. and was at Castle Howard until 1944; it was purchased by Sir Denis Mahon in 1952.

The Hamilton/Castle Howard *Sibyl* is illustrated in colour in 'Guercino in Britain: Paintings from British Collections', published as a supplement to the *Burlington Magazine*, Vol. CXXXIII, No. 1060, July 1991, as number 5. Here

and elsewhere it is noted that the painting was originally executed as a study for the figure of St Irene in the large *St Sebastian succoured by St Irene* of 1619 (now in the Pinacoteca Nazionale Bologna), who holds a bowl and a sponge, and was subsequently developed into an independent, saleable picture. However, there are no *pentimenti* in the *Sibyl*, which suggests that it is an independent repetition/adaptation. For further discussion, see Gabriele Finaldi and Michael Kitson, *Discovering the Italian Baroque: The Denis Mahon Collection* (London, 1997), pp.94-5.

As the date of the 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' inventory is still unresolved, it is as well to note a number of *Sibyls* allegedly by Guercino which were on the art market in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries. The most immediately interesting are the two *Sibyls* attributed to Guercino – catalogued simply as 'Guerchino. Two – the Sybils' – which were included in Skinner and Dyke's sale of the Calonne collection on 25 March 1795 as lot 65. There is a copy of this catalogue, marked up with prices and buyers' names, in the Hamilton archive, which records that lot 65 was sold to 'Pierson' for ten guineas, but nothing else is noted against the entry (HA, M4/54, p.16). Two *Sibyls* attributed to Guercino were also offered by Coxe, Burrell and Foster at the first Marquess of Lansdowne sale on 25 February 1806. They are described with the same unhelpful economy as '35 Guercino – A Sibyl' and '68 Guercino – A Sibyl'. The first was apparently sold for 4 guineas and the second for £2 12s, or else they were bought in at these sums. This sale is of particular interest because the Marquis of Douglas bought the altarpiece of the *Circumcision of Christ* by Signorelli (now in the National Gallery, London) after it failed to sell at the second Lansdowne sale on 19 March 1806. A third *Sibyl* ascribed to Guercino was included in the second Lansdowne sale. This came under the hammer on 20 March as lot 10. Described as 'Guercino ... Sibyl (after)', it made 5 guineas. Another 'Sibyl' attributed to Guercino, 'painted with great Breadth and Effect, was included in Christie's sale of Richard Hulse's collection on 22 March 1806, as lot 37, and apparently sold to 'Woodburn' for a guinea.

The six *Sibyls* noted here suggest that Lord Archibald Hamilton or his son would not necessarily have had to have paid a large amount for the two Hamilton *Sibyls*.

[30] **A Landscape with Diana.....Eckhout**

Presumably an attribution to Albert Eckhout (1610-65) or else to Rembrandt's pupil Gerbrand van den Eeckhout (1621-74).

Not obviously on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory.

Note entry 43, 'Tobit Sacrificing [by] Eckhout'.

[31] **Two of Beggar Boys..... Murillo**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, nor in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

Entry 31 appears to be two paintings of beggar boys, rather than one painting of two beggar boys. The dealer John Woodburn appears to be referring to these two paintings in the first sentence of a letter to Lord Archibald Hamilton (the future 9th Duke of Hamilton) dated 9 July 1795: 'I received the honor of your Lordships Letter, and have got the two Murillo's, and the Old Woman, Rembrandt, to take off the Varnish [...]' (HA, M4/55). Later in the letter Woodburn asks for payment of 'the thirty pounds remaining due to me' for unspecified purchases and/or restoration work, and Lord Archibald has annotated the reverse: 'M^r Woodburn / 30 £ / p^d July / 12th – 1795'.

Messrs Greenwood's sale of the 'Magnificent Collection of Pictures of the late Sir Lawrence Dundas, Bart.', on 29 May 1794 included, as lot 3: 'Murillo. Two Beggar Boys at Play'. This was 1 foot 5 inches by 1 foot 4 inches. There is a copy of the sale catalogue with annotations, prices and sale totals in the 9th Duke of Hamilton's handwriting in the Hamilton archive (M4/52), but nothing besides the price of '1 6 0' (i.e. £1 6s.) is noted beside this entry. If entry 31 relates to two paintings of beggar boys, then this lot would seem to be irrelevant.

[32] **Boar hunt..... Snyders**

The painting by Snyders on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory is described as 'Stag Hunting' (my number 2).

John Britton records 'A picture representing a *Boar-hunt*, by Snyders' in the 9th Duke of Hamilton's collection at Ashton Hall (*Beauties of England and*

Wales, Vol. 9 (London, 1807), p.104) and notes 'This was in the possession of Gainsborough.' Many paintings were given by the 9th Duke of Hamilton to his daughter and son-in-law, the Duke and Duchess of Somerset. A picture of 'Dogs attacking a Wild Boar' attributed to 'F. Snyders' and measuring 48 x 74 inches was included in Christie's sale of part of the collection of the Duke of Somerset on 28 June 1890, as lot 49. Many of the items in this sale are stated to have come 'From the Duke of Hamilton's Collection', but this line does not appear against this work. Lot 49 was bought by Colnaghi for fifty pounds or guineas.

'A Boar Hunt, Ditto [i.e. Large as Life]' attributed to Snyders was included on the second day of Christie's sale of Robert Udny's collection on 18 May 1804, as lot 61. There is a copy of the sale catalogue in the Hamilton archive, which is marked up with prices and buyers' names, but only the price £'8..8..' and the name 'Woodburn' (probably the 9th Duke's dealer, John Woodburn) appear against the lot entry.

A 'Boar hunt, a noble spirited composition, A Chief d'Ouvre' attributed to Frans Snyders was included in Thomas Dawson's sale of the collection of the 5th Earl of Scarborough on 2 November 1807 (lot 71). It was either sold or bought in at £49 7s.

[33] **A Magdalens head Vandyke**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory. The only portrait of Mary Magdalene in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale was lot 761: 'Andrea del Sarto. Portrait of the Artist's Wife as the Magdalen' (see Appendix 2, entry 64).

If the attribution to Van Dyck was correct, then, setting aside whether this was an original or a copy, it might be related in some way to the *Young Woman resting her head on her hand (probably a Penitent Mary Magdalene)* by Van Dyck, formerly in the Sir Francis Cook collection and now in a private collection in New York: see Susan Barnes *et al*, *Van Dyck: a complete catalogue of the paintings* (New Haven and London, 2004), no. I. 42; see also nos. I. 40, I. 41 and III. A9.

Christie's sale of part of the collection of the Duke of Somerset on 28 June 1890 included, as lot 67: 'Guido. The Magdalen contemplating the Crucifix.

33½ in. by 24 in. From the Duke of Hamilton's Collection'. Lot 67 was bought by Sedelmeyer for £30 9s.

[34] **A Monk's D^o D^o**

= 'Head of a Monk [by] Vandyke' listed as in the Billiard Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 123).

= Lot 59 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Van Dyck. A Head of a Monk, represented in nearly a profile view, having scanty hair and mustachios. A mantle of tawny brown colour covers the shoulders, leaving the neck exposed. Painted in a free and dexterous style. 19 in. by 15 in. See Smith's "Catalogue Raisonné," Supplement, p. 402.' Lot 59 was bought by the dealer C. Sedelmeyer for £33 12s.

Christie's sale catalogue description is an almost exact copy of the entry in Smith's *Supplement to the Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters, Part 9* (London, 1842), p.402, no.122. Smith noted that the work was 'In Hamilton Palace'.

The Hamilton painting was subsequently acquired by the Parisian collector Maurice Kann and was included in the sale of his collection at the Galerie Georges Petit in Paris on 9 June 1911, as lot 22. It is illustrated, as 'Buste d'homme', in the large sale catalogue (*Catalogue des Tableaux Anciens [...] provenant de la Collection Maurice Kann*, opposite the entry on p.27). The illustration is not very good and the same could be said of the painting. It appears to be too poorly conceived and executed to be by Van Dyck. Annotated copies of the sale catalogue record that lot 22 was bought by 'Bohler' for 5,000 francs.

Surprisingly, the Hamilton/Kann painting does not appear to be illustrated in Emile Schaeffer's *Van Dyck* (Stuttgart and Leipzig, 1909), Gustav Glück, *Van Dyck* (London, 1931) or Erik Larsen, *The Paintings of Anthony Van Dyck* (Freren, 1988), either as an accepted or a rejected work. It also seems to be omitted from Susan Barnes *et al*, *Van Dyck: a complete catalogue of the paintings* (New Haven and London, 2004).

[35] **Portrait of a Venetian Admiral. Tintoretto**

Not obviously on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, but entry 46, the unattributed 'Portrait' in the Breakfast Room, which is ascribed to 'Tintoretta'

on the 1825 inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167). The identification is explained in more detail on the note to entry 46 on the annotated 1811 inventory.

= The three-quarter-length portrait of a Venetian Admiral with the arms of the Contarini family on his breastplate, which was attributed to Titian in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 767) and is now number 208 in the John G. Johnson Collection in Philadelphia Museum of Art. This work is now thought to represent Giuliano Contarini. It has been ascribed to Tintoretto, Veronese and Titian over the last hundred and twenty years, but there now seems to be a general agreement that it is by Veronese: see Teresio Pignatti, *Veronese* (Venice, 1976), Vol. I, pp.121-2, no.108. The most accurate measurements are 126 x 113.3 cm.

[36] **D^o of a Flemish Lady Rubens**

Possibly/probably the 'Portrait (a Lady) [by] Rubens' listed on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 42).

See the annotated 1811 inventory for a discussion of this work and the *Portrait of a Lady* attributed to Cornelis de Vos now in Philadelphia Museum of Art.

[37] **A Large BacchanallianJordeans**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, nor in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

Christie's sale of 'Household Furniture and Valuable Effects' belonging to the late 9th Duke of Hamilton at Ashton Hall on 6 September 1819 included, as lot 14: 'Jordaens. The Satyr and the Traveller'. Lot 14 was bought by Rutley for 10 guineas. It seems unlikely that this was the 'Large Bacchanallian [by] Jordeans'. That said, it reinforces the idea that the 9th Duke of Hamilton enjoyed such subject-matter: see also entry 11. Entry 37 might have been along the lines of the *Bacchanal* sold in Paris from the Nardus Collection in 1953: see R.-A. d'Hulst, *Jacob Jordaens* (New York, 1982), p.54.

[38] **A Landscape with Cattle. P. Potter**

The only non-religious work attributed to Potter in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale is lot 71: 'P. Potter. A Sheep and Lamb. 6 in. by 5 in.' Lot 71 was bought by J.H. Pollen for £15 15s. Lot 71 cannot be entry 38 and the 'match' must be found elsewhere.

The other work attributed to Potter in the 1882 sale, lot 1011, a landscape with the Holy Family travelling to Egypt, seems to equate with entry number 76 on this list. As entry 76 is an addition to the inventory, one cannot rule out the possibility that 38 and 76 both refer to the painting that became lot 1011. The painting tentatively identified as lot 1011 (see entry 76) includes cattle.

(It should be observed, in passing, that lot 71 must have been a very fine painting, at only 6 x 5 inches, to have realized fifteen guineas in 1882. It may have been a study for a large painting or a good copy of a detail from a painting by Potter.)

[39] **A D^o with figures..... Sal. Rosa**

See also crossed out entry 83.

Entry 39 could conceivably be a single painting from either of the two pairs of landscapes with figures attributed to Salvator Rosa in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale. Lot 358 was described as 'S. Rosa. A Pair of Italian Bay Scenes, with figures. 13 in. by 25½ in.' Lot 712 was offered as 'Salvator Rosa. A Pair of Rocky Landscapes, with figures. 24 in. by 19 in.' The first lot was bought by W. Boore for £42, the second by T. Agnew and Sons for £84. However, one would not expect a pair to be broken up and displayed separately. It seems more likely that entry 39 refers to a 'stand-alone painting', and that we should be looking for another landscape with figures by or after Rosa.

One candidate is the painting included in Christie's sale of part of the Duke of Somerset's collection on 28 June 1890, as lot 62: 'S. Rosa. A Rocky Bay Scene, with fishermen and boats. 28½ in. by 39 in. From the Duke of Hamilton's Collection'. Lot 62 was bought by Sir J. Ramsden for £99 15s.

[40] **A D^o D^o..... Gas. Poussin**

The inventory also records 'A Landscape with Cattle &^c' attributed to Gaspar Poussin, see entry 58.

These paintings might be the 'Landstorm [by] Poussin' and the 'Landscape [by] Poussin' listed as in the Drawing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my numbers 66 and 72 respectively).

As the 'Gaspar Poussins' have still to be thoroughly researched, all the landscapes assigned to Gaspar Poussin/Gaspard Dughet (1615-75) in the 1882 Hamilton sale are listed here:

1115 'A Grand Classical Landscape. 3 ft. 2 in. by 4 ft. 4 in.'

Bought by T. Agnew and Sons for £204 15s.

1118 'A Classical River Scene, with buildings and a flock of sheep. 39 in. by 29 in.'

Bought by Johnstone, Jeans, and Co. for £147.

1119 'A River Scene, with a cascade, and figures in a thunderstorm – the companion.'

Bought by P. and D. Colnaghi and Co. for £63.

1122 'A River Scene, with classical figures. 20 in. by 26 in.'

Bought by P. Hecht for £15 15s.

As discussed in the entries to 66 and 72 on the 1811 inventory, the works in the Drawing Room appear to have been lots 1118 and 1119.

[41] **A Pair of Small heads..... Brawer**

Not on, or obviously on, the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory.

[42] **A Sybil..... Guerchino**

See note to entry 29.

[43] **Tobit Sacrificing..... Eckout**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory. See entry 30 for another work attributed to 'Eckout'.

Back Drawing Room

[44] **Joseph & his bretheren..... Bassan**

= 'Joseph & his Breth[?e]ren' [by] Bassan' listed as in a Dressing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 173).

= *Joseph receiving his Brethren*, formerly attributed to Bassano and to Francesco Bassano and recently assigned to Andrea Vicentino at the suggestion of Professor Roger Rearick. Purchased by James Tannock Mackelvie at the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 368), as a work by Pontormo, and donated by him to what is now Auckland Art Gallery (M1882/2/1).

Entry 44 is listed as 'Joseph and his Brethren [£]60 [by] Basson' in a Dressing Room on the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.178). It is presumably the 'Joseph receiving his Brethern [sic] [by] Leonardo da Bassano

[£]200 ,, ,, recorded in the New Sitting Room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.155). It is noted in the same room, as 'Joseph receiving his Brethren' without a valuation, on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.105). Somebody has added in pencil 'Car[u or a]ssi' or something similar, which appears to be a corruption of Carrucci and partly explains the attribution of the work to Jacopo Carrucci, called Pontormo, in the 1882 sale. It should be stated that Pontormo's *Joseph in Egypt* was not acquired until the early 1820s and is clearly recorded in the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms in successive inventories and by Dr Waagen, who saw it in 1851 and attributed it to Ubertini, rather than to Pontormo.

Oil on canvas, 1536 x 2013 mm. A poor painting, in very bad condition. The likely cost of its conservation was estimated at 80,000 New Zealand dollars in 2002.

[45] **A Waterfall..... Ruysdeal**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, nor in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

A 'Landscape [by] John Rysdale [£]50 ,, ,,' is recorded in the New Sitting Room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.155), but this does not seem to be relevant here.

There is no reference to a 'spare' *Waterfall* by Ruisdael (or his followers or imitators) associated with the Dukes of Hamilton or Somerset in Seymour Slive's catalogue of Ruisdael's work. However, there are a number of *Waterfalls* without eighteenth- and nineteenth-century provenances, and it is quite possible that the 9th Duke of Hamilton could have owned a good *Waterfall* by the artist. The loss of such a work from the Hamilton collection, either to the Duke and Duchess of Somerset or to somebody else, would help explain why the 10th Duke of Hamilton apparently bought the *Little Waterfall in a Wooded Landscape* by Ruisdael at the 1848 Stowe sale (Seymour Slive, *Jacob van Ruisdael. A Complete Catalogue of His Paintings, Drawings and Etchings* (New Haven and London, 2001), p.236, no.279).

The only Ruisdael with a Duke of Somerset provenance noted by Slive is a *Wooded River in a Mountain Landscape*, which was included in Christie's

Duke of Somerset sale on 28 June 1890, as lot 74 (*ibid.*, p.345, no.473). This does not have a waterfall and cannot be entry 45.

[46] **Gothic Architecture with figures. Steynwick**

Entry 46 probably refers to a painting by Hendrik van Steenwyck the Younger (c.1580-1649), who produced many paintings of church interiors with figures. Possibly the 'Inside of a church, with figures by Brughell / Architecture [by] Stenwick' listed in the 1st Dressing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 94); Jan Brueghel I is believed to have painted the figures in some of Steenwyck's early works.

Possibly lot 1046 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'H. Steenwyck. Interior of a Church, with figures – on copper. Signed, and dated 1647. 9 in. by 14 in.' Lot 1046 was bought by Duncan for £204 15s. The price indicates that this is a good, autograph work. Steenwyck specialized in producing church interiors. He worked on small pieces of copper and the relevant photograph boxes in the Witt Library and the Getty Research Institute contain illustrations of paintings stated to be on copper and dated 1604, 1607, 1608, 1609, 1610, 1612, 1614, 1615, 1616, 1617, 1618 and 1619. There may be later works on copper, but this range of dates raises the question is the Hamilton *Interior* painted on copper or on panel, and is it dated 1647 or earlier? In February 2006, the boxes on Steenwyck in the Witt Library contained an *Interior of a Church* at Audley End, on wood, 9½ x 13½ inches, dated 1639, and another *Interior of a Church* at or formerly at Raveningham Hall, 6¼ x 8 inches, signed and dated 1645. An *Interior of a Church* signed with initials and dated 1614, said to be on copper and 9¾ x 14¼ inches, was offered at Christie's London on 11 March 1983 as lot 120.

It should be noted that William Beckford owned an 'Interior of a Church with St. Jerome at His Devotions [by] Steenwyck' and an 'Interior of a Prison _ Soldiers guarding S^t. Peter [by] Steenwyck' (Bod, Beckford MS. c. 58, pp.22 and 13 respectively). At the time of Beckford's death in 1844, the first was in the 'Belvidere' at Lansdown Tower and the second in the Scarlet Room in Lansdown Crescent, Bath. The inventory notes that both were moved to London.

See Appendix 2, number 41, for more information about Steenwyck's paintings of the *Liberation of St Peter*.

[47] **Conversation Brouwer**

Possibly/probably the 'Conversation [by] Brouwer' listed as in the Drawing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 68).

These two entries refer to a 'Conversation' attributed to Adriaen Brouwer.

Possibly/probably lot 45 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'A. Brauwer. Interior of a Cottage, with a peasant seated playing a guitar, a woman seated at a table on which is a pan with mussels, a jug on the ground at her side, and a cat licking a kettle, an open door in the background. 14 in. by 12 in. See Dr. Waagen, "Art Treasures in Great Britain," vol. 3, p. 294.' Lot 45 was bought by Constantine A. Ionides for £609 and is now in the Ionides Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum (CAI.80).

Dr Gustav Waagen saw lot 45 in the 'Second Room', the Drawing Room in the Old State Rooms, in 1851 and described it as 'Adrian Brouwer. – Interior of a cottage, with a peasant playing the guitar, his wife with him. Quite in the harmoniously broken tones and the soft touch of this excellent artist' (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol. III, p.300). It is listed, as 'Man playing Guitar [by] Branwer', in the same room, on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.143).

[48] **A Large Landscape with fig^s. Everdingen**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, nor in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

The description of number 48 and its attribution to a not well known artist strongly suggest that this was a signed painting by Allart van Everdingen (1621-75), who specialized in producing 'large' landscapes with diminutive figures. Alice I. Davies does not refer to a painting by Everdingen associated with either the Dukes of Hamilton or Somerset in her book, *Allart van Everdingen 1621-1675: First Painter of Scandinavian Landscapes* (Doornspijk, 2001), but many of Everdingen's works have little if any provenance before the late nineteenth century.

[49] **One historical After Rapheal.**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory.

Entry 49 is most easily explained as the work that John Britton gives most attention to in his very brief remarks on the paintings owned by the 9th Duke of Hamilton at Ashton Hall (*Beauties of England and Wales, Vol. 9* (London, 1807), p.104):

'*Clelia escaping from the Roman Camp*, by Raphael: a picture of great merit and beauty. This distinguished Lady being delivered as an hostage for the security of a truce to King Porsenna, contrived to make her escape, and swam across the Tiber on a horse. She was afterwards taken, and brought back to the monarch, who, in compliment to her courage, presented her with a horse richly caparisoned. The Romans have commemorated this event by a statue on horseback, which was preserved in the Via-Sacra.'

The painting of 'Clelia' seems to have stayed with the 9th Duke and may well be the 'Raffaello. The Escape of Cloelia, and her Companions, from Porsenna. 25 in. by 40 in.' which was included in Christie's sale of part of the collection of the Duke of Somerset on 28 June 1890, as lot 55, although there is no mention in the catalogue of it having been in the Duke of Hamilton's collection (like many other paintings and drawings in this sale). Lot 55 was bought by Murray for £110 5s.

A painting of the same subject – 'Clelia and her Companion Virgins, escaping from the Camp of Porsenna' – attributed to Primaticcio is recorded in Lord Northwick's collection at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, in 1846 (*Hours in Lord Northwick's Picture Gallery* (Cheltenham, 1846), p.36, no.CLIV). It was included in the Thirlestane sale on 26 July 1859 with the note: 'An important work by this rare master, engraved by Bonasone. From the collection of Mr. Jennings the Antiquarian' (Phillips, *Catalogue of the late Lord Northwick's Extensive and Magnificent Collection of Ancient and Modern Pictures [...] at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham*, 26 July 1859 and twenty-one subsequent days, p.11, lot 100.)

[50] **King Edw.^d 6th. Holbeins**

= 'Edward 6th [by] Holbiens' listed as in the Drawing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 73).

Almost certainly the full-length portrait of King Edward VI attributed to Holbein in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 43), which was subsequently

bought by Queen Victoria. This is now at Hampton Court and is attributed to Holbein's successor, William Scrots. Roy Strong discusses the portraits of Edward VI in *Tudor and Jacobean Portraits in the National Portrait Gallery* (London, 1969), Vol. I, pp.87-94, and illustrates the ex-Hamilton portrait in Vol. II, pl.173. He notes that it is of high quality and may be a product of the Scrots studio.

Sir Oliver Millar equated lot 43 with a portrait of Edward VI in Beckford's collection, which was recorded in an inventory compiled after Beckford's death of items that had been bequeathed to the Duke of Hamilton – or, more correctly, the Duchess of Hamilton (*The Tudor, Stuart and Early Georgian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen* (London, 1963), p.66, no.49). However, Dr Spiker evidently encountered the work now in the Royal Collection at Hamilton Palace in 1816. Spiker describes what he saw as: 'Edward VI. in ganzer Figur, von Holbein, das einzige Bild dieses Königs, das ich in England gesehen zu haben mich erinnere, sehr kräftig gemalt.' (*Reise durch England, Wales und Schottland im Jahre 1816* (Leipzig, 1818), Vol. I, p.312). What must be the same work – 'Edward 6th.. [£]40 [by] Holbiens' – is listed in the Drawing Room on the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.169).

The Hamilton Palace portrait bears a *cartellino* of the type painted on pictures owned by John, Lord Lumley (d.1609) and is listed on the 1590 inventory of Lord Lumley's collection, among the 'Pyctures caryinge the fowrme of the whole Statuary', as 'The Statuary of his sonne King Edward the sixt drawne by [blank]' (Sir L. Cust, 'The Lumley Inventories', *Walpole Society*, Vol. VI, 1918, p.21). It was later recorded in the Lodging Rooms at Lumley Castle and is assumed to have been included in Thomas Dawson's sale of the late 5th Earl of Scarborough's possessions at Lumley Castle on 18 December 1807 as lot 9 (*ibid.*, pp.31 and 34). The catalogue entry simply describes the painting as 'Edward the 6th. a full length', and does not provide an attribution or measurements. Lot 9 was either sold or bought in at £3 15s.

This is a surprisingly late date because the Hamilton inventory would appear, from the references to 'His Lordships Room' (rather than 'His Grace's Room') and the 'signing off' of the first sheet with 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton', to

be a 'transitional' inventory compiled before Lord Archibald became duke in 1799, and accepted as an accurate record not long after his succession. This view is supported by the presence of Poussin's *Intombing of Christ* or *Lamentation* on the inventory (see entry 78), because the artist and diarist Farington clearly records seeing this great work at Hamilton Palace on 26 October 1801.

The acquisition of the portrait of Edward VI needs further investigation. If it was acquired as late as December 1807/1808, or later, this will radically affect the interpretation of the inventory and expand the areas of research into another decade of sales and activity on the art market. The only way out of this impasse would be if it could be proved that the Lumley/Hamilton portrait actually left the Scarborough collection in 1785. An earlier sale took place in August 1785, following the death of the 4th Earl of Scarborough three years earlier, and the auction of paintings on 11 August included a portrait of Edward VI. It is described after a full-length portrait as:

25. [Portrait] whole length, of Ralph Lumley, 1567.

26. ditto of Edward the Sixth (Cust, *ibid.*, p.32).

The latter is thought to have been the '[Picture] Of King Edw: 6. being Prince', listed among the 'Pictures of Smaller Scantlinge' on the 1590 Lumley inventory (Cust, *ibid.*, p.22). The only grounds for questioning this at the moment seems to be the fact that the 1785 portrait sold for almost double the amount of the 1807 portrait – £6 16s 6d as opposed to £3 15s – when one would have expected the 1807 portrait, if it was the Hamilton full-length, to have fetched much more – even at a house sale in the provinces.

[51] **A Sketch of A Cieling P. Cortona**

The 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory includes four works attributed to Pietro da Cortona:

[43] Noli me tangere.....Pietro da Cortona

[47] Marriage of Jacob.....Pietro da Cortona

[175] Abraham's Servant presenting jewels to Rebecca.....Pietro da Cortona

[177] Meeting of Isaac & Rebecca.....Pietro da Cortona

Note also entry 57 on the present inventory.

[52] **The Nativity..... Tintoretto**

Not described as such on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory. However, it could conceivably be the 'Presentation in the Temple [by] Tintoretto' listed as in a Dressing Room on the 1811 inventory (my number 174).

This is a worrying entry because Tintoretto avoided *Nativities* in preference to other subjects. There is no reference to a *Nativity* by Tintoretto on the Hamilton Palace inventories and no such painting was included in the 1882 and 1919 Hamilton sales. Entry 52 may have been an incorrect attribution, or may never have entered the Hamilton collection. It could be the *Presentation in the Temple* on the 1811 inventory (entry 174), although one really would have expected the compiler to have been able to distinguish the difference between a *Nativity* and a *Presentation*.

It would, however, be very foolish to dismiss this entry. There are a surprising number of important paintings and sketches on the present inventory, and it would be worth finding out more about the provenances of Tintoretto's *Adoration of the Shepherds* in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, the *Nativity with the Adoration of the Magi and the Annunciation to the Shepherds* in Boston Museum of Fine Arts (which is attributed to Domenico Tintoretto) and other comparable works. The *Nativity* in Boston measures 155.5 x 364 cm. and was given to the Museum by Quincy Adams Shaw, but nothing seems to be known about its earlier provenance.

See entry 174 on the annotated 1811 inventory for more information on the 'Presentation in the Temple'.

[53] **The holy Family Frati**

= 'Holy Family [by] Frati' listed as in the Breakfast Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 52).

A careful study of the Hamilton Palace inventories reveals that entry 53 is lot 711 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Baccio della Porta [i.e. Fra' Bartolomeo]. The Madonna, with St. Joseph and the Infant Saviour, who is in the act of blessing St. John. 42 in. by 33 in.' Lot 711 was bought by P. D. Colnaghi and Co. for £210.

See the annotated 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory for a full discussion of this work.

[54] **Portrait of a Lady Valasquez**

= 'Portrait [by] Valasquez' listed as in the Billiard Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 121).

Arguably the half-length *Portrait of a Young Woman* by Rembrandt, of about 1665, which was lot 67 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale and is now in Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (1949.1006). John Smith listed the Hamilton/Montreal painting under Rembrandt and as 'Now in the collection of the Duke of Hamilton, at Hamilton' in his *Catalogue Raisonné, Part VII* (London, 1836), p.178, no.559, and the work was sold as a Rembrandt in 1882. However, Hofstede de Groot notes that it was 'Ascribed, when at Hamilton Palace, to Velazquez' (*A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century* (London, 1916), Vol. VI, p.253, no.503). The portrait measures 56.3 x 48 cm. The young woman has been identified as Hendrickje Stoffels and as Magdalena van Loo, the second wife of Rembrandt's son, Titus, but it is now accepted that she is simply an unknown female.

Entry 54 may therefore be the 'Head by Rembrant, called by Velasquez' which Joseph Farington saw during his visit to Hamilton Palace on 26 October 1801 and regarded as amongst the best paintings in the 'other rooms' (Kenneth Garlick and Angus MacIntyre (eds.), *The Diary of Joseph Farington, Vol. V, August 1801 – March 1803* (New Haven and London, 1979), p.1682).

It is unlikely to be the portrait of an effeminate-looking youth, wearing a plumed hat, which was attributed to Velázquez. This is stated to have come from William Beckford's collection at Fonthill and should have nothing to do with the 9th Duke of Hamilton. The 'Youth by Velazquez' was bought by Matthias Arnot at the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 1137) and was stolen from the Arnot Art Gallery in 1945.

[55] **The Virgin Child & S^t John..... After Rapheal**

Possibly lot 336 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Raffaelle, After. The Madonna della Sedia. 32 in by 28 in.' Lot 336 was bought by Mason for £12 12s. However, see entry 65.

[56] **Two historical L. Giordano**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, nor in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

Christie's sale of 'Household Furniture and Valuable Effects' owned by the late 9th Duke of Hamilton at Ashton Hall on 6 September 1819 included, as lot 64: 'Luca Giordano. A set of four subjects from the Heathen Mythology, Ixion, Prometheus, &c.' Lot 64 was bought by Cook for £4 14s. 6d.

[57] **A Sacrifice to Diana..... P Cortona**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, nor in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale. See also entry 51 on this inventory.

The Getty Provenance Index appears to record two different 'Sacrifices to Diana' coming up for sale by auction in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries. The first was a 'Sacrifice at the Temple of Diana to the Manes of Xenophon', which went under the hammer at Jeffrey's in Salisbury on 1 May 1809 as the (unnumbered) eleventh lot. This was said to have been brought by Cardinal Polignac from the Barberini Palace in Rome and apparently measured 6 feet 3 inches high by 9 feet 8 inches wide, or 8 feet high by 11 feet 4 inches with its frame. The outcome of this sale is unknown. Another 'Sacrifice to Diana', described as 'a truly grand gallery picture' and apparently 5 feet 6 inches high by 8 feet wide, was bought in at Phillips on 24 May 1810 (lot 96) for £67 4 shillings. What seems to be the same painting – 'A Sacrifice to Diana, a grand gallery picture' – came up at the same auction house on 22 January 1811 (lot 94) and was bought in at £46 4 shillings.

[58] **A Landscape with Cattle &c.Gas. Pousin**

See entry 40.

[59] **A small Pair of Landscapes. Mola**

These should not be summarily associated with lots 375 and 740 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale. Lot 740 could conceivably be one of the works, but lot 375 definitely was not.

'S^t. Augustine & Child [by] F Mola' is listed as in the 1st Dressing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 84) and almost certainly became lot 740 in the 1882 sale: 'F. Mola. St. Augustine at Hippona. 29 in. by 21 in.' However, lot 375 – 'P. F. Mola. St. John in the Island of Patmos. 19 in. by 16 in.' – was part of William Beckford's collection, bequeathed to his daughter, the Duchess of Hamilton, in 1844. A 'D^o. [i.e. Painting] of S^t. John in Island of Pharos [by] Mola' is listed as having arrived at Hamilton Palace

from Bath on 25 August 1846 (HTHL, 'List of Articles of Vertu, Furniture &c _ &c sent from Bath to Hamilton Palace', inside the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory).

Christie's sale of part of the Duke of Somerset's collection on 28 June 1890 included, as lot 56: 'F. Mola. A Piping Shepherd, with a dog, sheep and donkey in a landscape. 57½ in. by 77 in. From the Duke of Hamilton's Collection'. Lot 56 was bought by Agnew for 17 guineas.

[60] **St John Corregio**

= 'St John [by] Corregio' listed as in the First Dressing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 85).

Probably lot 726 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Correggio. St. John, with the Lamb. 19 in. by 13 in.' Lot 726 was bought by T. Laurie and Sons for £52 10s.

[61] **A Landscape with the Angel Appearing to Agar..... Valasquez**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory.

'Hagar in the Wilderness [no attribution] [£]20' is recorded in the Second Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms on the 1835 inventories (HTHL, p.179, and HA, Volume 1223, p.158).

The only painting depicting Hagar in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale was lot 1047: 'A. Wolfaerts. Hagar and Ishmael. 18½ in. by 24 in.' Lot 1047 was bought by Sir J. Leslie, Bart. for £9 19s 6d.

Front Drawing Room

[62] **Scourging of Christ..... Corregio**

= The 'Scourging of Christ [by] Corregio' listed as in the Breakfast Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 35).

Probably lot 705 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Correggio. Ecce Homo – a fine replica of the picture in the National Gallery. 40 in. by 31 in.' Lot 705 was bought by P. and D. Colnaghi and Company for £273. For the original, see Cecil Gould, *Correggio* (Cornell, 1976), colour plate J, and David Ekserdjian, *Correggio* (London, 1997), p.165, pl.185. Gould refers to the Hamilton Palace painting as one of the 'old copies' (*ibid.*, p.217), but does not give a location

for it. The painting in the National Gallery was purchased by Lord Stewart, later 3rd Marquis of Londonderry, about 1822.

It is just possible that entry 62/lot 705 could become confused with the 'Christ Crowned with Thorns, uncertain [i.e. uncertain attribution], good', noted in Hamilton Place by Sir William Burrell in 1758 (J.G. Dunbar (ed.), *Sir William Burrell's Northern Tour, 1758* (Edinburgh, 1997), p.65), and more work needs to be done to clarify and locate this painting.

[The following entry is an inserted addition.]

[63] **Infant Christ S^r J. Reynolds**

There does not seem to be any evidence that Reynolds ever painted an 'Infant Christ'. It is possible that entry 63 could have been a version or copy of Reynold's *Infant Samuel* or his *Calling of Samuel* (see David Mannings, *Sir Joshua Reynolds. Complete Catalogue of his Paintings* (New Haven and London, 2000), Vol. I, pp.560-2). However, the reference to 'Hercules (a Sketch) [by] Sir J. Reynolds' in the Billiard Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 126) raises the possibility that the 9th Duke's 'Infant Christ' was an *Infant Hercules* by Reynolds. Reynolds is known to have been working on this subject in 1786 and entry 63 could have been related to this project (see Mannings, *ibid.*, p.12). One would have thought that the person making the inventory would have appreciated the difference between Jesus and Hercules, but – at this stage in the investigation – the sketch could be an *Infant Samuel* or an *Infant Hercules*.

Not in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

See entry 126 on the annotated 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory for a discussion of the 'Hercules (a Sketch)'.

[64] **The Intombing Titian**

Possibly the 'Entombing of Christ [by] Titian' listed as in the State Bed Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 77).

Possibly lot 758 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Titian. The Entombment. Joseph of Arimathea on the right is supporting with his right arm the Body of Christ, St. John standing behind him, the Virgin is holding the left arm, and Mary supports the feet, the Magdalen on the left clasping her hands and looking down. 5 ft. by 4 ft. 6 in.' Lot 758 was bought by R. Braithwaite for

£157 10s. The catalogue entry describes neither the composition of the *Entombment* by Titian, of about 1526-32, that was part of the Mantuan collection purchased by Charles I in 1627 and is now in the Louvre, nor the *Entombment* by Titian, commissioned by Phillip II in 1558 and shipped from Venice the following year, now in the Prado. The measurements (60 x 54 inches = 152.4 x 137.16 cm.) are also at variance with the compositions in the Louvre (148 x 205 cm.) and the Prado (137 x 175 cm.). It follows from this that lot 758 was not a simple copy of Charles I's painting, either by an sixteenth or seventeenth-century Italian artist or by Michael Cross or some other painter undertaken in England during Charles I's reign, or of the Prado painting, but an *Entombment of Christ* by another 'Titianesque' artist or a copy of that work.

One possibility is that entry 64 is the painting described in a handwritten addition to the copy of Coxe, Burrell and Foster's *Catalogue of All that Valuable and Magnificent Collection of Italian, French, Flemish, and Dutch Pictures, selected with singular taste and admitted judgement, the property of Mr. Bryan*, 17-19 May 1798, in the Hamilton archive (M4/59). Seven works have been added in longhand on pages 12-13, between lots 37 and 38, on the second day. The last, on page 13, is:

[£]168 .. _ _ Titian . The intombing of Christ _ From S^r Jos _ Reynolds' _ Collection'.

This sale may also have been the source for *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ* by Poussin: see entry 78.

If the *Entombment* attributed to Titian was, indeed, owned by Reynolds then it would probably have been the work auctioned during the third day of Christie's sale of Sir Joshua's collection on 13 March 1795, as lot 90: 'Titian. The Entombing of Christ. He painted this subject various times, but has never treated it with so much success; it is touched with infinite spirit, and produces a grand and noble effect.' There is a copy of this catalogue, fully marked up with prices and buyers' names in the Hamilton archive, which records that lot 90 was bought by 'Cox' for £168 (M4/53, p.18). This is the same price as the *Entombment* added to the 1798 catalogue of the Bryan sale and seems to partly confirm the connection.

[The following entry is an inserted addition.]

[65] **Holy Family after Raphael [? like] Carlo Mar[?ra]**

Possibly/probably the 'Madona della Sedia [by] Carlo. Marrati' listed as in the Billiard Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 112).

Possibly/probably lot 336 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Raffaelle, After. The Madonna della Sedia. 32 in. by 28 in.' Lot 336 was bought by Mason for £12 12s.

See also number 55 on this inventory.

[66] **S^t Cecilia Dominichino**

Not the 'S^t. Cecilia [by] Morillio' listed as in the Billiard Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 111), which equates to entry 81 on the present inventory.

The 1835 inventories list a 'Portrait of S^t Cecilia By Dominichino [£]80 ,, ,,' in the State Bedroom of the Old State Rooms (HA, Volume 1223, p.149, and HTHL, p.169).

Probably lot 723 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Domenichino. St. Cecilia, attended by an angel. 39 in. by 30 in. Engraved by Shepherd.' Lot 723 was bought by C.H. Waters for £189.

This must have been a copy of the *St. Cecilia* now in the Musée du Louvre, which measures 159 x 117 cm. The Louvre *St. Cecilia* depicts the saint seated on the left playing a vertically-held viola in the centre of the composition, while a putto on the right holds a score above his head. Richard E. Spear refers to twelve copies or references to copies but does not mention the Hamilton Palace sale (*Domenichino* (New Haven and London, 1982), Vol. I, p.194). Not enough work has been done on these references to note more than that the 'Saint Cecilia – unframed – 39 in. by 29½ in.' which was included in Christie's sale of *Pictures by Old Masters* on 7 March 1969, as lot 117, might be relevant, if unlikely, while the 47 x 34½ inch painting or paintings offered by Christie's on 15 April 1966 (lot 2) and 28 July 1966 (lot 36) are too big to be the Hamilton *St. Cecilia*.

The Getty Provenance Index has nine records of *St Ceciliias* attributed to Domenichino coming up for auction in London between about 1770 and 1812. The earliest two can probably be dismissed as too large: the painting offered at

an anonymous London auction house on 16 June 1794 (lot 399) was 4 feet 2 inches by 5 feet 7 inches, while the *St Cecilia* at Coxe's on 20 May 1802 (lot 83) was 5 feet by 3 feet. Nothing is known about the *St Cecilia* at Christie's on 11 December 1802 (lot 94), nor whether it was sold or bought in. The *St Cecilia* at Christie's on 28 January 1804 was apparently 4 foot high by 3 foot wide and would therefore have also been too big. Christie's sold a *St Cecilia* about which there seems to be no information on 17 February 1804 (lot 13) to Barnett Senior for £1 15 shillings. The *St Cecilia* sold at Christie's on 19 May 1804 (lot 98) is now in the National Gallery, London (5284) as Roman, 17th century. A *St Cecilia* at Christie's on 31 May 1806 (lot 45) was bought in at £28 17 shillings. The last two records – 'St. Cecilia, after [Dominichino]', bought in at Phillips on 6 June 1811 (lot 186) for ten guineas, and a 'St. Cecilia – after [Dominichino]' at Christie's on 20 December 1811 (lot 3), which sold to Brown for £1 13 shillings – are too late to be synonymous with the Hamilton painting.

[67] ~~Ascension of the Virgin~~ **Valasquez**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, nor in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, as a Velázquez.

The 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory in Hamilton Town House Library lists 'The Ascension of Virgin Mary in black frame' as an addition to the Duke's Bedroom (p.189). This inventory was drawn up in February 1835 and entries were added to it in the late 1830s-early 1840s and apparently later.

One possibility is that the 1835 reference was to lot 73 in Christie's sale of Hamilton paintings on 6 November 1919: 'Van Dyck. The Ascension of the Virgin – grisaille. On panel – 12½ in. by 8 in.'

At present, there is no clear evidence that entry 67 entered the Hamilton Palace Collection, and it is worth noting that Christie's sale of part of the Duke of Somerset's collection on 28 June 1890 included, as lot 54: 'Titian. Group of Saints: a study for the picture of the Assumption of the Virgin. 23 in. by 26½ in. From the Duke of Hamilton's Collection'. The Somerset painting would probably have been one of the pictures that the 9th Duke of Hamilton gave to his daughter and her husband, the Duke and Duchess of Somerset, in the 1810s.

[68] ~~The Virgin & Child~~ **Rubens**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, nor in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

[69] **Christ Asleep on his Cross.** **Guido**

= *Christ Child asleep on the Cross*, associated with the studio of Guido Reni, now in Auckland Art Gallery (1882/2/2). Purchased at the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 713) by James Tannock Mackelvie for £23 2s. and donated by him to what is now Auckland Art Gallery. Oil on canvas, 54.4 x 47.9 cm.

For a discussion of the treatments of this subject associated with Guido Reni, which includes the Hamilton/Auckland work, see D. Stephen Pepper, *Guido Reni: a complete catalogue of his works* (Oxford, 1984), p.296.

(Intriguingly, Auckland has a pen and brown ink and grey wash drawing of a sleeping child in the same pose, which is also part of the Mackelvie Trust Collection, but nothing is known about its provenance.)

Although entry 69 seems to match the painting now in Auckland, care is needed because Christie's sale of part of the Duke of Somerset's collection on 28 June 1890 included, as lot 58: 'Guido. The Infant Christ, sleeping, attended by angels. 17 in. by 21 in. From the Duke of Hamilton's Collection'. Lot 58 was bought by Sedelmeyer for 4 guineas. One really needs to find out if this could be called a 'Christ Asleep on his Cross' before stating categorically that entry 69 is definitely the Auckland painting.

The Somerset sale also included, as lot 65, 'Guido. An Infant sleeping. 20 in. by 26¼ in.' There is no mention of this having been in the Hamilton collection, but it, too, needs to be borne in mind.

[70] **A Sketch of Christ with Angels**.....**Rubens**

= an oil sketch of *Christ Triumphant over Sin and Death* by Sir Peter Paul Rubens, transferred from panel to canvas, 30.5 x 28.5 cm. (whereabouts unknown). This was a sketch for the painting of the same title that hung over the tomb of Jeremias Cock and his family in the church of St Walburga, Antwerp, and was in the collection of Dr J. Declercq, Antwerp (see David Freedberg, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part 7, The Life of Christ after the Passion* (Oxford, 1984), pp.64-8 and fig. 28).

The sketch itself was acquired by Brooklyn Museum in 1921 but was stolen in 1933 (Freedberg, *ibid.*, pp.68-9 and fig.31). It is assumed to have been destroyed.

Entry 70 is recorded on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory as 'Resurrection (a sketch) [by] Rubens' (my number 39). These two inventory references reveal that the Hamilton sketch was not the *Christ Triumphant over Sin and Death* included in Christie's sale of the Henry Hope collection on 27 June 1816 (lot 89) and bought by George Watson Taylor, as some (e.g. Held) have suggested.

See the annotated 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory for later references to the work in Hamilton Palace.

The sketch was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale as lot 60: 'Rubens. Christ Triumphant over Sin, Death, and the Grave, a sketch for the picture painted for the Cockx family, engraved by Eynhouedts. 11 in. square. See Smith's Catalogue, Part II., p. 8.' Lot 60 was bought by Winckworth for £157 10s.

[71] **The Trinity Carrac[h/c]i**

This is not obviously on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, unless it is the *Coronation of the Virgin* by Bartolomeo Schedoni, which shows the Trinity crowning the Virgin Mary (see Appendix 2, entry 88), and was a temporary re-titling/re-attribution or mistake/misunderstanding.

[The following entry is an inserted addition.]

[72] **Martyrdom of S^t Lawrence.....Bandinelli after Raphael**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory.

'A Martyrdom S^t., Laurent By [blank] [£]10 ..,,' is listed in the 'Blue Room' on the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.81). The 'Martyrdom of S^t Laurence' is recorded in the 'Blue Room over Gallery' on the 1853 Hamilton Palace inventory. The attribution 'Bandinell[?] e]' has been added in pencil (HA, Volume 1228, p.74).

Probably lot 331 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Baccio Bandinelli. The Martyrdom of St. Lawrence. 39 in. by 50 in.' Lot 331 was bought by C.H. Waters for £32 11s.

An Alinari photograph in the Getty Research Institute, with the reference '48724 Reggio Emilia Collezione Parmeggiani Martirio di S. Lorenzo (Baccio Bandinelli) Ediz. F III Alinari Firenze 1941', shows that this was probably a very 'frontal' composition, with a central vanishing point, a very crude 'palazzo' with two 'pavilions' and a recessed central façade wall. The martyrdom of the saint takes place on ground level and is witnessed by fifteen figures on a raised central recess and by two dozen people standing on a pavement-cornice running right round the building at first-floor level.

[73] ~~The Last Supper~~ **Raphael**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, nor in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

It is possible that there is some confusion and a mistake here. John Britton highlighted 'Some original Cartoons, designed by Leonardo da Vinci, for his much celebrated picture of the *Last Supper*' at the 9th Duke of Hamilton's main residence, Ashton Hall (*Beauties of England and Wales, Vol. 9* (London, 1807), p.104). As Raphael is not known for a *Last Supper*, one does wonder if the wrong name has been written here and there is a link with the works recorded by Britton.

[74] **St Francis**.....**Sal. Rosa**

= 'St. Francis [by] Sal. Rosa' listed as in the Billiard Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 118). 'St Francis [by] Salvator Rosa [£]50 ,, ,' was listed in the Music Room on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.107, and HTHL, p.127, with S^t).

Not obviously in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale. Lot 345 was 'St. Francis reading', allegedly by Guido Reni. This measured 24 x 19 inches and was bought by C. H. Waters for £5 5s. However, lot 345 might be entry 21.

[75] **Abraham Offering up Isaac**. **Dominicheno**

Not on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, nor in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

[The following entry is an inserted addition written in pencil.]

[76] **The Holy Family, Journey into Egypt** **Paul Potter**

= The 'Flight into Egypt [by] Paul Potter' listed as in the 1st Dressing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 92).

= Lot 1011 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Paul Potter. A Landscape, with the flight into Egypt. 18 in. by 24 in.' Lot 1011 was bought by L.M. Casella for £46 4s.

This seems to be the *Flight into Egypt* by Potter, signed 'Paúlús Potter f@ 1644' and measuring 18½ x 25 inches (47 x 63.5 cm.), that was with the Newhouse Galleries, New York, in June 1968. A mount in the Witt Library records that this painting was in Fischer's sale in Lucerne, 13-17 June 1950, as lot 2460. The painting is not listed in Hofstede de Groot and the Newhouse Galleries seem to have been unaware of its probable provenance.

[77] **S^t ~~Fran~~ Bartholomew Spaniolet**

Probably the 'S^t Bartholomew [by] Spagnioletti' (i.e. Ribera) or an identical entry four lines down of works listed as in the Billiard Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my numbers 116 and 120).

The 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174) also lists two *St. Bartholomews* ascribed to Spagnioletto (i.e. Ribera) in the Billiard Room:

'S^t. Bartholomew [£]40 Spagnioletti
S^t.. Bartholomew [£]30 Spagnioletti'.

The same works, with the same valuations, are recorded in the Music Room on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.107, and HTHL, p.127).

These paintings, also identified as 'St. Bartholomew' and assigned to Spagnioletto, were included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale as lots 386 and 703. Both are stated to have measured 30 x 25 inches. Lot 386 was bought by T. and W. Banting for £42, while 703 was purchased by J. Hozier for £32 11s.

The *St. Bartholomew* now attributed to 'Circle of Ribera' in the Museum of Art, El Paso, Texas (K1698/61-1-52), which measures 30⁵/₈ x 25⁵/₈ inches (77.8 x 65.1 cm.), is believed to be one of these paintings (Colin Eisler, *Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection. European Schools excluding Italian* (Oxford, 1977), p.211, fig.208). Another *St. Bartholomew*, measuring 29¼ x 23¾ inches (74.3 x 60.3 cm.) and now regarded as 'School of Ribera', is in Birmingham Museum of Art, Birmingham, Alabama (K1827/61.103) (*ibid.*, pp.210-1, fig.207). It could be the other Hamilton painting, but Eisler preferred to limit its early provenance to 'Duke of Medina-Coeli, Naples (?)'.

Both Kress paintings were in the Contini-Bonacossi collection, in Florence, in the second quarter of the twentieth century.

[78] **The Intombing of Christ _ Poussin**

= The 'Descent from the Cross [by] N. Poussin' listed as in the Drawing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 62).

= *The Lamentation over the Dead Christ* by Nicolas Poussin, which was purchased at the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 1120) by the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin (214).

The artist and diarist Joseph Farington saw Poussin's great late painting during his visit to Hamilton Palace on 26 October 1801 and commented: 'A fine picture, the entombing our Saviour, by Nicolo Poussin, brought here by the present Duke, – who appears by the additions He has made to have a taste for pictures' (Kenneth Garlick and Angus MacIntyre (eds.), *The Diary of Joseph Farington, Vol. V, August 1801 – March 1803* (New Haven and London, 1979), p.1682).

Anthony Blunt noted that the Adriaan Bout sale at The Hague on 11 August 1733 included an *Entombment*, as lot 6, whose size is given as 38 x 54 inches. He thought that these dimensions corresponded more closely to the Dublin *Lamentation* (38 x 52 inches) than to the earlier Poussin *Lamentation* in Munich (*The Paintings of Nicolas Poussin. A Critical Catalogue* (London, 1966), p.57, no.83). (The metric measurements of the Dublin painting are 94 x 130 cm., while the Munich canvas is 103 x 146 cm.)

Otto Grautoff stated that the Dublin painting was 'Um 1780 von Sir William Hamilton in Rom erworben' (*Nicolas Poussin. Sein Werk und Sein Leben* (Munich and Leipzig, 1914), Vol. II, p.180), but as Blunt observed there does not seem to be any evidence to support this claim. One possible explanation may be confusion over 'The raising of Lazarus, a sketchy painting, finely composed', ascribed to Poussin, in Christie's sale of Charles Greville's collection, which included paintings from Sir William Hamilton's collection, on 31 March 1810 (lot 68). The same painting was sold at Squibb's on 27 May 1811 (lot 115) with the note: 'This Picture was brought from Rome, by Sir William Hamilton'.

The working theory is that *The Lamentation* was the work included in Coxe, Burrell and Foster's sale of Michael Bryan's collection on 18 May 1798 (the second day of the sale) as lot 21:

N. Poussin __ 21 The entombing of Christ –A grand and noble composition,
very capital

There is a copy of this catalogue in the Hamilton archive (M4/59), with all the prices written in ink, but unfortunately there is only the hammer price of [£]'33 .. 12 ..' against lot 21.

As noted above, entry 64 may also be associated with this sale.

[79] **An Interior Stile of Rubens. Teniers**

[80] **S^t Sebastian Guido**

= the 'S^t. Sebastian [by] Guido' listed as in the Drawing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 71).

= The recently conserved *Martyrdom of St Sebastian* in Auckland Art Gallery (M1882/2/3). This was bought at the Hamilton Palace sale (lot 764) by Auckland's benefactor James Tannock Mackelvie for £46 4s. It is now thought to be of sufficient quality to justify attribution to Guido Reni himself, rather than to his studio, and the question is now being raised as to whether it is the prime canvas or a very early version.

Dr S.H. Spiker, the librarian to the King of Prussia, saw a *Martyrdom of St Sebastian* in Hamilton Palace in 1816 and described it as 'die Marter des heil. Sebastian, von Guido Reni, wahrscheinlich das Original des ahnlichen Bildes in der Gallerie von Dulwich bei London' (*Reise durch England, Wales und Schottland im Jahre 1816* (Leipzig, 1818), Vol. I, p.311. The same painting appears to be listed in the Drawing Room of the palace as 'S^t. Sebastian [£]80 Guido' on the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.169) and as 'S^t. Sebastian Guido [£]100 ,, ,,' on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.165).

Another *St Sebastian*, described as '1 Picture over the Chimney, Martyre of S^t Sebastian School of Guido [£]20 ,, ,,' is recorded in 'Mademoiselles Bed Room' on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.59 (with 'By' crossed out and the entry changed to 'School of'), and HTHL, p.75), but the placing

and valuation militate against it being the large and impressive painting now in Auckland.

'St Sebastian' and the 'Infant Jesus asleep' are both listed, as by 'Guido', in the Drawing Room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.143) and, as 'St Sebastian Guido' and 'Christ asleep on the cross Guido', in the same room – the 'Old State Drawing Room' – on the 1876 inventory (HTHL, p.95). Frances Vivian suggested that the Hamilton/Auckland painting may have been owned by Consul Smith (*Il Console Smith, mercante e collezionista* (Vicenza, 1971), p.186). Smith's *St Sebastian* was about 165 x 132 cm. Vivian made the connection when the dimensions of the Auckland painting were given as 66 x 51¼ inches – about 167.7 x 130.2 cm. – which Vivian simplified to 168 x 130 cm. Since then the work has been re-examined and the new measurements of 167.6 x 130.2 cm. strengthen the possibility that Smith's painting passed into the hands of the Hamiltons.

Vivian assumed that Smith's *St Sebastian* was acquired by the Marquis of Douglas, later the 10th Duke of Hamilton (*ibid.*, p.79), but in fact it seems to have been among the paintings in Smith's collection purchased by George III. It is recorded in the catalogue of the King's Italian paintings 'Bought by His Majesty, and now chiefly at Kew', published by Lionel Cust ('Notes on Pictures in the Royal Collections – XXV', *Burlington Magazine*, XXIII, 1913, pp.150-62). Attributed to Guido, it is listed as '243. The Martyrdom of S. Sebastian, ¾ length 5.5 [high] 4.4 [wide]' (*ibid.*, p.154). These measurements are approximately 165.1 x 132.1 cm.

This painting is no longer in the royal collection. Richard Dalton, George III's Librarian and Surveyor, purchased Smith's collection for the King and somehow ended up with some of Smith's paintings (see Anthony Blunt's comments in A. Blunt and E. Croft-Murray, *Venetian Drawings of the XVII and XVIII Centuries in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen at Windsor Castle* (London, 1957), pp.12-6). Guido's *St Sebastian* is not included in Christie's sale of Dalton's collection on 9-11 April 1791, but nevertheless may have been owned by him.

It should be noted that a painting of 'St. Sebastian' went through Christie's on 1 April 1791, as lot 8, and sold for £1 11s to 'Provis'.

The other possible links may be set out as follows.

Entry 80 is unlikely to have been lot 27 in the sale of the 'Remaining Part of the Orleans Collection' on 14 February 1800, which was simply catalogued as 'Guido Rheni...27 St. Sebastian' (Peter Coxe, Burrell, and Foster, *The Catalogue of the Remaining Part of the Orleans' Collection of Italian Paintings, which were exhibited last year at Mr. Bryan's Gallery, in Pall Mall, and at the Lyceum in the Strand, for sale by private contract; and which will be sold by auction by Peter Coxe, Burrell, and Foster, at Mr. Bryan's Gallery, in Pall Mall, On Friday the 14th of February, 1800*, p.9. There is a fully priced catalogue of this sale in the Hamilton archive (M4/64), which records that lot 27 was sold for £'23.. 2..', but nothing else is recorded anything against this entry.

The main problem with this linkage is that the dimensions of the Orléans painting are given as 7 foot 1 by 5 foot 3 inches and are believed to be the measurements without a frame (information from Julia Armstrong-Totten, June 2006). This would mean that the Orléans painting was approximately 216 x 160 cm. and appreciably larger than the Hamilton/Auckland painting, which is only 167.6 x 130.2 cm. One cannot seriously attempt to link the two works unless new evidence can be introduced that proves that the measurements of the Orléans *St Sebastian* included a frame.

The situation is complicated because a remarkable number of *St Sebastians* ascribed to Guido Reni passed through the London art market between 1790 and 1811.

There was apparently only one *St Sebastian* by Reni in the Orléans collection bought by the British syndicate and dispersed in the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries. This painting was included in the private treaty sale of works from the Orléans collection held by Michael Bryan on 26-28 December 1798, as lot 180. The syndicate wanted £60 for the picture, and although the sum of £60 is noted in surviving catalogues, it seems that the work failed to sell (information from Julia Armstrong-Totten). As noted already, the painting was included in Coxe's sale of paintings from the Orléans collection on 14 February 1800 and the Getty Provenance Index notes that it is 'unknown' whether it was sold or bought in at £23 2s.

Another *St Sebastian* was sold for only £1 16s at Christie's on 8 May 1801 (lot 70); the low price suggests that this was not the Hamilton painting. What seems to have been a very fine painting, apparently from Paris, was offered by Michael Bryan on 6 November 1801, as lot 130, and was either bought or left unsold at 350 guineas. The Getty Provenance Index associates this with a work sold on 15 May 1801 (possibly an error for the *St Sebastian* auctioned on 8 May 1801, although this seems incredible, given the huge difference between £1 16s and 350 guineas). 'A Whole Length Figure of St. Sebastian, the well known Original Picture from the Palais Royale' came up at Christie's on 12 December 1801, as lot 102, and was apparently bought by William Morland for £27 6s. The Provenance Index associates this with the Orléans *St Sebastian* auctioned on 14 February 1800 (lot 27) and states that it was sold again at Christie's on 27 March 1819 (lot 129), which, if correct, would mean that it cannot be the Hamilton painting. Some credence is given to the statement that this was the Orléans painting by the dimensions 7 feet 6 inches x 5 feet 7 inches. According to the Provenance Index, the Orléans *St Sebastian* was auctioned again on 2 May 1842 and 12 June 1849.

A *St Sebastian* with four soldiers in the background, which was 6 foot high by 4½ feet wide, was sold at Skinner and Dyke on 18 March 1802 (lot 186) to Chalmers for £225 15s and is now in Dulwich Picture Gallery. Another *St Sebastian* was bought in at Christie's on 4 May 1805 (lot 46) for £24 3s. 'A composition of peculiar elegance' was bought by Henry Tresham at Phillips on 23 May 1806 (lot 15) for 200 guineas. A copy, along with a flower piece, was bought in at Christie's on 2 July 1808 (lot 29) for £2 12s. A 'St. Sebastian, the Figures admirably relieved, and painted with a firm and spirited pencil', was bought in at £51 9s at Christie's on 31 May 1809 (lot 89). A *St Sebastian* with a painting attributed to Honthorst passed through Abbott's on 15 September 1809 (lot 41) with unknown result. The fact that this was a joint lot indicates that it would have been a poor work and unlikely to have been the Hamilton *Saint Sebastian*. A 'St. Sebastian, finely composed and drawn, painted in his silvery tone of colour, a grand gallery picture', was bought in at Phillips on 23 March 1810 (lot 41) at £178 10s. According to the Index, it came up on the market again on 25 March 1812, but there is no individual

record of this in the database. What must have been a very undistinguished work was either bought in or sold at Phillips on 7 April 1810 for £2 17s. An irrelevant painting – only 3 feet by 2¾ feet – was sold at the same auction house on 24 May 1810 (lot 61) for £59 17s. The Provenance Index links this with the painting sold on 23 May 1806 for 200 guineas, which is also associated with Hastings Elwin. A *St Sebastian* was bought in at Christie's on 1 June 1810 (lot 42) at £61 19s. A painting described as 'School of' Guido Reni was offered at Farebrother's on 28 June 1810 and was either sold or bought in at £17 6s. A *St Sebastian* was sold or bought in at Phillips on 22 February 1811 (lot 86) at nineteen guineas. Finally, a 'truly capital picture' was bought in at Christie's on 14 March 1812 (lot 106) at £65 2s. The Index associates this with a work that was auctioned on 22 June 1811 and 22 March 1813, but there are no individual records of these two sales on the database.

The valuation of £80 for the Hamilton *St Sebastian* in 1825 indicates that it probably cost about this amount and suggests that more expensive works can probably be ruled out of the equation. However, this does not get us very far. It directs attention to the Orléans *St Sebastian* that could have been bought from Bryan in December 1798 for sixty pounds, which evidently did not enter the Hamilton collection at this time and seems to be the wrong dimensions, and to the *St Sebastians* which were bought in at Christie's on 31 May 1809, lot 89 (£51 9s) and 1 June 1810, lot 42 (£61 19s). As the 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' inventory should have been drawn up before 1809, they seem irrelevant.

The basic conclusions of this review must be that we need to focus attention on the *St Sebastian* owned by Smith and George III and away from the Orléans painting to other *St Sebastians* on the London and Italian art markets.

[81] **St Catherine..... Murillo**

= 'St.. Catharine [by] Moret[?a]' listed as in the Drawing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 70). See Appendix 2, entry 70, for the justification.

[82] **Moses Striking the Rock Tintoretto**

= 'Moses striking the Rock [by] Tintoretto' listed as in a Drawing Room on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (my number 131).

= *Moses striking the Rock* by Tintoretto now in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt (1521). Oil on canvas, lined, 118.1 x 182 cm. A label on the back of the stretcher is inscribed: 'No. 93009 G/30 x 40 Troffo'. The stretcher is also inscribed in red chalk: '2508'.

For these details and the work's post 1882 provenance, see Jochen Sander and Bodo Brinkmann, *Italian, French and Spanish Painting before 1800 at the Städel* (Frankfurt, 1997), p.43 and pl.59. Sander and Bodo associate *Moses striking the Rock* with the work owned by Roberto Canonici (d.1638) in Ferrara in 1632.

The Hamilton/Städel canvas is listed as 'Moses Striking the Rock £100 [by] Tintoretto', in a 'Drawing Room', on the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.176). It appears as 'Moses Striking the Rock [by] Tintoretto [£]100' in the Music Room, along with the 'Finding of Moses [by] Tintoretto [£]25', on the 1835 inventories (HTHL, p.127, and HA, Volume 1223, p.107). 'Moses striking the Rock' was still in the Music Room in 1852/53 (HA, Volume 1228, p.121) and 1876 (HTHL, 1876 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.66).

[83] ~~A Landscape with a historical [figures].....~~ **Sal. Rosa**

This might be the 'Landscape (the sooth sayers) [£]30 [by] Salvator Rosa' which was in the Breakfast Room by 1825 (HA, M4/70, p.168) and became lot 706 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Salvator Rosa. A Rocky Bay Scene, with soothsayers. 22 in. by 12 in.' Lot 706 was bought by T. Agnew and Sons for £67 4s.

Alternatively, it might be the 'Battle of the Amazons [£]40 ,, ,,' listed in the 'Anteroom' of Lady Susan's Apartments on the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.93). A 'Large size painting of the Battle of the Amazons in gilt frame' is recorded in the 1853 Hamilton Palace inventory, in an 'Anteroom' between the 'Nursery late Miss Steward's Bed room' and 'Lady Lincolns Sitting Room' (HA, Volume 1228, p.58). This became lot 338 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'S. Rosa. The Battle of the Amazons. 50 in. by 70 in.' Lot 338 was bought by T. Chapman & Son for £9 9s.

[84] ~~figures _~~ **Christ Scourged:M. le Carravagio**

Possibly lot 332 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Guido. Christ Scourged. 36 in. by 31 in.' Lot 332 was bought by C.H. Waters for £3 13s. 6d. This was probably 'Our Saviour crowned with Thorns By Guido [£]5 ,, ,,', recorded in 'Lady Susans Lady's Maids Room' on the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.103).

Entry 84 should not be confused with the 'Scourging of Christ [by] Corregio', which is entry 62 on this inventory and entry 35 on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory (Appendix 2, number 35).

[85] **Virgin & Child.....Corregio**

Possibly/probably lot 717 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Correggio. The Madonna and Child. 15 in. by 10 in.' Lot 717 was bought by W. Boore for £50 8s.

Appendix 2: Annotated Inventory of Some of the Pictures in Hamilton Palace in 1811, entitled 'Pictures. Hamilton Palace. 1811' (HA, M4/67)

The 1811 inventory was undertaken following major restoration and improvements to the interior of Hamilton Palace, associated with the Marquis of Douglas's marriage to Susan Euphemia Beckford in April 1810. It definitely reflects the recent re-arrangement of paintings in the Breakfast Room and Drawing Room in the (Old) State Rooms on the first floor of Hamilton Palace and another 'Drawing Room'. Two paintings of the Empress Catherine II (Catherine the Great) acquired by the future 10th Duke after 1806 are included in the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms and another 'Drawing Room' (see entries 44 and 130). Moreover, Louis Simond states that when he visited Hamilton Palace on or around 22 August 1810 Poussin's *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (now in the National Gallery of Ireland) was 'By the side of' Rubens' *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (*Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain, during the years 1810 and 1811* (Edinburgh, 1815), Vol.I, p.281). The latter hung in the Long Gallery, which would mean that the Poussin was there too in August 1810. Simond ends his paragraph on the Poussin with the sentence 'Several excellent portraits by Vandyke' (*ibid.*, p.282). This must relate to the famous portraits by Van Dyck in the Gallery and confirms that the Poussin was, indeed, there in August 1810. However, when the 1811 inventory was taken, it was one of the two principal paintings in the Drawing Room in the Old State Rooms (see entry 62).

It might be thought that the inventory reflects a sudden in-rush of a large group of paintings but there is no evidence of this. The Marquis of Douglas received a letter from the dealer Dr Innocenzo della Lena, 3 Macclesfield Street, Soho, dated 3 January 1811, offering him twenty-four works that had belonged to the 'Cavalier Branciforte Siciliano' (HA, Bundle 1129). Della Lena's offer included paintings attributed to Andrea del Sarto, Fra Bartolomeo, Caravaggio, Dürer, Guido Reni, Rubens, Schidone, Murillo and others. However, Douglas does not seem to have risen to the bait; possibly he knew that these works had been bought in at Christie's on 12 May 1810. Della Lena does not refer to the Branciforte paintings in two later letters to Douglas, dated 7 April and 3 May 1811, expressing concern and sympathy

over the Marchioness's health (also in Bundle 1129), and the Branciforte paintings were bought in again at Christie's on 18 May 1811 (lots 43-67). Many were included in Christie's sale on 26 June 1813.

The inventory is set out in its basic form on pages 439-48, which will enable readers to instantly see what was in each room and to reflect upon possible connections and the identification of individual paintings. Numbers in square brackets have been added for citation and cross-referencing with other inventories.

The basic listing is followed by the annotated inventory with references to other inventories, Hamilton sale details, current locations, the source/possible source of the items, and availability and prices of comparable works. To facilitate study, the entries have been printed in bold.

Works that appear to be connected to entries on the inventory inscribed 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (HA, M12/25/1 & 2) are marked with an asterisk (*) or an asterisk with a question mark (?*). More information on these works will be found on the annotated transcript of that inventory (see Appendix 1). Pictures known or strongly believed to have been acquired by the 9th Duke's son, the Marquis of Douglas (later the 10th Duke of Hamilton), are marked with a cross (+). Works in the old, pre-1799 Hamilton collection are marked with an O (i.e. (O)).

This exercise suggests that all or almost all of the paintings in the Breakfast Room, Drawing Room, State Bed Room, First Dressing Room and Billiard Room were introduced into the Hamilton Collection by the 9th and 10th Dukes. This even seems to apply to the sketches by or ascribed to Rubens of *Decius Mus addressing the Legions*, *Christ Triumphant over Sin and Death*, the *Battle of Ivry*, the *Birth of Venus* and the *modello* of the altarpiece of the *Descent from the Cross* at Lille (see entries 36, 39, 54, 74 and 128). The paintings in the Second Dressing Room, 'Dressing Room' and 'Bed Closet' were entirely or almost entirely drawn from the old Hamilton collection and can be associated with entries on the 1759 and 1793 Hamilton Palace inventories. In the 'Drawing Room' two newly introduced paintings were hung with miniatures from the old collection (see entries 130-168).

Inventory of Pictures in Hamilton Palace in 1811, entitled 'Pictures. Hamilton
Palace. 1811'

Pictures.
Hamilton Palace.
1811

Staircase.

Marriage Feast _____	Cappucino	[1]
Stag Hunting _____	Snider	[2]
Circumcision _____	Guilo Romano	[3]
Altar Piece _____	[addition in pencil: Girolamo dei Libri]	[4]

Gallery.

Lady Anne Spencer (Duchess of Hamilton) _____	Kneller	[5]
Earl of Denbigh _____	Vandyke	[6]
James Duke of Hamilton _____	Hamilton	[7]
James Duke of Hamilton (killed in Hyde Park) _____	Kneller	[8]
Will ^m .. Duke of Hamilton (husband to Duchess Anne) _____	Kneller	[9]
Lord Arch ^d .. Hamilton _____	Kneller	[10]
George Earl of Orkney _____	Kneller	[11]
Will ^m .. Duke of Hamilton _____	Kneller	[12]
Daniel among Lions _____	Rubens	[13]
James Duke of Hamilton _____	Kneller	[14]
Earl of Rutherglen _____	Kneller	[15]
Earl of Selkirk _____	Kneller	[16]
King Charles 1 st .. _____	Vandyke	[17]
James, 1 st Duke of Hamilton (beheaded) _____	Vandyke	[18]
James Marquis of Hamilton _____	Vansomer	[19]
Will ^m .. Earl of Lanerk (afterwards Duke of Hamilton)		

killed at Worcester)	Mytens	[20]
Lord Basil Hamilton	Kneller	[21]

Gallery

Duchess of York	Lillie	[22]
King James 7 th ..	Kneller	[23]
Gustavus Adolphus		[24]
John, 1 st .. Marquis of Hamilton		[25]
Elizabeth Duchess of Hamilton & Argyle	Hamilton	[26]
Lady Mary Fielding (Duchess of Hamilton		
Wife to Duke beheaded)	Vandyke	[27]
Duchess of Richmond	Vandyke	[28]
James Duke of Hamilton Father to Arch ^d .		
present Duke		[29]
Douglas Duke of Hamilton	Miss Forbes	[30]
Duke of Chatelherault		[31]
Anne Duchess of Hamilton (Daughter of the		
Duke beheaded)	Kneller	[32]
Hector and Andromache	Hamilton	[33]

Breakfast Room

Circumcision	Simonelli	[34]
Scourging of Christ	Corregio	[35]
Germanicus haranguing his Soldiers	Rubens	[36]
Cattle piece	Berghem	[37]
David with Goliath's head	Dominichino	[38]
Resurrection (a sketch)	Rubens	[39]
S ^t .. Francis	Corregio	[40]
S ^t .. Peter delivered from Prison	Adam Elshiemar	[41]
Portrait (a Lady)	Rubens	[42]

Noli me tangere _____	Pietro da Cortona	[43]
Catharine 2 ^d .. of Russia _____		[44]
Landscape _____	Hobbens	[45]
Portrait _____		[46]
Marriage of Jacob _____	Pietro da Cortona	[47]
Resurrection _____	Georgione	[48]
Landscape _____	Castiglione	[49]

Breakfast Room

Resurrection _____	Vandyke	[50]
Landscape _____	Castiglione	[51]
Holy Family _____	Frati	[52]
Misers _____	Q. Matzey	[53]
Battle (a sketch) _____	Rubens	[54]
Duke of Olivares _____	Leonard de Vinci	[55]
Madona _____	Sassaferatta	[56]
S ^t .. John _____	Simon da Pesaro	[57]
James 1 st .. of England & 6 th .. of Scotland _____	Cornelius Janson	[58]

Drawing Room

A Sybyll _____	Guercino	[59]
Magdalene _____	Lud Carracci	[60]
Queen of Sheba before Solomon _____	Tintoretto	[61]
Descent from the Cross _____	N. Poussin	[62]
A Sybyll _____	Guercino	[63]
Madona _____	An. del Sarto	[64]
Holy Family _____	Guido	[65]
Land Storm _____	Poussin	[66]
Jacob and his Flock _____	Bassan	[67]
Conversation _____	Brour	[68]

A Saviour on the Cross _____	Guido	[69]
S ^t .. Catharine _____	Moret[? a]	[70]
S ^t .. Sebastian _____	Guido	[71]
Landscape _____	Poussin	[72]
Edward 6 th _____	Holbiens	[73]
Neptune & Amphitrite _____	Rubens	[74]

State Bed Room

S ^t .. John _____		[75]
Holy Family _____	Teniers	[76]
Entombing of Christ _____	Titian	[77]
Christ in the Garden _____	M Ang. Buonaroti	[78]
Punishment of a Father & Son _____	Parmegiano	[79]
Landscape _____	Wooverman	[80]
Prince of Guelders menacing his Father _____	Rembrant	[81]
Portrait _____	Georgione	[82]

1st.. Dressing Room

Head, Madona _____	Sassaferato	[83]
S ^t .. Augustine & Child _____	F Mola	[84]
S ^t John _____	Corregio	[85]
Landscape _____	Titian	[86]
Pair of Landscapes (Rocks) _____	Sal. Rosa	[87]
Crowning the Virgin _____	Schidone	[88]
Temptation of S ^t .. Anthony _____	D. Teniers	[89]
Landscape with a drunk Peasant _____	Teniers	[90]
Diogenes _____	Sal. Rosa	[91]
Flight into Egypt _____	Paul Potter	[92]
Administiring the extreme Unction _____	Guido	[93]
Inside of a church, with figures by _____	Brughell	

Architecture _____	Stenwick	[94]
Burial of S ^t . Petronella _____	Guercino	[95]
Landscape _____	Gainsborough	[96]
Night Scene _____	Teniers	[97]
Landscape with Figures &c _____	Teniers	[98]

2^d Dressing Room

Virgin, Babe, & Figure _____		[99]
General Leslie _____		[100]
Prince of Orange _____	Vandyke	[101]
Philip 2 ^d . of Spain _____	Titian	[102]
Major John Hamilton killed at Worcester _____	Jamieson	[103]
Landscape with Figures _____		[104]
Battle of Bothwell Bridge _____	Wyck	[105]
Arretine _____	Tintoretto	[106]
A Boy & Girl with Fruit & Flowers _____		[107]
Children dancing &c _____		[108]

Billiard Room

Jasen enchanting the Dragon _____	Sal. Rosa	[109]
Eeres & Autumn _____	And. Montigna	[110]
S ^t . Cecilia _____	Morillio	[111]
Madona della Sedia _____	Carlo. Marrati	[112]
Lewis Carnaro _____		[113]
Cupid and Dove (after) _____	Titian	[114]
Henrietta Lotharinga Princess of Psabburgh _____	Vandyke	[115]
S ^t Bartholomew _____	Spagnioletti	[116]
Battle _____	Titian	[117]
S ^t . Francis _____	Sal. Rosa	[118]
Two Philosophers _____	Carlo Dolce	[119]

S ^t Bartholomew	Spagnioletti	[120]
Portrait	Valasquez	[121]
Portrait	Titian	[122]
Head of a Monk	Vandyke	[123]
A Saint reding	Guido	[124]
Cain & Abel	Guido	[125]

Billiard Room

Hercules (a Sketch)	Sir J. Reynolds	[126]
Hercules & Antæus	Guido	[127]
The Descent from the Cross (a sketch)	Rubens	[128]
Landscape	Titian	[129]

Drawing Room

Catharine 2, ^d . Empress of Russia		[130]
Moses striking the Rock	Tintoretto	[131]

First Small Frame.

- 1 James Marquis of Hamilton & Duke of Chatelherault, only son to John M^{ss}.. of Hamilton, created Earl of Cambridge in England by James 6th.. died 1625. [132]
- 2 Geo. Duke of Buckingham (called the Witty) Uncle to My Lady M^{ss}.. of Hamilton & Duchess of Chatelherault. [133]
- 3 Lady Anne Cunningham, Daughter to the Earl of Glencairn Lady M^{ss}.. of Hamilton & D^{ss}.. of Chatelherault. [134]
- 4 Lady Mary Fielding, Daughter of Will^m Earl of Denbigh _ Lady M^{ss}.. of Hamilton & D^{ss}.. of Chatelherault: [135]
- 5 Henrietta Maria of Bourbon Queen of Charles 1st.. [136]
- 6 James Duke of Hamilton and Chatelherault Earl of Cambridge &c. Suffered for his loyalty - 1649- [137]

- 7 Will^m.. Duke of Hamilton & Chatelherault Earl of Cambridge &c. (only Brother of James Duke of Hamilton &c) died of his wounds at the battle of Worcester, without Issue male 1651) [138]
8. Will^m.. Earl of Denbigh, Father to my Lady M^{ss}.. of Hamilton & D^{ss}.. of Chatelherault. [139]
9. Lady Elizabeth Maxwell Eldest Daughter of the Earl of Derlinton: D^{ss}.. of Hamilton & Chatelherault. [140]

Second or Gothick Frame

- 1 Princess Mary, Eldest Daughter of James 2nd.. of Scotland – married Lord Hamilton – Mother to James Earl of Arran & _____ Countess of Lennox. [141]
- 2 James second Lord Hamilton - married Princess Mary Eldest Daughter of King James second of Scotland (1474) by whom he had one Son, and one Daughter – died 6th Nov^r.. 1476 [142]
- 3 King James 2^d.. of Scotland, born at Holyrood House, in Octo^r.. 1430 – married Mary Daughter of Arnold Duke of Guilders, born of the Duke of Burgundy's sister, – and had by her King James y^e 3rd.. & The Princess Mary, afterwards married to Lord Hamilton. He was killed at the Siege of the Castle of Roxburgh 2^d Aug^t.. 1460. [143]
- 4 James Earl of Arran Duke of Chatelherault ___ Eldest Son to my Lord Governor – died 1610 – [144]
- 5 James Earl of Arran – Son to the 2nd Lord Hamilton Grandson to King James 2^d of Scotland — died 1528 [145]

Third Frame

- 1 Janet Beaton Countess of Arran Sister of the Arch Bishop of S^t Andrews and Aunt to the Cardinal of that name _ Mother to the Duke of Chaterherault [146]
- 2 James Earl of Arran, Lord Governor, and Second Person of the realm of Scotland ___ Duke of Chatelherault in France___ died. 1575 [147]

- 3 Lady Marg^t.. Douglas Eldest Daughter of James Earl of Morten & Co-heiress of the Earldom thereof – D^{ss}.. of Chatelherault. [148]
- 4 William Earl of Selkirk – Husband to Anne D^{ss}.. of Hamilton [149]
5. James Duke of Hamilton, Marquis of Clydesdale, Earl of Arran &c. Eldest Son and heir of Anne D^{ss}.. of Hamilton – married the Daughter & sole heiress of Digby Lord Gerard of Bromley. [150]
- 6 Elizabeth D^{ss}.. of Hamilton sole Daughter & heiress of Digby, Lord Gerard of Bromely – Mother to James Marquis of Clydesdale [151]
- 7 Anne D^{ss}.. of Hamilton & Chatelherault &c, – oldest Daughter of James Duke of Hamilton & heiress of the Family – married Will^m.. Earl of Selkirk, Eldest Son of Second marriage of Will^m.. Marquis of Douglas, by whom she had 6 Sons & 3 Daughters, who lived _ [152]
- 8 William Earl of Selkirk, eldest Son of the second marriage of Will^m Earl of Douglas, – married Anne D^{ss}.. of Hamilton, & heiress of the Family of Hamilton & Chatelherault – & afterwards created Duke of Hamilton for life by K. Charles 2nd.. died 17 April -1694 – [153]

Fourth Frame

- 1 Lord Arch^d.. Hamilton, 7th.. Son to D^{ss}.. Anne [154]
- 2 Lord George Hamilton, (created Earl of Orkney) 5th Son to D^{ss}.. Anne [155]
- 3 Lord Basil Hamilton, 6th Son to D^{ss}.. Anne [156]
- 4 Lord John Hamilton (created Earl of Rutherglen) 4th Son to D^{ss}.. Anne. [157]
- 5 Charles, Earl of Selkirk, 3^d Son to D^{ss}.. Anne [158]

(Lord William died in France
D^{ss}.. Anne's 2^d.. Son)

Fifth Frame

- 1 Anne D^{ss} of Hamilton (the original of this picture was done at London by S. Cooper 1661. This copy at Edinburgh by Paton 1693 [159])

- 2 William Earl of Selkirk, created Duke of Hamilton &c husband to D^{ss}.. Anne –
(the original of this picture was done at London by S. Cooper 1661. this copy by
Paton 1693 [160]
- 3 James Earl of Arran, eldest Son to D^{ss}.. Anne [161]
- 4 Lady Catharine Hamilton, eldest daughter to D^{ss}.. Anne - married Lord Murray,
afterwards Duke of Athol. [162]
- 5 John Lord Murray afterwards Duke of Athol - married Lady Catharine Hamilton.
[163]

Sixth Frame

- 1 Lady Marg^t. Hamilton 3^d daughter of D^{ss} Anne – married the Earl Panmure [164]
- 2 James Earl of Panmure married Marg^t.. 3^d daughter of D^{ss} Anne [165]
- 3 Unknown [166]
- 4 John Earl of Dundonald – married Susan 2^d daughter of D^{ss} Anne [167]
- 5 Lady Susan Hamilton 2^d daughter of D^{ss}.. Anne – married first the Earl of
Dundonald, & afterwards the Marquis of Tweddal. [168]

All these drawings are done by D.Paton 1693

Dressing Room

Charles 12 th .. of Sweden _____	G. Nelcher	[169]
Figure on Horse-back _____		[170]
Figures smoking _____	Keimskirk	[171]
Small sea piece _____	Vanderveld Jun	[172]
Joseph & his Breth[?e]ren _____	Bassan	[173]
Presentation in the Temple _____	Tintoretto	[174]
Abraham's Servant presenting jewels to		
Rebeccah _____	Pietro da Cortona	[175]
General & horse _____	Remini	[176]
Meeting of Isaac & Rebeccah _____	Pietro da Cortona	[177]
A Sea Piece _____	Vanderveld Jun	[178]

Landscape _____		[179]
Landscape _____	Blower	[180]
An Italian Landscape _____		[181]
Holy Family _____	Titian	[182]
S ^t . George & the Dragon _____		[183]

Bed Closet

Countess of Cassillis _____	De Witt	[184]
Landscape with figures fishing _____		[185]
Countess of Lanerk _____	Jamieson	[186]
Earl of Dumbarton _____	Vandyke	[187]
Knight of Jerusalem _____		[188]
Venus, a-sleep, & Satire _____	Carracci	[189]
A View of Greenwich _____	[addition in pencil: Tillermens]	[190]

Pictures.
Hamilton Palace.
1811

Staircase.

[1] **Marriage Feast** _____ **Cappucino (O)**

= *The Expulsion of the Unwanted Guest* by Fra Semplice da Verona (c.1589-1654), signed and dated 'F. Semplice Da Verona Capuccino. / F. LI.18. OTTB..1622', which was almost certainly commissioned by Ferdinando Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua. The painting was acquired by Charles I with his other Mantuan purchases about five years later and was apparently soon exchanged for a Clouet of Mary Queen of Scots owned by James, 1st Duke of Hamilton.

On the 1759 Hamilton Palace inventory it appears as '357 A Large piece of the Marriage feast by Francisco Semplico Da Verona Caupecino', hanging 'In the Great Stone Stair' (HA, M4/48, p.23). Thomas Pennant saw *The Expulsion* in 1769 and featured it (albeit as a Veronese) as the second item in his account of the pictures in the palace, after his enthusiastic appreciation of Rubens's *Daniel in the Lions' Den*: 'The marriage-feast, by Paul Veronese; is a fine piece, and the obstinacy and resistance of the intruder, who came without the wedding garment, is strongly expressed' (*A Tour in Scotland; MDCCLXIX* (third edition, Warrington, 1774), p.235).

Surprisingly, this large work, which measures 235 x 543 cm. or 92½ x 212½ inches, is listed, as number '351 The Marriage Feast [by] Cappucino', in 'The Crimson Room' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.4). Dr S.H. Spiker does not record *The Expulsion* hanging on the Staircase in his account of his visit to the palace in 1816 (*Travels through England, Wales, & Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820).

'The Marriage Feast' is apparently listed in the Old Dining Room, as 'The Marriage Feast [by] Paul Veronese [£]15 ,, ,,', on the 1835 inventory in

Hamilton Town House Library (p.139). The same work is recorded in the same room on the 1853 inventory, with the added attribution 'Tintoretto' (HA, Volume 1228, p.156).

The Expulsion was later moved to the Duke of Hamilton's official apartments at Holyroodhouse and was sold by the 15th Duke at Sotheby's sale of *Old Master Paintings*, London, 9 July 1987, as lot 38.

[2] **Stag Hunting** _____ **Snider**

This is not the same painting as the 'Boar hunt [by] Snyders' listed on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 32).

Dr Spiker saw entry 2 hanging on the staircase in 1816 and described it as 'a great Hunting Piece, by Snyders' (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.248).

The *Stag Hunt* was moved into the new Tribune in the early 1830s and is recorded there, as the only painting, on the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, with the comparatively high valuation of £400 (HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.65).

It was disposed of by the 10th Duke of Hamilton, in part exchange for the *Assumption of the Virgin*, then ascribed to Botticelli and now attributed to Francesco Botticini, and the *Money Changers* by Venusti (both now in the National Gallery, London). They were eventually acquired from the dealer Samuel Woodburn in 1850 after a long correspondence. The *Stag Hunt* appears to have lost its Hamilton Palace provenance. It is not included with a Hamilton provenance in Hella Robels, *Frans Snyders: Stilleben- und Tiermaler 1579-1657* (Munich, 1989) or in the Snyders photograph boxes in the Witt Library. In a letter to the Duke, dated 23 July 1850, Samuel Woodburn remarked: 'The Snyders is a fine and good Composition but the sky is very much repainted and I think your Grace was right in parting with it on that account' (HA, C4/843A/20).

Christie's sale of Sir Joshua Reynolds' collection on 13 March 1795 included, as lot 94: 'Snyders. A Stag Hunting, a very capital picture'. There is a fully annotated copy of this sale catalogue in the Hamilton archive which records that lot 94 was bought by 'Offley' for £30 9s (M4/53, p.19).

[3] **Circumcision** _____ **Guilo Romano**

Entry 3 is definitely not the *Circumcision* by Signorelli, which is recorded in the 'Breakfast Room' (see number 34).

Dr Spiker saw entry 3 hanging on the staircase in 1816 and described it as 'a Circumcision, by Giulio Romano, too much crowded with figures' (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I. p.248). It becomes 'The large Painting of Circumcision' recorded in the Duchess's Lobby and Passage on the 1853 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.119) and is clearly described as 'The Circumcision [by] Guilio Romano', hanging in the 'Lobby and Passage leading to Duchess's Rooms', on the 1876 inventory (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.32).

Entry 3 was lot 409 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'G. Romano. The Circumcision. 5 ft. 5 in. by 7 ft. 9 in.', and was bought by H. Nathan for £73 10s. The Errata and Addenda at the back of the souvenir catalogue includes the note 'For "G. Romano" read "Vasari".'

It is possible that this painting is related to the smaller *Circumcision* ascribed to Giulio Romano now in the Musée du Louvre. Spiker's criticism 'too much crowded with figures' can also be levelled at the Louvre composition.

[4] **Altar Piece** _____ **[addition in pencil:**
Girolamo dei Libri] (+)

The huge, almost 400-centimetre-high altarpiece of the *Madonna and Child with Saints* by Girolamo dai Libri (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) was the future 10th Duke of Hamilton's first spectacular acquisition. It had been undertaken for the Augustinian church of San Leonardo nel Monte, outside Verona, about 1520, and is discussed at length by Vasari. The 10th Duke bought the altarpiece from the Milanese dealer Giovanni Antonio Armani in April 1800 – eight months after his father had inherited the dukedoms and he himself had been transformed from Mr Alexander Hamilton into the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale (the courtesy title used by the elder sons and heirs of the Dukes of Hamilton).

It has frequently been said or assumed that the altarpiece hung above the black marble stairs installed in the palace in the 1840s, but the inventories show that it was displayed on the 'Great Stair Case' and the Duchess's or East Stairs. It is

recorded on the 'Great Stair Case' on both the 1825 and 1835 inventories, valued at £150 and £1,000 respectively (HA, M4/70, p.119, and HTHL, 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.193).

George Ramsay wrote to the 10th Duke on 22 March 1834 and informed him: 'I have got up my scaffolding in east Staircase & are bussy [sic] with great picture plaster frame, and are fixing up the Lanterns there too, the 3 top ones are fix:d the other three will be done in course of next week, after the plaster frame is done' (HA, Bundle 665).

The Hamilton Palace inventory of the 1830s and early 1840s in the Hamilton archive refers to the altarpiece on both the Great Stair Case and the East Stairs, called the Duchess's Stairs (HA, Volume 1223, pp.164 and 116). Both the 1853 and 1876 inventories record it on the Duchess's or East Stairs (HA, Volume 1228, p.167, and HTHL, 1876 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.222). The altarpiece was not included in the famous 1882 Hamilton Palace sale and remained in position until the final sales in 1919.

Surprisingly, Dr Spiker either seems to have completely misunderstood the painting or to have had a very muddled recollection of it, or else he viewed it in very poor lighting on the old staircase in 1816. He wrote: 'Over the stairs there is a beautiful picture, probably by Pietro Perugino, representing the Adoration of the Shepherds, with a very rich landscape' (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.248).

Gallery.

[All the items in the Gallery come from the old Hamilton collection (O) and were respected and preserved in the Gallery by the 9th and 10th Dukes. The 10th Duke restored, improved and refurbished the Gallery in the late 1820s, 1830s and 1840s, and probably changed the hanging arrangement, but there is insufficient reason to examine each of the entries here.]

[5] **Lady Anne Spencer (Duchess of Hamilton)** _____ **Kneller**

[6] **Earl of Denbigh** _____ **Vandyke**

- [7] **James Duke of Hamilton** _____ **Hamilton**
- [8] **James Duke of Hamilton (killed in Hyde Park)** _____ **Kneller**
- [9] **Will^m.. Duke of Hamilton (husband to Duchess Anne)** _____ **Kneller**
- [10] **Lord Arch^d.. Hamilton** _____ **Kneller**
- [11] **George Earl of Orkney** _____ **Kneller**
- [12] **Will^m.. Duke of Hamilton** _____ **Kneller**
- [13] **Daniel among Lions** _____ **Rubens**
- [14] **James Duke of Hamilton** _____ **Kneller**
- [15] **Earl of Rutherglen** _____ **Kneller**
- [16] **Earl of Selkirk** _____ **Kneller**
- [17] **King Charles 1st..** _____ **Vandyke**
- [18] **James, 1st Duke of Hamilton (beheaded)** _____ **Vandyke**
- [19] **James Marquis of Hamilton** _____ **Vansomer**
- [20] **Will^m.. Earl of Lanerk (afterwards Duke of Hamilton**
killed at Worcester _____ **Mytens**
- [21] **Lord Basil Hamilton** _____ **Kneller**

Gallery

[N.B. 'Gallery' is simply a continuation note on a new page.]

- [22] **Duchess of York** _____ **Lillie**
- [23] **King James 7th..** _____ **Kneller**
- [24] **Gustavus Adolphus** _____
- [25] **John, 1st.. Marquis of Hamilton** _____
- [26] **Elizabeth Duchess of Hamilton & Argyle** _____ **Hamilton**
- [27] **Lady Mary Fielding (Duchess of Hamilton**
Wife to Duke beheaded) _____ **Vandyke**
- [28] **Duchess of Richmond** _____ **Vandyke**
- [29] **James Duke of Hamilton Father to Arch^d.**
present Duke _____
- [30] **Douglas Duke of Hamilton** _____ **Miss Forbes**
- [31] **Duke of Chatelherault** _____

- [32] **Anne Duchess of Hamilton (Daughter of the Duke beheaded)** _____ **Kneller**
 [33] **Hector and Andromache** _____ **Hamilton**

Breakfast Room

[This was the first room in the Old State Rooms leading off from the Gallery. The first item, *The Circumcision* by Signorelli, was evidently on the right, on the short wall behind the door, as one entered the room. The inventory therefore records the paintings in anti-clockwise direction, ending with the fireplace wall (opposite the Signorelli) and the door into the Drawing Room.]

- [34] **Circumcision** _____ **Simonelli (+)**

= *The Circumcision* by Luca Signorelli, which was bought at the 1882

Hamilton Palace sale (lot 769) by the National Gallery, London (1128).

This altarpiece entered the Lansdowne collection after 1782 and was

included in the first Lansdowne sale of paintings on 19 March 1806 (the first

day of the sale) as lot 67: 'Lucas Cortonensis. The Circumcision – a noble

gallery picture, treated with great propriety – the perspective admirable' (*The*

Catalogue of all that well-known valuable collection of Capital Paintings, the

property of the late Most Noble the Marquis of Lansdowne, which have long

been considered as one of the great Ornaments of Lansdowne House [...]

which will be sold by auction, by Peter Coxe, Burrell and Foster, By Order of the Executors, without the least Reserve, on the premises, Lansdowne House, Berkley Square, on Wednesday 19th, and Thursday 20th of March, 1806).

A very well annotated copy of the sale catalogue from the collection of

William Seguer, the first Keeper of the National Gallery, in the Getty Research

Institute, has no price or name against the entry for lot 67, indicating that it was

not sold at the auction but was bought in. However, a number of other

annotated catalogues have '32. 11' against the entry, which suggests that it was

either sold or bought in at £32 11s. (For such annotations see the copies of the

sale catalogue in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (on deposit from the

Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap) and the ‘anonymous’ copy –the copy not owned by Lord Ennismore – in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (the Netherlands Institute for Art History) in The Hague.)

Whatever happened, it seems highly likely that the Marquis of Douglas obtained Signorelli’s altarpiece, which evidently had a very limited appeal, not long after the sale for a relatively small sum.

Dr Spiker noted entry 34 in the ‘apartments to the right’ of the Long Gallery in 1816 and recorded it as ‘a Circumcision, by Lodovico da Corto[n]a, a large picture, with numerous figures, the composition probably borrowed from one of Raphael’s paintings’ (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.247).

The altarpiece is recorded, as ‘Circumcission £200 [by] Simonelli’, in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167). It remained there, despite all the other changes over the next twenty years. ‘The large Circumcision [by] Cortonensis’ is listed in the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.140).

For the painting itself, see Martin Davies, *The Earlier Italian Schools* (London, 1986), pp.479-81, and Lawrence B. Kanter and Tom Henry, *The Complete Paintings of Luca Signorelli* (London, 2002), p.175.

[35] **Scourging of Christ** _____ **Corregio (*)**

= ‘Scourging of Christ [by] Corregio’ listed as in the ‘Front Drawing Room’ on the inventory annotated ‘Archibald Duke of Hamilton’ (my number 62). Entry 35 is recorded, as the ‘Scourging of Christ [£]100 [by] Corregio’, in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167). It is noted in the same room on the 1835 and 1853 inventories. The entry on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library refers to it as ‘Exce Homo [by] Corregio [£]100 ,, ,,’ (p.159), while the 1853 inventory describes it as ‘Christ crowned with Thorns [by] Corregio’, with the addition ‘after’ (i.e. after Correggio) in pencil (HA, Volume 1228, p.140).

[36] **Germanicus haranguing his Soldiers** _____ **Rubens (?*)**

Possibly ‘An historical Sketch. Circular. [By] Rubens’ on the inventory

annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 8). The sketch was in 'His Lordships Room' when that inventory was taken. However, this association appears to be undermined by the discussion that follows.

Entry 36 is recorded, as 'Germanicus haranguing his Soldiers [£]50 [by] Rubens', in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70 p.167). It was still in the Breakfast Room when the next main inventory was taken in February 1835. On that inventory it is identified as 'Decius haranging his Troops [by] Rubens [£]50 ,, ,,' (HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.159).

The drawing of a picture arrangement in the Breakfast Room, apparently incorporating two of William Beckford's paintings that had arrived on or around 15 May 1847, has a space for a picture with a frame measuring 38¼ x 39¼ inches (about 97 x 99.5 cm.) (HA, Bundle 665). The resolution of what would have gone in all the other spaces and these particular dimensions strongly suggest that this space was for the painting or sketch of 'Decius haranguing his Soldiers' or 'Troops', or what is now called *Decius Mus addressing the Legions* or *Decius Mus relating his Dream*.

The Rubens *modello* now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington (inv. no. 1957.14.2) was mounted on masonite in the mid 1950s and now measures 80.7 x 84.7 cm. (31¾ x 33⅜ in.). An inferior sketch included in the sale of Charles Sedelmeyer's collection, Paris, 3-5 June 1907, lot 39, is said to have measured 82.5 x 71.5 cm. in 1907. The latter came up for sale again at Drouot's, Paris, 8 May 1908, lot 60, and subsequently passed into the Osborne Kling collection in Stockholm. It was included in Bukowski's sale, Stockholm, 16-19 October 1957, lot 181, as Rubens 'Hans ateljé', with measurements of 83 x 72 cm.

There also appear to be at least three other sketches of the same scene. Colin Eisler has noted the first two: 'The first (74 x 103.5 cm.) was in the Huldshinsky collection, Berlin (Wilhelm Bode, *Die Sammlung Oscar Huldshinsky*, Frankfurt-am-Main, 1909, cited by A.L. Mayer, 'Zum malerischen Werk des Rubens', *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, XXXIII, 1922, p.117). It then went to Cassirer in Berlin, sold by Helbing, 10 May 1928. The second (73 x 105 cm.) was first published by Mayer, *op. cit.*, pp.117-18.

Owned by Drey Gallery, Munich; exhibited Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts (*Catalogue de l'Exposition Esquisses de Rubens*, Aug.-Sept. 1937, p.68, Cat. No. 61; and at the Schaeffer Gallery, New York' (*Paintings from the Samuel H. Kress Collection. European Schools excluding Italian* (Oxford, 1977), p.106).

The third is a much smaller sketch, with the eagle of Zeus in the top left-hand corner. It was sold as 'Antwerpener Meister der ersten Hälfte des 17.

Jahrhunderts aus der Schule des Peter Paul Rubens' by Lempeerz, Cologne, 26 November 1970, as lot 10, and measures 40.5 x 43 cm.

The sketches noted by Eisler are clearly too wide to have been the Hamilton 'Germanicus'/'Decius', while the Stockholm sketch seems to be much too small. But, in a small frame, either the Washington sketch (now 80.7 x 84.7 cm.) or the Sedelmeyer sketch (82.5 x 71.5 cm.) could have fitted the space on the drawing of the picture arrangement in the Breakfast Room (97 x 99.5 cm.). The Washington sketch would have had to have been in a frame adding not more than about 15-16 cm. or 6¼ inches, while the Sedelmeyer sketch would have had to have a frame that increased the height by not more than 15 cm. or 6 inches, and inserts on either side to have 'filled out' the width. It has to be said that the latter would have looked somewhat peculiar.

Nothing seems to be known with certainty about the provenance of the Washington sketch before it was owned by Fritz August von Kaulbach and was auctioned at the Kaulbach sale in Munich in 1929 (Galerie Helbing, 29-30 October 1929, p.41, lot 194), with measurements of 81 x 84 cm. It apparently had an inscription on the back – 'relevé de sure [sic] bois et remis sure toile par hacquin en 1773' – recording that it had been transferred from panel to canvas by the French restorer Hacquin in 1773, who specialized in such work (Eisler, *op. cit.*, p.105, n.1).

Eisler and others have associated the Washington sketch with the work that came up for sale at the Randon de Boisset sale in Paris on 27 February 1777 as lot 31:

'Un tableau sur bois de 2 pieds 5 pouces 6 lignes en quarré; esquisse de goût & faite avec esprit, telles que le sont ordinairement celles de ce savant Artiste P. P. Rubens: son sujet est Germanicus à qui on remet le commandement de

l'armée; il est debout sur un piédestal, il harangue ou donne des ordres à cinq Officiers; la hauteur de ces figures est de 20 pouces 6 lignes; un casque, un bouclier & un faisceau d'armes sont à côte du piédestal' (Pierre Remy, *Catalogue des Tableaux & Desseins précieux des Maîtres célèbres des trois Ecoles, Figures de marbres, de bronze & de terre cuite, Estampes en feuilles & autres objets du Cabinet de feu M. Randon de Boisset, Receveur Général des Finances*, 27 February 1777 and following days, p.17).

The measurements '2 pieds 5 pouces 6 lignees en quarré' (i.e. 2 feet 5½ inches) are in the old French foot, the French royal foot (*pied de roi*) or Paris foot, of 32.48 cms. to the *pied* and 2.707 cms. to the *pouce* (or 12.79 English inches to the *pied* and 1.066 English inches to the *pouce*) and therefore convert to approximately 79.85 cms. square, which is quite close to the present dimensions of the Washington sketch (80.7 x 84.5 cm.).

The difference in the dimensions could be explained as sight size or carelessness. Similarly, the statement that the 'Germanicus' in the Boisset sale was on wood, whereas the inscription on or formerly on the back of the Washington sketch records that it was on canvas by this date, could be due to the cataloguer simply assuming, from the appearance of the work and a knowledge of Rubens's standard practice, that it was on a wooden support. The Boisset sketch was sold to 'Lebrun' for 1,200 francs. 'Lebrun' would almost certainly have been the dealer Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun (1748-1813), the grandnephew of the painter Charles Le Brun and husband of the painter Élisabeth Louise Vigée-Le Brun.

The American painter and diplomat John Trumbull 'purchased more than an hundred valuable paintings' with the 'advice and assistance' of his 'friend, M. Le Brun', as a 'speculation', in or around 1794-95 (*The Autobiography of Colonel John Trumbull, Patriot-Artist, 1756-1843*, edited by Theodore Sizer (New Haven, 1953) p.186), and it seems that one of these works was a Rubens sketch of 'Germanicus' or Decius Mus.

The work in question was probably lot 5 in the sale of the collection of Charles-René-Dominique Sochet Destouches that took place in Paris on 21 March 1794 and involved Joseph-Alexandre Lebrun. Lot 5 was described as:

'Une esquisse savante & touchée avec le goût & l'esprit que ce peintre a mis avec tant d'art, dans toutes ses productions. Sont sujet *est Germanicus*, ayant le commandement de l'armée, & donnant des ordres à cinq officiers qui forment

un groupe devant lui. Ces six personnages portant chacun leurs étendards, & distinctions différentes. Une médaille antique a donné lieu à cette composition de caractère & connue; l'artiste n'y a fait que de légers changemens, comme dans le tableau en grand & terminé, qui se voit dans la galerie de Manheim. Haut & larg. 29 po. T.' (A.J. Lebrun and P.H. Julliot, *Catalogue d'une Collection très-précieuse de Tableaux des Ecoles Flamande, Hollandoise et Allemande [...]* Composant le Cabinet du Citoyen Destouches, 21 March 1794 and following days, pp.12-3).

Lot 5 was bought by Alexandre-Joseph Paillet for 820 livres. The working theory must be that this is the work Le Brun had bought in 1771, that he had sold it on, but recognized its quality and potential, and advised Trumbull to acquire it, either from Paillet or somebody else in a chain of buyers.

This seems to tie in reasonably well with Irma Jaffe's account of Trumbull's collecting in *John Trumbull, Patriot Artist of the American Revolution* (Boston, 1975), pp.172-3. Le Brun was apparently engaged as a consultant at ten per cent of the purchase prices and a one-third interest in a selected group of eight paintings. Trumbull is believed to have made his first purchases on 29 March 1795: thirty-seven works were bought through M. Le Rouge on Place des Victoires, seven through M. Grandpré, rue de du Maille, and five more through a M. Constantin. Around fifty more paintings were acquired over the next few months.

Trumbull discusses his 'speculation' in a letter to his brother, dated 30 May 1797:

'When I went to Paris in March '95, I purchased a number of very fine paintings, on very advantageous terms _ they met with a misfortune in the river, by the sinking of the boat in which they were brought from the Ship to the wharf _ this misfortune was principally retrieved by my own Knowledge and M^r Wests [the painter Benjamin West's] assistance: _ The sale took place on the 18th of last Feb^y (having been deferred in hope of better times) _ the pecuniary distress which preceded the stoppage of the Bank on the 27th, _ and which, when the day of sale was named, could neither be foreseen, nor afterwards guarded against, occasioned the proceeds to be much less advantageous than they would otherwise have been: _ still however I get some Money, and some valuable and beautiful pictures, in reward for my trouble _' (New York Historical Society, Trumbull Papers, Letter Book 1796-1802, p.64).

The Trumbull sale actually took place at Christie's on 17 and 18 February 1797 and the Rubens sketch was lot 25 on the first day: '*Germanicus haranguing his troops*, sketch; from the collection of M. Des Touches'. An annotated copy of

the sale catalogue in the National Art Library in the Victoria and Albert Museum (23.XX) records that it was sold to ‘Bryan’ (i.e. the dealer Michael Bryan) for forty guineas (i.e. £42). Two other works in the Trumbull sale on 17 February 1797 entered the Hamilton collection. The *Crowning of the Virgin* by Schedoni (see entry 88 on this inventory) was lot 37 and was bought by ‘Price’ for 29 guineas, while the *Adoration of the Shepherds*, then attributed to Pietro da Cortona but actually a signed work by Ciro Ferri, was lot 40 and was secured by Michael Bryan for 30 guineas (see entry 88 for further details). It should be noted that a painting of ‘Decius Mus, devoting himself to his Country’ ascribed to Rubens was offered at Phillips in London on 3 June 1807 (lot 126), with unknown result.

The description of the Hamilton painting as ‘Germanicus haranguing his Soldiers’ is explained by the earlier sale titles and the identification corroborates the belief that the work came from the Trumbull sale.

It is not known when the *Decius Mus addressing the Legions* left the Hamilton collection. It was not included in the 1882 or 1919 sales, and does not appear to be listed in the 1876 Hamilton Palace inventory. It may have been given as a gift to somebody in the mid nineteenth century, or have been traded in part exchange for something else or sold separately, although there is little evidence of the latter in the Hamilton archive. One possibility is that it was given to the 11th Duke’s daughter, Mary Victoria, in connection with her marriage to Albert, Prince of Monaco, in 1869 and was sold later. Their marriage was annulled in 1880 and Mary married Count Tassilio Festetics de Tolna the same year. The Count was in the Austrian Imperial Guard and became a Hungarian Prince in 1911. The couple almost certainly needed to raise funds during their marriage, and one can well imagine the *Decius Mus* being sold on the Continent and passing quite easily to Fritz August von Kaulbach, either before or after Mary’s death in May 1922.

[37] **Cattle piece** _____ **Berghem**

The copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory confirms the first letter of this entry. It records a ‘Cattle Piece [£]30 [by] Borghem’ as hanging in the Breakfast Room (HA, M4/70, p.167). The painting is listed in the same room in

the 1835 and 1853 inventories. It is entered as 'Cattle Piece [by] Bergham [£]100 ,, ,,' on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.159) and as 'Landscape with Cattle [by] Berghem' on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.140).

Fortunately, Dr Gustav Waagen noted this work in the 'First Room', which would have been the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms, in 1851 and described it as: 'Berghem. – Landscape, with a herd of cattle in the water, and a herdsman carrying her child on her back. A picture of careful and fine composition, but somewhat heavy in general tone' (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol.III, p.299).

Entry 37 is therefore synonymous with lot 38 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, 'N. Berchem. The Ford.', which is described as follows in the sale catalogue:

'The view represents on the left a mass of rocks, the summits of which are clothed with trees. A shallow stream extends along the foreground, through which are passing two oxen, an ass laden with linen and cloth, a goat and two sheep; these are followed by a herdsman and a woman with a child at her back, and preceded at some distance by a man driving a flock of sheep and goats along a winding road, in advance of which is a man on an ass.

The effects of the close of a fine day pervades the scene.

15½ in. by 20 in.

See Smith's "Catalogue Raisonné," vol. 5, p. 93.'

According to the Errata and Addenda in the post-sale souvenir catalogue (opposite p.240), *The Ford* was signed and dated 1654. It was bought by J.H. Pollen for £735.

Christie's sale of Robert Udny's collection on 19 May 1804 included, as lot 84, 'A Cattle Piece, a cabinet and undoubted Picture of the Master' attributed to Berchem. There is a copy of the sale catalogue, marked up with prices and buyers' names, in the Hamilton archive (M4/65), but only the price £'32..11.' and the buyer's name 'Mortimer' appear against the entry.

[38] **David with Goliath's head _____ Dominichino**

Definitely not on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton', nor on the 1759 and 1793 Hamilton Palace inventories.

This is lot 412 in the Hamilton Palace sale: 'Domenichino. The Triumph of David. 6 ft. 11 in. by 4 ft. 11 in.', which was only a foot or so smaller than the *Circumcision* by Signorelli (8 feet 6 inches x 6 feet). It would have been the

main picture on the right-hand side of the long wall opposite the windows, and must – with Signorelli's *Circumcision* and Tintoretto's *Resurrection of Christ* (see entry 48) – have given the dark wooden Breakfast Room an even more sombre and chilling air. Lot 412 was bought by A. Young for £24 3s. and subsequently passed through the hands of the London dealer Thomas Harris (as recorded on the mount of a photograph of the work in the Witt Library).

The attribution of this Caravaggesque work to Domenichino is no longer tenable. John Gash has observed that the 'Hairstyles [are] a bit like Gramatica [i.e. *Antiveduto della Grammatica* (1570/71-1627)], and there are also some 17th c[entury] Florentine suggestions' (letter, 22 December 2002), but the authorship of this impressive painting has still to be resolved.

Dr Spiker saw entry 38 in 1816, in 'the apartments to the right' of the Gallery, and described it, incorrectly, as 'David, with Goliath's head on a pike, by Dominichino' (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.248).

Entry 38 is recorded, as 'David with Goliath's head [£]40 [by] Dominichions', in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167). On the 1835 inventories 'David with Goliaths Head' has been added to the list of paintings in the Second Dressing Room (Volume 1223, p.158, and HTHL, p.179, with 'Goliagh').

Later, it was considered sufficiently good and interesting to be hung in the new Tribune of the palace. It is recorded there, simply as 'David with Head of Goliath', on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.97).

The subject was not really suitable for this room, which was on the main processional route and immediately before the new dining saloon. Nor was the work of sufficient quality for this location. It was therefore removed and placed with other large paintings, including 'The Circumcision [by] Guilio Romano', 'A Spanish Admiral [by] Tintoretto' and a 'Portrait of a Man in Armour [by] Giorgione', in the Lobby and Passage leading to the Duchess's Rooms (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.32).

[39] **Resurrection (a sketch)** _____ **Rubens (*)**

= an oil sketch of *Christ Triumphant over Sin and Death* by Sir Peter Paul

Rubens, transferred from panel to canvas, 30.5 x 28.5 cm. (whereabouts unknown). This was a sketch for the painting of the same title that hung over the tomb of Jeremias Cock and his family in the church of St Walburga, Antwerp, and was in the collection of Dr J. Declercq, Antwerp (see David Freedberg, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part 7, The Life of Christ after the Passion* (Oxford, 1984), pp.64-8 and fig.28). The sketch itself was acquired by Brooklyn Museum in 1921 but was stolen in 1933 (Freedberg, *ibid.*, pp.68-9 and fig.31). It is assumed to have been destroyed.

Entry 39 is listed as 'A Sketch of Christ with Angels [by] Rubens' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 70). It is recorded as 'Resurrection [£]30 [by] Rubens' in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167). It was still in the Breakfast Room in February 1835, when the next main inventory was taken. The 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library records it as 'Christ Triumphant [by] Rubens [£]30 ,, ,,' (p.159), but also notes that it was 'Removed' and replaced by 'S^t, Peter delivered from Prison'. This substitution appears to have taken place while the inventory was being drawn up because 'Christ Triumphant [by] Rubens [£]30,, ,,' is listed in the First Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms on the same inventory (p.173). It is curtly noted, as 'Christ Triumphant', in the First Dressing Room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.149).

Entry 39 was lot 60 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Rubens. Christ Triumphant over Sin, Death, and the Grave, a sketch for the picture painted for the Cockx family, engraved by Eynhouedts. 11 in. square. See Smith's Catalogue, Part II., p. 8.' Lot 60 was bought by Winckworth for £157 10s.

[40] **S^t.. Francis** _____ **Corregio (?*)**

Probably the 'Head of S^t Francis [by] Corregio' listed as in 'His Lordships Room' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 14).

Entry 40 is recorded, as 'S^t.. Francis [£]40 [by] Carraccio', in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167). It is entered as 'S^t. Francis School of Corregio [£]30 ,, ,,' on the list of paintings

in the Breakfast Room in 1835 (HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.159). It is probably the 'S^t. Francis [by] Caraia' recorded in the same room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.140). However, the same inventory also records 'S^t. Francis [by] Carrain' (with Carrain crossed out in pencil) in the Music Room (*ibid.*, p.121).

Entry 40 was probably lot 710 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Correggio. St. Francis in Extasy, holding a rosary, arched top. 20 in. by 14 in.' Lot 710 was bought by Shepherd Brothers for £22 1s.

[41] **S^t.. Peter delivered from Prison _____ Adam Elshiemar**

'S^t.. Peter delivered from Prison' is not on the 1756 or 1793 Hamilton Palace inventories, nor obviously on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton'. It is recorded, as 'S^t Peter delivered from Prison [£]20 [by] Adam Elshiemar', in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167).

Keith Andrews did not include any such painting, either among the works he accepted or rejected, in *Adam Elsheimer* (London, 1977), and the simplest solution is that entry 41 is one of Hendrick van Steenwyck's many paintings of *The Liberation of St. Peter*.

Entry 41 might have been lot 7 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'H. Steenwyck. Soldiers guarding St. Peter in Prison – on copper. 7½ in. by 5½ in.', which was bought by E. Radley for £141 15s.

The main reason for caution is that Susan, Duchess of Hamilton, the wife of the 10th Duke of Hamilton, inherited an 'Interior of a Prison _ Soldiers guarding S^t. Peter [by] Steenwyck' with the rump of her father, William Beckford's collection in 1844 (Bod, MS. Beckford, c. 58, Inventory of the Property of William Beckford at 19-20 Lansdown Crescent and Lansdown Tower, Bath, September 1844, p.13) and this has still to be identified. Beckford's painting was in the Drawing Room at Easton Park, Suffolk, in 1852, and described as 'St Peter released from prison (on Copper)', with a pencilled attribution to Elsheimer (HA, M12/52/1, p.41, and M12/52/2, p.17). By 1864 it was in the 11th Duke of Hamilton's London townhouse in Arlington Street. It is recorded in the Yellow Drawing Room, with other ex-Beckford items, such as Ruben's

oil sketch of *Bellerophon* and the *Adoration of the Magi* attributed to Venusti, as 'Interior of a Prison Soldiers guarding S^t Peter [by] Steenwyck' (HA, M4/78, p.136). After the Arlington Street house was given up, Beckford's Steenwyck probably came north and could easily have become muddled with entry 41. It is possible that the Beckford painting, which is stated to have been on copper, was lot 7 in the 1882 sale (see above for the catalogue entry). If this can be proved, entry 41 would have to be identified with another painting in the 1882 or 1919 sales, some other dispersed work, or a painting now at Lennoxlove. The boxes in the Witt Library contain photographs of many of Steenwyck's paintings of *The Liberation of St. Peter*, including the works in the Norton Simon Museum, the Royal Collection and the Fitzwilliam Museum signed and dated 1618, 1619 and 1626 respectively. There is no clear reference to lot 7 or to ex-Hamilton Palace works. However, a painting of *Guards asleep on a vaulted staircase*, which might have figures of St. Peter and an angel escaping in the far distance, came up at Christie's London on 17 December 1981, as lot 150. It is painted on copper, measures 5¾ x 7½ inches or 14.6 x 19 cm., and is signed and dated 1619.

[42] **Portrait (a Lady)** _____ **Rubens (*)**

Possibly/probably the '[Portrait] of a Flemish Lady [by] Rubens' listed as in the 'Dining parlour' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 36).

Dr Spiker saw entry 42 in 1816, in 'the apartments to the right' of the Gallery, and described it as 'a Dutch Lady, with a large ruff, by Rubens, very like the portrait of the wife of Fr. Snyders, in the Warwick gallery' (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London,, Vol.I, p.247).

Entry 42 may be recorded, as 'Portrait (a Lady) [£]50 [by] Rubens', in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167).

It then either becomes the 'Head [by] Rubens [£]50,, ,,' in the New Sitting Room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.155) and then either 'a Head' noted in the same room on the 1853 inventory, with an

illegible attribution added in pencil (HA, Volume 1228, p.105), or ‘a Female Head [by] Rubens’ noted in the Boudoir in the New State Rooms on the same inventory (*ibid.*, p.117). Or it is re-attributed and reduced in value and changes into the ‘Portrait of a Lady [by] De Vos [£]25 ..,’ listed in the Breakfast Room on the 1835 inventory (HTHL, p.159).

Unfortunately, nothing is currently known about the ‘Head [by] Rubens’ in the New Sitting Room in 1835 or the ‘Female Head [by] Rubens’ in the Boudoir in 1853. The former is not Rubens’s portrait of the Count of Olivarez, which was in the Second Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms in 1835 and in the Boudoir in the New State Rooms in 1853.

Interestingly, ‘a Female Head [by] Rubens’ is listed directly after ‘Portrait of of Duke Olivares a sketch [by] Rubens’ in the Boudoir in 1853, which suggests that it may have been about the same size and complemented the *Olivarez*. The 1876 inventory of the Boudoir lists a ‘Portrait’, with the pencil addition ‘of a female’, by ‘Rembrandt’ immediately before ‘Caspar Guzman Count Duke of Oliveraz [by] P.P. Rubens’ (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.28). This raises the possibility that the ‘Female Head [by] Rubens’ had been re-attributed to Rembrandt and might lead to a ‘match’ with the *Portrait of a Lady* by Rembrandt now in Montreal Museum of Fine Arts. The problem here is that another work listed on the 1876 inventory, the ‘Female Portrait [by] Velasquez’, in the Old State Boudoir, seems to have a better claim to be the Montreal Rembrandt. The attribution to Velázquez is crossed out on the 1876 inventory and ‘Rembrandt’ is pencilled in to the left (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.101). See entry 116.

The ‘Portrait of a Lady [by] De Vos’ recorded in the Breakfast Room in 1835 is the work that Dr Waagen saw in the ‘First Room’ (the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms) and described as ‘Cornelius de Vos. – 2. A female portrait, which, in warmth and transparency of colouring, approaches Rubens’ (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol.III, p.299). It is listed, as ‘Portrait of a Lady [by] Devos’, in the Old State Breakfast Room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.140) and as ‘Portrait of a Lady [by] De Vos’ on the 1876 inventory (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.90). On the latter, ‘De Vos’ is

crossed out and 'Rubens' is added in pencil to the left of 'De Vos'.

The Devos/'Rubens' became lot 37 in the 1882 Hamilton sale:

'Rubens. Elizabeth Brandt, the artist's first wife, in black dress, with ruff and white cuffs, with gold brocade corset, with chain and cross, with jewelled band in her hair, bracelets and rings of coloured stones, seated in an arm chair, on which is inscribed "aet 30, a^o 1622"; an altar is seen in the background, over which is a picture of the Holy Family with St. John and the Lamb, by Rubens. 47 in. by 36 in.'

Lot 37 was bought by the dealer T.M. Whitehead for £1,837 10s. It was 'probably owned' by John J. Johnson in 1902 and is now number 671 in the John J. Johnson Collection in Philadelphia Museum of Art.

W.R. Valentiner attributed the portrait to Van Dyck ('Frühwerke des Anton Van Dyck in Amerika', in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.S. 21, 1910, p.228, with a full-page illustration on p.231). However, Gustav Glück pointed out that it was the pendant to the *Portrait of a Lawyer* in the Herzog Anton Ulrich Museum in Braunschweig (inv. no. 207), which is also dated 1622 on the arm rest and has an equally elaborate setting (*Rubens, Van Dyck und ihr Kreis* (Vienna, 1933), pp.97 and 386). The Braunschweig portrait had already been recognized as a work by Cornelis de Vos by Abraham Bredius ('Zwei Cornelis de Vos in der Braunschweiger Galerie', in *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, 24, 1889, p.100), and Glück simply connected the Hamilton/Johnson portrait with de Vos. Since then, the attribution of both works has been supported by the main experts on de Vos, notably Jozef Muls (*Cornelis de Vos* (Antwerp, [?1939], pp.40, 54, 73 and 79) and Katlijne Van der Stighelen (*De portretten van Cornelis de Vos (1584/5-1651): een kritisch Catalogus* (Brussels, 1990), pp.41-5, nos.12 and 13).

The Braunschweig portrait is well illustrated in Rüdiger Klessmann, *Die flämischen Gemälde des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts: Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum Braunschweig* (Braunschweig, 2003), p.111, and is discussed on p.112. It was acquired by the Anton Ulrich Museum in 1868, with the Von Reinike-Stiftung, but nothing seems to be known about its earlier provenance.

[43] **Noli me tangere** _____ **Pietro da Cortona**

= ? Lot 708 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'P. da Cortona. Noli me Tangere'. No measurements given. Lot 708 was bought by D. Sherratt for £44

2s.

See also entry 47. Entries 43 and 47 are definitely not on the 1759 and 1793 Hamilton Palace inventories.

The copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory lists 'Nole me tangere [£]30 [by] Pietro da Cortona' in the Breakfast Room (HA, M4/70, p.167). This is recorded in the same room on the 1835 and 1853 inventories. It appears as 'Nole me Tangere [by] Pietro da Cortona [£]30,,,' on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.159), and as 'The Woman touching Christs Garment [by] Certona' on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.140).

There is, however, a problem and the possibility of confusion because the 1835 inventories record '2 Pictures, Our Saviour and the Samaritan Nole me Tangere, called Charles the firsts Picture present from the King to Marquis of Hamilton [£]80 ,,' in 'Mademoiselles Bed Room' (HA, Volume 1223, p.59, and HTHL, p.75 (with slightly different orthography)). These two pictures are also recorded, as '2 Paintings _ Our Saviour and the Samaritan and noli me Tangere _ called Charles Ist Picture presented by him to The Marquis of Hamilton', in 'Mademoiselles Room', which is corrected to 'Mademoiselle d'Este's Room', on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.90).

The Coxe, Burrell and Foster sale of Michael Bryan's collection on 17 May 1798 included, as lot 28: 'P. da Cortona __ Christ with the Samaritan Woman. [From] M. de Calonne[']s collection'. There is a priced copy of this catalogue in the Hamilton archive (M4/59), which gives the hammer price of lot 28 as £31 10s. This sale may have been the source for Poussin's *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* and the copy of Titian's *Entombment of Christ*: see entries 62 and 77 on this inventory and entries 78 and 64 on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton'.

[44] **Catharine 2^d.. of Russia** _____ (+)

Definitely acquired by the 10th Duke of Hamilton, either during or after his visit to Russia in 1807-8.

Entry 44 is listed, as 'Cathrine 2^d.. of Russia [£]50' (without an attribution), in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167). The 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library records

that the painting in the Breakfast Room (at least by this date) was the ‘Empress Catherine of Russia [sic] on Horseback from S^t. Petersburg [£]50 ,, ,’ (p.159). ‘Catherine of Russia’ is noted in the same room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.140), and a drawing of a hanging arrangement for the Breakfast Room drawn up around 1847 (HA, Bundle 665) confirms that the equestrian portrait was still there in the mid 1840s. It is clearly recorded in the Breakfast Room, as ‘Catherine 2nd Empress of Russia on Horseback’, on the 1876 inventory (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.90).

Another painting of the Empress Catherine, also acquired by the 10th Duke of Hamilton, is recorded in a ‘Drawing Room’ on the 1811 inventory (see entry 130).

Two paintings of the Empress Catherine were included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale. Lot 688 was described as ‘The Empress Catherine II. of Russia. 3 ft. by 2 ft. 5 in.’ and was bought by T.M. Whitehead for £52 10s. Lot 691 was an ‘Equestrian Portrait of the Empress Catherine of Russia. 39 in. by 35 in.’ and was purchased by ‘Duncan’ (who secured many other lots at the sale and was probably, like Whitehead, a dealer) for £115 10s.

[45] **Landscape** _____ **Hobbens**

Between 1811 and 1825 entry 45 was moved from the Breakfast Room into the State Bed Room. It is recorded as ‘Landscape [£]100 [by] Hobbimar’ in the ‘State Bed Room’ on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.170), and as ‘Landscape [by] Hobbimar [£]15 ,, ,’ in the same room on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.149, and HTHL, p.169).

Dr Waagen saw entry 45 in the ‘Third Room’, which would have been the Old State Bed Room, in 1851, and described it as ‘Hobbema. – Trees and houses on a clear piece of water in the foreground; distance and sky sparkling in the sunshine. A careful picture, in which the marvellous clearness, truth and delicacy of aerial perspective in which this master is so great, are here seen in full perfection’ (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol.III, p.301). It is presumably the ‘Landscape’ listed without an attribution in the Old State Bed Room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.146).

Entry 45 became lot 49 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: ‘Hobbema. A View

of a Water-mill and adjoining cottages, situated in a well-wooded country.

Signed. [A three-paragraph description of the work based on Smith's *Catalogue Raisonné*, Part VI (London, 1835), p.156, follows.] 24 in. by 33 in. See Smith's "Catalogue Raisonné", vol. 6, p.156. See Dr. Waagen, "Art Treasures in Great Britain", vol. 3, p.294.'

Lot 49 was bought by Charles Sedelmeyer for £4,252 10s and was exhibited in *Cent Chefs-d'oeuvre* in Paris in 1883. It entered the Secretan Collection and was lot 5 in the Secretan sale at Christie's in 1889, where it was bought by Davis for 3,300 guineas. The Hamilton *Paysage* was illustrated in the Secretan sale catalogue and was also reproduced in the Galerie Sedelmeyer's *Illustrated Catalogue of 300 Paintings by Old Masters of the Dutch, Flemish, Italian, French, and English Schools being some of the principal pictures which have at various times formed part of the Sedelmeyer Gallery* (Paris, 1898), as no.66 on p.81. These two photographs of the Hamilton painting reveal that the thick cluster of trees is on the left, not on the right as stated by Smith.

Georges Broulhiet included the Hamilton *Landscape* in *Meindert Hobbema (1638-1709)* (Paris, 1938), as no.425 on p.434, and illustrated it on p.314. He gave the most recent provenance as 'Collection Proby Elton Hollande'. In fact, the painting is in the Proby Collection at Elton Hall, near Peterborough. It was included in the Royal Academy's exhibition on Dutch Art in 1952-53, as no.342, but seems to have received little attention in recent years. The *Landscape with a Water-mill* is signed below on the left 'M. Hobbema'.

[46] **Portrait** _____

There was little change in the Breakfast Room between 1811 and 1825, so one can be reasonably confident that the 'Portrait [£]60 [by] Tintoretta' listed as in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167) is entry 46 on the 1811 inventory.

This opens up the possibility that entry 46 is the 'Portrait of a Venetian Admiral [by] Tintoretto' recorded on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 35). This is almost certainly the three-quarter length portrait of a Venetian admiral wearing a breastplate decorated with the arms of

the Contarini family, which was lot 767 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale and is now in the Johnson Collection in Philadelphia Museum of Art.

Unfortunately, the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library refers to a 'Portrait of a Man in Armour [by] Titian [£]50 ,, ,,' (p.159). But Dr Waagen confirms the hypothesis. He saw the work in the 'First Room', which would have been the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms, in 1851, and described it as: 'Tintoretto. – 3. Portrait of an admiral. The back a red curtain and the sea, on which is a vessel. Grandly conceived, and of full marrowy painting, in his clear brownish tones' (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol.III, p.299). It is presumably 'a Portrait (male) in armour [by] Tintoretto' listed in the Old State Breakfast Room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.140). The painting was sold as a Titian in 1882 and has now been re-attributed to Paolo Veronese.

[47] **Marriage of Jacob** _____ **Pietro da Cortona**

Possibly lot 707 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'P. da Cortona. The Marriage of Jacob and Rachel. 30 in. by 24 in.', which was bought by D. Sherratt for £54 12s.

See also entry 177, the 'Meeting of Isaac and Rebecca [by] Pietro da Cortona', in the 'Dressing Room', and 'The Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca', in a wooded landscape, 29 in. by 24 in., by Pietro da Cortona, 'From the Hamilton Palace Collection', Sotheby's, London, 22 May 1963, lot 130. 'The Marriage of Jacob [£]30 [by] Pietro da C[?]rtona' is listed in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167). It is recorded in the same room on the 1835 and 1853 inventories. It appears as the 'Marriage of Jacob & Rachel [by] Pietro da Cortona [£]30 ,, ,,' on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.159) and as the 'Marriage of Jacob and Rachel [by] Certona' on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.140).

[48] **Resurrection** _____ **Georgione**

= *The Resurrection of Christ* by Tintoretto, now in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (A 720). The *Resurrection* was attributed to Giorgione during its time at Hamilton Palace. It is recorded, as the 'Resurrection [£]50 [by] Georgione',

in the same room, the Breakfast Room, on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167) and was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 371) as ‘Giorgione. The Resurrection.’

Tintoretto’s *Resurrection* (63³/₈ x 60¹/₄ inches) would have been the principal work on the left-hand side of the main wall opposite the windows in the Breakfast Room.

For the painting itself, which is of workshop quality, see the *Catalogue of Paintings in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1962), p.158; the *Summary Catalogue of Paintings in the Ashmolean Museum* (Oxford, 1980), p.93 and pl. XI; and Rodolfo Palluchini and Paola Rossi, *Tintoretto: Le opera sacre e profane* (Milan, 1982), Vol.I, p.173, cat. no.199 and Vol.II, fig.257.

The *Resurrection* was originally octagonal and the canvas has been extended on all sides to form an almost square painting measuring 161 x 153 cm. There is a variant of almost the same size by Domenico Tintoretto in the Staatsgalerie at Stuttgart (Palluchini and Rossa, *ibid.*, cat. A 93).

The *Resurrection* was subsequently removed from the Breakfast Room. It appears to be recorded as ‘The Resurrection [sic] A Sketch [by] Tintoretto [£]100 ,,,’ in the New Sitting Room on the 1835 Hamilton Town House Library inventory (p.155). It is presumably ‘The Ascension [by] Giorgione’ listed in the same room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.105). The New Sitting Room was almost entirely hung with Italian sixteenth-century pictures and *The Resurrection* and *The Presentation in the Temple* attributed to Tintoretto (see entry 174 on this inventory) would have been the two largest ‘focal’ works of art in the room.

A much less attractive (and damaged) painting of the same subject – *The Resurrection of Christ* by the very efficient factory run by Bonifazio de’ Pitati, which is currently attributed to Antonio Palma, who can be credited with the initial supervision of Bonifazio’s studio from about 1547 (now in the National Gallery of Ireland) – was introduced into the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms (HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.159: ‘~~Christ Triumphant~~ Resurrection [by] Bonofacio [£]150 ,,,’). Waagen, who saw the replacement *in situ* in 1851, observed that it is ‘Rather hard in forms. In the guards the influence of Titian is

very distinct' (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854) Vol.III, p.300).

In essence, a good quality work was being 'drawn off' to furnish the family's New Sitting Room with pleasing paintings and a lesser work was being substituted in the more museum-like Old State Rooms.

'The Resurrection [by] Bonnafaccio' is recorded in the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.140).

The 'Giorgione' *Resurrection* does not seem to have been in the old Hamilton collection and appears to have been introduced to Hamilton Palace between 1799 and 1811. The working theory is that it could have been purchased in London, as easily as in Italy. According to the Getty Provenance Index, there were at least three opportunities to have acquired a *Resurrection* attributed to Giorgione at auction in London between 1790 and 1811. The first time such a painting came up was at Skinner and Dyke's on 24 February 1795 (lot 92). The outcome of this sale is unknown, but the work may have been sold or bought in at £4 5s. This *Resurrection* or another one was offered at Christie's on 6 February 1801 (lot 65). However, annotations in a copy of the sale catalogue in the Metropolitan Museum of Art reveal that this was only 3 foot high by 2½ feet wide and therefore much too small to have been the Hamilton Palace painting. It was apparently bought in at £71 8s. Finally, a *Resurrection of Christ*, described as 'capital' and apparently consigned by the dealer Woodburn, was bought in at Christie's on 1 December 1804 for only 10 shillings. This is very inconclusive, but it does suggest that the London art trade could have supplied a 'Giorgione' *Resurrection*.

[49] **Landscape** _____ **Castiglione**

See entry 51.

Entries 49 and 51 are probably lot 709 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale:

'G.B. Castiglione. A Pair of Woody Landscapes, with figures: moonlight. 16 in. by 13 in.' Lot 709 was bought by P. Hecht for fifteen guineas.

Entries 49 and 51 are recorded, as 'Landscape [£]10 [by] Castiglione' and 'Landscape [£]10 [by] Castiglione', in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167). They are listed in the same room on the 1835 and 1853 inventories. The 1835 inventory in Hamilton

Town House Library describes each one as 'Landscape [by] Castiglione [£]10 ,, ,,' (p.159). Somebody has added 'Moon Light' to the right of 'Landscape' in the first entry. Such additions generally refer to substitutions, but in this case we know that the work remained in the Breakfast Room. It is recorded, bottom right, on the drawing of a 'picture hang' in or for the Breakfast Room made around 1847 (HA, Bundle 665) and on the list of pictures in the Breakfast Room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.140). The fact that the subject was, indeed, moonlight, is confirmed by the two entries on the 1853 inventory: 'Landscape (Moonlight) [by] Castiglioni' and 'Landscape [by] Catiglioni' [sic] (HA, Volume 1228, p.140).

Breakfast Room

[N.B. 'Breakfast Room' is simply a continuation note on a new page.]

[50] **Resurrection** _____ **Vandyke**

This might be related in some way to *The Resurrection of Christ* by Van Dyck (now in Wadsworth Athenaeum), which was in Dutch collections in the first half of the eighteenth century and was subsequently in Cardinal Fesch's collection: see Susan Barnes *et al*, *Van Dyck: a complete catalogue of the paintings* (New Haven and London, 2004), pp.272-3, no. III. 35.

Between 1811 and 1825 the 'Resurrection [by] Vandyke' – the third *Resurrection* in the Breakfast Room – was moved from that room to an unknown location.

[51] **Landscape** _____ **Castiglione**

See entry 49.

[52] **Holy Family** _____ **Frati (*)**

= 'The holy Family [by] Frati' listed as in the 'Back Drawing Room' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 53).

Entry 52 is recorded, as 'Holy Family [£]30 [by] Frati', in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167).

Initially, this is a puzzling entry. Basically, there are three possibilities. 'Frati' is either the artist's surname (e.g. the eighteenth-century painter Leonardo

Frati) or he was a painter who was a monk (e.g. Fra Bartolomeo (1473-1517)), or the attribution is a mistake and possibly a misreading of a signature. As far as the latter is concerned, lot 716 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale is catalogued as: 'Razzi [i.e. the old , incorrect name for Sodoma]. The Repose of the Holy Family, with SS. Francis, Catherine, Teresa, and St. George. 29 in. by 22 in.' However, this should be irrelevant as the work should not have been signed 'Razzi' or 'Bazzi' (Sodoma's real name), which might have led to the misreading 'Frati'.

Entry 52 seems to be the 'Holy Family [by] Bartholomeo [£]30 ,, ,,' recorded in the same room, the Breakfast Room, on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.159). This means that entry 52 was ascribed to Fra Bartolomeo as Bartolomeo Frate or 'Frati'. 'Frati' (brothers) would seem to be simply an incorrect form rather than a carefully considered attribution to Fra Bartolomeo and the workshop in the Dominican monastery of San Marco in Florence.

Entry 52 is listed as 'Holy Family [by] Baccio della Porto' (i.e. Fra Bartolomeo), in the Breakfast Room, on the 1876 inventory (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.90) and became lot 711 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Baccio della Porta. The Madonna, with St. Joseph and the Infant Saviour, who is in the act of blessing St. John. 42 in. by 33 in.' Lot 711 was bought by P. D. Colnaghi and Co. for £210.

If the attribution is basically correct, then the work should have been executed by Fra Bartolomeo, or his friend Mariotto Albertinelli (1474-1515), his successor Fra Paolino da Pistoia (1490-1547), or somebody else associated with the Bottega di San Marco. There was nothing of clear relevance in the boxes on these three artists in the Witt Library in February 2006, nor in the boxes relating to Ridolfo Ghirlandaio (1483-1561) and his adopted son, collaborator and successor, Michele Tosini, called Michele di Ridolfo del Ghirlandaio (1503-77).

[53] **Misers** _____ **Q. Matzey**

= Lot 33 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Quintin Matsys. The Misers. 32 in. by 24 in.' Lot 33 was bought by G. Attenborough for £110 5s. In the

Errata and Addenda at the back of the souvenir catalogue is the note ‘For “Quintin Matsys” read “M. Heemskirck.”’

Entry 53 is recorded, as ‘Misers [£]30 Q. Malzy’, in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167). It is listed in the same room on the 1835 and 1853 inventories. The 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library describes it as ‘The Misers [by] A. Matsys [£]30 ,, ,’ (p.159), while the 1853 inventory records it simply as ‘The 2 Misers [by] Matsys’ (HA, Volume 1228, p.140).

Dr Spiker saw entry 53 in 1816, in ‘the apartments to the right’ of the Gallery, and described it as ‘two old men writing, a picture full of the greatest truth of expression, by Quintin Matsys, with which that at Windsor can alone be compared’ (*Travels through Emgland, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.248).

Dr Waagen saw entry 53 in the ‘First Room’ (the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms) in 1851 and commented: ‘Quentin Matsys. – An example of the Misers. Much injured, and originally probably only a work by his son’ (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol.III, p.300).

An unframed painting measuring 33¼ x 27¼ inches (84.5 x 69.2 cm.) which was alleged to have been lot 33 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale was included in Christie’s sale of Old Master paintings, London, 23 July 1982, as lot 134. As the dimensions do not match, and the painting had apparently been sold at Sotheby’s, New York, on 20 November 1980 (lot 85) without a Hamilton Palace provenance (see illustration and mount in the Witt Library), this must be considered a suspect ‘match’.

The Hamilton painting was one of the many versions of a composition now called *Two Tax Collectors* or *Tax Gatherers* that is associated with Marinus van Reymerswaele, rather than Matsys/Metsys. For a discussion of the variant compositions see the typescript ‘The Paintings of two money changers attributed to Quentin Matsys, Marinus van Reymersvaele and others with special reference to the picture in the Royal Collection at Windsor’ by W. MacLean Homan and William Gibson, in the Matsys/Metsys photograph boxes in the Witt Library, and Lorne Campbell, *The Early Flemish Pictures in the*

Collection of Her Majesty The Queen (Cambridge, 1985), pp.114-8, pl.89 and figs.36 and 38-41.

[54] **Battle (a sketch)** _____ **Rubens (*)**

= 'A Battle piece a Sketch [by] Rubens' listed as in 'His Lordships Room' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 10).

= The sketch of *The Battle of Ivry* or *Henri IV at the Battle of Ivry* (now in the Musée Bonnat, Bayonne), which is on panel and measures 9 x 18 $\frac{1}{8}$ inches or 23 x 46 cm. This was the model for the unfinished painting, now in the Uffizi, that was intended for the Henri IV Gallery in the Luxembourg Palace, Paris.

Entry 54 would have been painted between 1627 and 1631. See Leopold van Puyvelde, *The Sketches of Rubens* (London, 1947), p.87, no.65, and pl.65.

Between 1811 and 1825 'Battle (a sketch) [by] Rubens' was taken out of the Breakfast Room and placed in the Billiard Room. It is recorded, as 'Battle (Sketch) [£]20 [by] Rubens', in the Billiard Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174). On the 1835 inventories it is recorded, as 'A Battle Sketch [by] Rubens [£]20 ,, ,,', in the Music Room (HA, Volume 1223, p.107, and HTHL, p.127). 'Battle a Sketch [by] Rubens' is listed in the Music Room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.121).

Entry 54 was lot 16 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Rubens. A Battle-Piece – a sketch. 18 in. by 9 in.' Lot 16 was bought by Winckworth for £105.

[55] **Duke of Olivares** _____ **Leonard de Vinci**

= Lot 745 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'L. da Vinci. Portrait of a Gentleman, in crimson dress bordered with gold and black cloak, with landscape background, inscribed "Alessander Oliverius V." 27 in. by 22 in.'

Lot 745 was bought by the National Gallery of Ireland (NGI 239) for £215 5s.

This is actually a signed *Portrait of a Man* by Alessandro Oliverio. Indeed, it is believed to be the only signed picture by this rare artist. Other portraits by/attribution to him are in the Louvre and the Uffizi.

The exact inscription is '· Alesander · Oliverivs · V ·'. Sergio Benedetti of the National Gallery of Ireland dates the portrait c.1510-20 (*The National Gallery of Ireland: Essential Guide* (London, 2002), p.32). According to an old note in the gallery file on the portrait, Oliverio grew up in Bergamo, is first heard of in

Venice in 1532, and is last recorded there in 1544 before returning to obscurity. However, this is presumably now incorrect.

The painting itself is oil on wood and measures 67 x 57 cm.

Dr Spiker saw entry 55 in 1816, in 'the apartments to the right' of the Gallery, and described it as 'a Duke of Alavera, (Talavera ?) said to be by Leonardo da Vinci, and very much in his manner, but unfortunately placed so high, that we could only form a very imperfect judgment of it' (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, pp.247-8).

Entry 55 is listed, as 'Duke of Olivares [£]40 [by] Leonond de Vence', in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167). It is recorded as the 'Duke de Olivares after Leonardo da Vinci [£]40 ,, ,' in the same room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.159). Somebody has written 'Removed' to the right of 'Olivares'. The Oliverio does not seem to be on a drawing of a picture arrangement in or for the Breakfast Room drawn up around 1847 (HA, Bundle 665). The present frame measures 37 $\frac{7}{8}$ x 33 inches or 96 x 83.8 cm, while the relevant three spaces for pictures on the extreme left of the wall opposite the window (between the fireplace wall and a large painting which can be identified as the *Resurrection of Christ* now attributed to Antonio Palma and also in the National Gallery of Ireland) are given as 47 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 38 $\frac{1}{2}$ inches, 41 $\frac{5}{8}$ x 36 inches and 23 x 32 inches. 'Olivares' is not recorded in the Breakfast Room on the 1853 inventory. This means it should not have been the portrait that Dr Waagen saw in the 'First Room' (the Breakfast Room) in 1851 and attributed to Girolamo da Santa Croce: 'Girolamo da Santa Croce. – A male portrait, with landscape background. Noble in feeling, and warmly coloured' (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol.III, p.300). That said, it is hard to identify an alternative work.

The Oliverio is not clearly recorded elsewhere on the 1853 inventory. Many attractive Italian sixteenth-century paintings were installed in the New Sitting Room, and it could conceivably be the 'a Head' listed in the New Sitting Room in 1853 (HA, Volume 1228, p.105). The 1835 inventory has a 'Head' in this

room listed as by Rubens, but this may have been moved and become the 'a Female Head [by] Rubens' recorded in the Boudoir in the Tapestry Rooms on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.117).

[56] **Madona** _____ **Sassaferatta (?*)**

This 'Madona' is probably 'A Madona [by] Salsaferat' listed as in 'His Lordships Room' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 19). The alternative is that number 19 refers to entry 83, 'Head, Madona [by] Sassaferato', on the present inventory.

Entry 56 is recorded, as 'Madona [£]30 [by] Sassafarata', in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.167). This painting was still in the Breakfast Room in 1835, when it was valued at forty pounds. An annotation on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.159) records that it was subsequently 'Removed'.

The 'Madona' in the First Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms in 1811 and 1825 is not listed there on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library and possibly becomes the 'Madona [by] Sasso Ferrato [£]10 ,, ,,' recorded in the Duke of Hamilton's Bedroom in 1835 (HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.187).

The 1853 inventory lists 'A Magdalene [by] Sass Ferrato' in the Drawing Room of the Old State Rooms and 'A Madonna [by] Sosso Ferrato' in the Boudoir of the New State Rooms (HA, Volume 1228, pp.143 and 117 respectively). The latter was still in the Boudoir in 1876 when it was described as 'Madonna at Prayer [by] Sassoferato' (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.28).

Dr Spiker saw 'an admirable Madonna, by Sassoferato' in 1816, in 'the apartments to the right' of the Gallery' (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.248). As he refers to a 'Madonna', rather than a 'Head of a Madonna', it seems likely that he was commenting on entry 56.

[57] **S^t.. John** _____ **Simon da Pesaro**

This is an attribution to the Italian painter Simone Cantarini (Simone da Pesaro).

Entry 57 is recorded, as 'S^t.. John [£]50 [by] Simon da Piscaro', in the Breakfast Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA,

M4/70, p.167). The 1853 inventory lists 'S^t John a Portrait [by] Gargione' and S^t John [by] Guercino' in the Breakfast Room of the Old State Rooms (HA, Volume 1228, p.140).

[58] **James 1st.. of England & 6th.. of Scotland _____ Cornelius Janson**

= Lot 50 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'C. Janssen. Portrait of James I., in white doublet, with brown cloak and hose embroidered with jewels and pearls, with jewelled chain and George, and jewelled grey hat with feather. 44 in. by 34 in.' Lot 50 was bought by P. and D. Colnaghi and Co. for £735.

= The *James VI and I* purchased by the 5th Earl of Rosebery which is now attributed to John de Critz the Elder (c.1551/2-1642) and at Dalmeny.

The Hamilton/Rosebery portrait is a three-quarter length version – presumably a replica – of the full-length portraits of King James which de Critz began to paint from 1606/7 (see the catalogue of the Tate Gallery's exhibition, *Dynasties: Painting in Tudor and Jacobean England 1530-1630* (London, 1995), no.125) and was presumably produced in de Critz's workshop.

The 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory lists painting number '418 King James the 6th.' among the 'Pictures in The Painting Room now put in Library' (HA, M4/51, p.18). The same painting is recorded, as '418 James the Sixth', among 26 works in the 'First Japanned Closet' on the 1759 inventory (HA, M4/48, p.43). It is not known if entry 58 is painting number 418 in the old Hamilton collection. The fact that most of the paintings in the 'Breakfast Room' in 1811 were recent additions to the collection makes one very wary of 'matching' 418 to entry 58 and lot 50.

Between 1811 and 1825 *James VI and I* was removed from the Breakfast Room and taken to an unknown location. It is not entered on the main list of paintings on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, pp.163-80). On the 1835 inventories it is probably entered, as 'Portrait of ~~Edward 6th~~. James the 5th. of Scotland [by] Jameson [£]40 ,, ,,' (HA, Volume 1223, p.149) and 'James 5th. of Scotland [by] Jamieson [£]40 ,, ,,' in the State Bed Room (HTHL, p.169). It is listed, as 'James the 1st of England', in the same room, on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.146).

[Note about changes in the Breakfast Room between 1811 and 1825]

Between 1811 and 1825 four of the sixteen paintings listed above – the *Landscape* by Hobbema, the *Resurrection* allegedly by Van Dyck, the sketch of a battle by Rubens and the portrait of James VI and I (entries 45, 50, 54 and 58) – were removed from the Breakfast Room. The *Landscape* went into the State Bed Room, while the *Battle Scene* was installed in the Billiard Room. The new location of the *Resurrection* ascribed to Van Dyck has still to be established. *James VI and I* probably subsequently went into the State Bed Room.

Between these two dates, three paintings were added to the room. They are described on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (p.168) as:

‘S^t. Sebastian S^t. Rocu [£]50 [by] Geo. B. Sodoma
Landscape (the sooth sayers) [£]30 [by] Salvator Rosa
Joseph Receiving his brethren [£]300 [by] Jaciomo da Pontormo’

The last is the first clear reference to *Joseph with Jacob in Egypt* by Pontormo (now in the National Gallery, London) in the Hamilton collection. The size of this painting would have necessitated a rearrangement of the room and its introduction largely explains the removal of the four works noted above. The other two ‘new’ items were essentially ‘fillers’ which continued and complemented the selection of Italian sixteenth-century religious paintings and the seventeenth-century landscapes already in the room and added some extra variety and interest.

The second was lot 706 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: ‘Salvator Rosa. A Rocky Bay Scene, with soothsayers. 22 in. by 12 in.’, which was bought by T. Agnew and Sons for £67 4s.

The first is the most difficult to resolve. It is consistently referred to as Saints Sebastian and Rocco and attributed to Sodoma on the Hamilton Palace inventories: ‘S^t Sebastian & S^t Rocco [by] Sodoma [£]80 „ „’ (HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.159, Breakfast Room)

‘a D^o [fine painting] of S^t Sebastian & S^t Rocco [by] Sodoma’ (1853 inventory, HA, Volume 1228, p.162, Duke’s Bed Room)

‘S^t. Sebastian & S^t. Rocco. [By] G. Razzi Sodoma’ (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.204, ‘No. 1. Dressing Room’ ‘over [the] Tapestry Rooms’).

Dr Waagen saw the painting in the 'First Room' (the Breakfast Room) in 1851 and described it as: 'Razzi [the old, incorrect name for Giovanni Antonio Bazzi, who signed himself 'Sodoma']. – Christ; at the sides the two patron saints against the plague – St. Sebastian and St. Rock. Noble in forms and character, but in colouring belonging to his somewhat gaudy pictures' (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol. III, p.300).

It must therefore be lot 339 in the 1882 Hamilton sale: 'G. Razzi. St. Christopher, with the infant Christ with St. Sebastian and St. Roch. 16 in. by 14 in.', which was sold to T. and W. Banting for £44 2s.

The alternative is that it was lot 377 in the same sale: 'A. Mantegna. St. Sebastian and St. George – a pair of wings of a triptych in one frame. 14 in. by 10 in.' This was purchased by J.E. Taylor for £441 and is now in Detroit Institute of Arts (26.10), as the work of Andrea Solario. It definitely depicts Saint George with a slain dragon and Saint Sebastian holding an arrow, and cannot be the Sodoma/'Razzi' *St Sebastian and St Rocco*.

All three additions are listed in the Breakfast Room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.159).]

Drawing Room

[This room, previously called the Morning Room, was transferred from the Metropolitan Museum, New York, to the National Museums of Scotland in 1990-1. Again, the sequence begins on the right wall on entering the room and runs anti-clockwise to the fireplace wall and the door into the State Bed Room.]

[59] **A Sybyll** _____ **Guercino (*)**

Entries 59 and 63 are probably entries 29 and 42 on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton'. Both are described as 'A Sybil [by] Guerchino' and are listed as in the 'Dining parlour' on that inventory.

Between 1811 and 1825 entries 59 and 63 were removed from the Drawing Room and hung in the Billiard Room. They are recorded, as 'A Sybill [£]4 [by] Guercino' and 'D° Sybill [£]40 D°', in the Billiard Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174). The 1835 inventories

record them, as ‘A Sybyle [by] Guerchino [£]40 ,, ,’ and ‘A Sybyle [by] Guerchino [£]4 ,, ,’, in the Music Room (HA, Volume 1223, p.107, and HTHL, p.127). They are listed, as ‘A Sybil [by] Guerino’ [sic] and ‘a Sybil’, with ‘Guercino’ added in pencil, in the Music Room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.121).

[60] **Magdalene** _____ **Lud Carracci**

Entry 60 was one of the most highly regarded paintings in the palace during the nineteenth century. Dr Spiker saw the picture in 1816, in ‘the apartments to the right’ of the Gallery, and described it as ‘the Dying Maria, by Lodovico Carracci, a masterpiece in the expression of the features, although it has become very dark.’ He also noted ‘It is secured from injury by glass’ (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820, Vol.I, p.247).

John Gibson Lockhart devotes more space to entry 60 than to any other painting in the collection. Rubens’s *Daniel in the Lions’ Den* is dealt with in a single sentence, while Poussin’s *Lamentation* is gloriously misidentified as the burial of Abraham and then written up in fourteen lines. The ‘Dying Magdalen, by Ludovico Caracci’ is ‘appreciated’ in 22 lines:

‘The Magdalen is preserved in a glass case – and truly it is worthy of all manner of attention. It is only a half length – it represents her as leaning backwards in that last gentle slumber, which slides unnoticed into the deeper slumber that has no end – her long golden tresses floating desolate and thin over her pale breast – her eye-lids weighed down with a livid pressure, and her bloodless lips closed meekly in a pensive smile of unrepining helplessness. A few little cherubs are seen looking with calm and rosy smiles of welcome from among the parting garments of the clouds above – stealing the eye upwards from the dim and depressing spectacle of repentant feebleness and mortality, into a faint far-off perspective of the appointed resting-place. I question whether it be not a pity to see such a picture at all – unless one is to be permitted to look at it till every lineament and hue is stamped for ever on the memory. But short as my time was, I treasured up something which I am sure I shall never forget’ (*Peter’s Letters to his Kinsfolk* (Edinburgh, 1819), Vol.III, p.295).

Dr Waagen saw the painting in the ‘Third Room’ (the Old State Bed Room) in 1851 and observed: ‘Annibale Carracci. – The penitent Magdalen, with three angels. A careful picture, though somewhat dark in colouring’ (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol.III, p.302).

Entry 60 is recorded, as ‘Magdalene £ 200 [by] Lud Car[illegible]i’, in the Drawing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.169). A decade later it is apparently listed, as ‘Painting Madona [by] L. Carracci [£]200 ,, ,,’ and ‘Madona [by] Lud: Carracci [£]200 ,, ,,’, in the Old State Bed Room, on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.149, and HTHL, p.169). The 1853 inventory records it in the Old State Bed Room as ‘The Dying Madonna [by] Corregio’ (HA, Volume 1228, p.146).

In the light of all this, it seems likely that entry 60 was lot 720 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: ‘Correggio. The Dying Madonna, attended by angels. 31 in. by 24 in.’ Lot 720 was bought by C. Vipan for £325 10s.

It is possible that entry 60 was ‘The Death of the Virgin small [by] Guido’ on the ‘Archibald Duke of Hamilton’ inventory (see Appendix 1, number 9).

[61] **Queen of Sheba before Solomon _____ Tintoretto**

= Lot 757 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: ‘Tintoretto. The Visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. 7 ft. 1 in. by 48 in.’ Lot 757 was bought by J. and W. Vokins for £346 10s.

From what we know about the Breakfast Room, based on the room itself, various inventories and a plan of an arrangement of paintings in the Breakfast Room drawn up in the 1840s, the ‘Queen of Sheba before Solomon’ must have been displayed on the short wall immediately to the right on entering the Drawing Room, behind the door.

Dr Gustav Waagen saw the painting in 1851 and his description reveals that it was a horizontal composition, rather than a vertical one as suggested by Christie’s measurements, which appear to give the height first and then the width. Waagen describes entry 61 as: ‘Tintoretto. – 4. The visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon. A rich composition, full of animated motives, and spiritedly executed in a warm tone. The figures about a foot high’ (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol.III, p.302).

It follows from this that the Hamilton painting is related to Tintoretto’s long horizontal treatments of the same subject in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna (29 x 157 cm.), a private collection in Bologna (measurements unknown), Bob Jones University (150 x 237.5 cm.), the Castello at

Chenonceaux (160 x 270 cm.) and the Prado Museum, Madrid (58 x 205 cm.): see Rodolfo Palluchini and Paola Rossi, *Tintoretto: Le opera sacre e profane* (Milan, 1982), cat. nos. 48, 104, 105, 116 and 185 and figs. 57, 131, 132, 145 and 242. The Hamilton 'Queen of Sheba before Solomon' measured approximately 122 x 216 cm. and is none of these; the painting in Bologna can be ruled out because a photograph shows it has the wrong proportions. Between 1811 and 1825 entry 61 was moved from the Drawing Room to an unknown location. It is not recorded on the main list of paintings on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, pp. 163-80). The 1835 inventories record it as a Veronese – 'Queen Sheba [by] Paul Veronese [£]100 ,, ,,' – in the Old State Bed Room (HA, Volume 1223, p. 149, and HTHL, p. 169). It is listed in the same room, simply as 'Queen Sheba', on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p. 146) and as 'Queen of Sheba bringing presents to Solomon [by] Tintoretto' on the 1876 inventory (HTHL, p. 97). Nothing is known about the previous provenance of entry 61. However, a 'Queen of Sheba' attributed to Tintoretto was sold at Christie's on 18 December 1802 (lot 37) to Charles Spackman for one pound, while a 'Queen Sheba bringing Presents to Solomon', also attributed to Tintoretto, was offered at Robins's saleroom in London on 28 May 1810 (lot 66) with unknown results. Unfortunately, no information is provided in the sale catalogues about the sizes of these works. The Getty Provenance Index also records that a 'Queen of Sheba before Solomon' attributed to Bassano came up for auction at Skinner and Dyke's in London on 26 February 1795 (lot 55) and that an anonymous 'Queen Sheba presenting Treasures to King Solomon' was for sale in Great Yarmouth on 6 January 1801.

- [62] **Descent from the Cross** _____ **N. Poussin (*)**
 = 'The Intombing of Christ [by] Pousin' listed on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 78). This is the *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* by Poussin, now in the National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin. Entry 62 is recorded, as 'Descent from the Cross [£]500 [by] N. Poussin', in the Drawing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p. 169).

As noted in the introduction, Louis Simond saw the ‘Descent’ or *Lamentation* ‘By the side of’ Rubens’ *Daniel in the Lions’ Den* when he visited Hamilton Palace on or around 22 August 1810. It must have been in the Gallery, where the Rubens had long hung, and this is confirmed by Simond’s final sentence in the paragraph, which clearly refers to the famous portraits by Van Dyck that also hung in the Gallery. Simonds wrote:

‘By the side of this Rubens, there is a N. Poussin, which appeared to me very good; a groupe of women and disciples round the body of Christ. The expression of the heads and attitudes very fine; and the colouring less of the dull brick and lead than usual. Several excellent portraits by Vandyke’ (*Journal of a Tour and Residence in Great Britain, during the years 1810 and 1811* (Edinburgh, 1815), Vol.I, pp.281-2).

The *Lamentation* was evidently moved into the Drawing Room either in the remaining months of 1810 or in 1811.

It follows from what we have learnt about the Signorelli *Circumcision* starting the display on the right as one entered the Breakfast Room, and the *Queen of Sheba* being on the same wall in the Drawing Room, that Poussin’s *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* would have been displayed on the right-hand side of the main wall opposite the windows in the Drawing Room.

Dr Spiker saw the *Lamentation* in 1816, in ‘the apartments to the right’ of the Gallery, and was not impressed with it. He described it simply as ‘an Interment in the Sepulchre, by Nic. Poussin, probably a copy’ (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol. I, p.248).

John Gibson Lockhart identified the *Lamentation* as the burial of Abraham and offered the following inaccurate but perceptive appreciation in 1819:

‘The Poussin is really about the most wonderful of his works that I ever saw. It represents the dawn of day, a thick blue mantle of clouds lying heavily upon the surface of the earth, and scarcely permitting the one cold stream of uncertain light to enter, which shews the sleeping patriarch folded in his long vestments, just sinking below the rock from the arms of his children. There is a deep primeval simplicity about the arrangement of the groupe, and a deserted lonely sort of weight in the heavens, and the earth all around, which carries back the imagination into the very heart of the days of Shepherd Majesty’ (*Peter’s Letters to his Kinsfolk* (Edinburgh, 1819), Vol.III, pp.294-5).

See entry 78 on the annotated inventory annotated ‘Archibald Duke of

Hamilton' for more information on the possible provenance of Poussin's *Lamentation*.

[63] **A Sybyll** _____ **Guercino (*)**

See entry 59.

[64] **Madona** _____ **An. del Sarto**

= *The Magdalen* by Domenico Puglio, c.1523, in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa.

Dr Spiker saw entry 64 in 1816, in 'the apartments to the right' of the Gallery, and described it as 'eine Magdalena, von della Sorte (?)' (*Reise durch England, Wales und Schottland im Jahre 1816* (Leipzig, 1818), Vol.I, p.312), which the translator and English publisher corrupted to 'a Magdalen, by Della Sorte'.

The English translation renders the rest of Spiker's comments as: 'one of the most beautiful pictures in the gallery, (she is in a purple dress, the hands and head are admirably painted and executed)' (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (London, 1820), Vol.I, p.248).

Entry 64 is listed, as 'Madona [£]300 [by] A^[w?] del Sarto', in the Drawing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.169).

The 1835 inventory in the Hamilton archive (Volume 1223, p.149) records 'Portrait [by] Andrea del Sasto' in the Old State Bed Room. All four words have subsequently been crossed out and 'St^t. Cecilia [by] Dominichino' has been added, as a substitution. The 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library records 'St^e Magdalene [by] Andrea del Sasto [£]300 „ „' in the Drawing Room in the Old State Rooms (p.165). Waagen recorded the painting in the 'Second Room', which would have been the Drawing Room, in 1851: 'Andrea del Sarto. – Portrait of his wife as the Magdalen. Very animated, but somewhat crude in colour' (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol.III, p.300). But it is not listed in the Drawing Room on the 1853 inventory (unless there was very considerable confusion and it was entered as 'A Magdalene [by] Sass Ferrato'). One might have expected it to have been 'drawn off' and installed, with other attractive Italian sixteenth-century paintings, in the New Sitting Room or one of the two new Boudoirs, but there is no clear evidence of this. Entry 64 became lot 761 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Andrea del Sarto.

Portrait of the Artist's Wife as the Magdalen, in a crimson dress with lilac sleeves and white bodice, holding the alabaster box in her right hand, a green curtain suspended behind. 36 in. by 27 in. Exhibited at Burlington House, 1873.' It was bought by C[harles] Butler for £357 and passed, via Christie's in May 1911, A.J. Sulley, and Cottier & Company, New York, to the National Gallery of Canada in 1912.

The Magdalen is published, with information about its attribution to Puglio (who was heavily influenced by Andrea del Sarto) and exhibition history, in M. Laskin and M. Pantazzi (eds.), *Catalogue of the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa. European and American Paintings, Sculpture, and Decorative Arts, Volume I: 1300-1800* (Ottawa, 1987), Text, pp.237- 8, and illustrated in the separate volume of plates as figure 28.

[65] **Holy Family** _____ **Guido**

Entry 65 is recorded, as 'Holy Family [£]50 [by] Guido', in the Drawing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.169).

This is probably lot 714 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Guido Reni. The Repose of the Holy Family, with St. John and the Lamb, and two angels. 5 ft. 4 in. by 4 ft. 4 in.' Lot 714 was bought by Lord Herries for £84.

The alternative would be that entry 65 was lot 727 in the same sale: 'Guido Reni. A Study for an Altar-Piece, with the Madonna and Child and three Saints – on copper. 15 in. by 11 in.' Lot 727 was bought by Wickham for sixteen guineas.

[66] **Land Storm** _____ **Poussin**

See also entry 72.

The 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory records paintings numbers '520 A Landskip by Gasper Pousin' and '521 A Landskip by Gasp Pousin' as in the Billiard Room (HA, M4/51, pp.11-2).

Entry 66 is listed, as 'Land Storm [£]80 [by] Poussin', in the Drawing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.169).

Unfortunately, the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library simply notes the two paintings together: '2 Landscape Paintings [by] N. [N changed to P.]usin [sic] [£]100 ,, ,,' (p.165).

Dr Spiker was probably referring to entries 66 and 72 when he recorded ‘two landscapes, somewhat dark, by Gaspar Poussin’ in ‘the apartments to the right’ of the Gallery in 1816 (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.247).

Entry 66 is almost certainly synonymous with one of the two ‘Gaspar Poussins’ that Dr Waagen saw in the ‘Second Room’, the Drawing Room in the Old State Rooms, in 1851 and described as: ‘Gaspar Poussin. – 1. A thunder-storm, with a bolt falling. Highly poetic, and more carefully executed than other pictures of this class by him: it has only become somewhat dark’ (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol.III, p.300-1).

Entry 66 was lot 1119 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: ‘G. Poussin. A River Scene, with a cascade, and figures in a thunderstorm – the companion’ [to lot 1118, which measured 39 x 29 inches]. Lot 1119 was bought by P. and D. Colnaghi and Co. for £63. Lot 1118 was probably entry 72 on this inventory.

[67] **Jacob and his Flock** _____ **Bassan (*)**

= ‘The Creation [by] Bassan’ on the inventory annotated ‘Archibald Duke of Hamilton’ (my number 7).

= Lot 763 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: ‘G. Bassano. Jacob’s Vision. 8 ft. 5 in. by 6 ft. 3 in.’ Lot 763 was bought by G.W. Currie for £210.

= ‘Jacopo Bassano. God showing Moses the Promised Land’. Sotheby & Co., *Important Old Master Paintings*, 2 December 1964, lot 97.

= *The Departure of Abraham for Canaan* attributed to Jacopo and Francesco Bassano, in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa..

The interpretation of the inventories and the identification of this painting have been hampered by John Shearman’s assertion that the Hamilton Palace painting, which was apparently included in Sotheby’s sale of Old Master Drawings and Paintings on 27 November 1957 (lot 53), without illustration or reference to the Hamilton collection, but with the correct dimensions of 74½ x 100½ inches or 189.3 x 255.3 cm., was a replica of the painting of *The Journey of Jacob* in the Royal Collection (*The Early Italian Pictures in the Collection of Her Majesty The Queen* (Cambridge, 1983), p.26).

Entry 67 is listed, as ‘Jacob & his Flock [£]200 [by] Bassan’, in the Drawing

Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.169). It is recorded in the same room, the Drawing Room in the Old State Rooms, on the 1835 and 1853 inventories. It is described as 'Jacob and his flock [by] Bassan [£]200 ,, ,,' on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.165) and as 'Jacob and his Flock [by] Bassani' on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.143).

However, 'Jacob and his Flock' was clearly not a replica of the painting now at Hampton Court. Dr Waagen saw the Hamilton Palace painting in the 'Second Room' (the Drawing Room in the Old State Rooms) and described it as: 'Giacomo Bassano. – 1. The Almighty appearing to Noah after the Deluge. This subject is very appropriate for introducing the numerous animals in which he delights. With all the force and warmth of his colouring' (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol.III, p.301).

The painting that came up at Sotheby's on 2 December 1964 was not catalogued as formerly in the Hamilton collection, but had the correct dimensions of 75 x 100 inches. (It may well have been the work sold by Sotheby's on 27 November 1957.) Its Hamilton provenance may have been known, but it was soon linked to the Hamilton collection by Alessandro Ballarin, who discussed it, renamed it *The Departure of Abraham to Canaan*, attributed it to Jacopo and his son Francesco, and dated it c. 1569 and later c. 1570-71: see his collected writings, *Jacopo Bassano Scritti 1964-1995* (Padua, 1995), Vol.I, pp.167-9 and figs.121-2. (At this time the painting was in a private collection in Montreal.)

The all-important point as far as we are concerned is that *The Departure of Abraham to Canaan* (which some may prefer to call *The Journey of Jacob*) includes a representation of God appearing in the sky to an elderly man surrounded by animals and other people in a rustic landscape and that this could have appeared to represent 'The Creation' and 'Jacob and his Flock'. We can therefore see that there was only one major Bassano painting listed on the inventories associated with the 9th and 10th Dukes, and that it was either owned by the 9th Duke in the late 1790s or else acquired in the first decade of the nineteenth century by the future 10th Duke.

The 'Bassano' would have been the main painting on the left-hand side of the main wall opposite the windows and would have balanced Poussin's *Lamentation over the Dead Christ* (see entry 62).

[68] **Conversation** _____ **Brouer (*)**

Possibly/probably the 'Conversation [by] Brouer' listed on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 47).

Entry 68 is recorded, as 'Conversation [£]80 [by] Breuar', in the Drawing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.169). It is noted in the same room, as 'Conversazione [by] Brewer [£]100 ,, ,,', on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.165).

Dr Waagen describes the 'Brouwer' in the 'Second Room' (the Drawing Room in the Old State Rooms) in 1851 as: 'Adrian Brouwer. – Interior of a cottage, with a peasant playing the guitar, his wife with him. Quite in the harmoniously broken tones and the soft touch of this excellent artist' (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol.III, p.300). A 'Man playing Guitar [by] Branwer' is listed in the Old Drawing Room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.143). Entry 68 was bought at the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 45) by Constantine A. Ionides for £609. It is now in the Ionides Collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum (CAI. 80) and is described as *Interior of a Room with Figures: A Man Playing the Lute and a Woman*.

In his edition of Smith's *Catalogue Raisonné* (Vol.III, p.590, no.77), Hofstede de Groot associated this late painting by Brouwer with a work in Jaques de Meyers' collection that was sold in Rotterdam on 9 September 1722 for 202 florins, citing *Hoet*, I, 281. A hand-written label on the back of the panel is partly obscured by another label but gives some information about later provenance: it begins '92' and is then obscured; it ends 'ower' – presumably a misspelling of the last part of 'Brouwer'.

The dimensions of the panel itself are 36.8 x 29.7 x 0.6 cm.; the present frame is approximately 64 x 57 x 8.8 cm.

[69] **A Saviour on the Cross** _____ **Guido (*)**

Apparently 'Christ Asleep on his Cross [by] Guido' listed as in the 'Front Drawing Room' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my

number 69), but note the possibility, raised in Appendix 1, entry 69, that this could have passed into the collection of the Duke of Somerset and been sold in the 1890 Somerset sale.

Entry 69 is recorded, as 'A Saviour on the Cross [£]50 [by] Guido', in the Drawing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.169) and as the 'Infant Jesus asleep on a Cross [by] Guido [£]100 ,, ,,', in the same room, on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.165).

See Appendix 1, entry 69, for more information and discussion.

[70] **St.. Catharine** _____ **Moret[?a]**

This appears to be the 'S^t Catherine [by] Murillo' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 81).

Between 1811 and 1825 entry 70 was removed from the Drawing Room and placed in the First Dressing Room. It is listed, as 'St. Cathrine [£]30 [by] Moreth', in the '1st.. Dressing Room' on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.171).

Thankfully, it becomes the 'S^t Catherine [by] Murrillio [£]30 ,, ,,', recorded in the same room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.173). Entry 70 is therefore lot 1139 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Murillo. St. Catherine. 16 in. by 13 in.' Lot 1139 was bought by W. Dyer for £33 12s. It is very unlikely to have been lot 682 in the 1882 sale: 'The Marriage of St. Catharine – on copper. 8½ in. by 7 in.'

[71] **St.. Sebastian** _____ **Guido (*)**

= 'S^t Sebastian [by] Guido' listed as in the 'Front Drawing Room' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 80).

Dr Spiker saw entry 71 in 1816, in 'the apartments to the right' of the Gallery, and described it (after *The Circumcision of Christ* by Signorelli) as 'the Martyrdom of St. Sebastian, by Guido Reni, and probably the original of a similar picture in the gallery at Dulwich, near London' (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.247).

Entry 71 is recorded, as 'S^t.. Sebastian [£]80 [by] Guido', in the Drawing Room

on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.169) and as 'S^t Sebastian [by] Guido [£]100,,,,', in the same room, on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.165).

The 1835 inventory in the Hamilton archive also records '1 Picture over the Chimney, Martyre of St Sebastian School ~~By~~ of Guido [£]20 ,, ,', in 'Mademoiselles Bed Room' (Volume 1223, p.59). The 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library follows this almost exactly and is written out in one go, without any correction or alteration: '1 Picture over the Chimney, Martyre of S^t Sebastian School of Guido [£]20 ,, ,', (p.75). 'S^t Sebastian [by] Guido' is recorded in the Drawing Room in the Old State Rooms on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.143).

For a full discussion of this work, see Appendix 1, entry 80.

[72] **Landscape** _____ **Poussin**

See also entry 66.

Entry 72 is recorded, as 'Landscape [£]60 [by] Poussin', in the Drawing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.169). It is probably one of the two 'Gaspar Poussins' that Dr Waagen saw in the 'Second Room' (the Drawing Room in the Old State Rooms) in 1851 and described as: 'Gaspar Poussin. – 2. A landscape with a flock of sheep. A fine feeling of evening repose pervades this beautiful picture' (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol.III, p.301). This was lot 1118 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'G. Poussin. A Classical River Scene, with buildings, and a flock of sheep. 39 in. by 29 in.' Lot 1118 was bought by Johnstone, Jeans, and Co. for £147. The companion painting, lot 1119, was probably entry 66 on this inventory.

[73] **Edward 6th** _____ **Holbiens (*)**

= 'King Edw.^d 6th. [by] Holbeins' listed as in the 'Back Drawing Room' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 50).

Dr Spiker saw entry 73 in 1816, in 'the apartments to the right' of the Gallery, and described it as 'Edward VI., a whole length figure, by Holbein, the only portrait of that king that I recollect having seen in England, and very powerfully painted' (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.248).

Entry 73 is recorded, as ‘Edward 6th.. [£]40 [by] Holbiens’, in the Drawing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.169). It was probably in the same room in 1835 and mistakenly described as ‘Portrait of Henry the 6th. of England By Holbien [£]80 „ „’ (HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.165), although the Hamilton collection did include a portrait of Henry VI attributed to Holbein. The ‘Portrait of Edward 6th. of England [by] Holbim’ is recorded in the Drawing Room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.143).

See Appendix 1, entry 50, for the main discussion of this work.

[74] **Neptune & Amphitrite _____ Rubens (?*)**

= *The Birth of Venus* by Rubens (with Neptune and Amphitrite at the top of the border), the model for a silver basin or dish by Theodore Rogiers for Charles I, which was bought at the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 44) by the National Gallery, London (1195). See Leopold van Puyvelde, *The Sketches of Rubens* (London, 1947), pp.85-6, no.61, and pl.61.

This is the first clear reference to this work in the Hamilton Collection. It is listed as ‘Neptune & Amphitrite [£]50 [by] Rubens’ in the same room, the Drawing Room, on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.169). John Smith records it in the Hamilton collection in his *Catalogue Raisonné, Part II* (London, 1830), p.250, no.848. It is noted in the Drawing Room of the Old State Rooms (the same room) on the 1835 and 1853 inventories. The 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library describes it as ‘The Birth of Venus a Sketch [by] Rubens [£]100 „ „’ (p.165), while the 1853 inventory refers to it as simply the ‘Birth of Venus a sketch [by] Rubens’ (HA, Volume 1228, p.143).

Entry 74 could be ‘An historical Sketch. Circular. [By] Rubens’ on the inventory annotated ‘Archibald Duke of Hamilton’ (my number 8). The word ‘historical’ would relate more obviously to entry 36 on the 1811 inventory: ‘Germanicus haranguing his Soldiers [by] Rubens’. However, as I show in the note to entry 36, ‘Germanicus’ is actually ‘Decius Mus addressing his Troops’ and is probably either the sketch now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, or the sketch in the 1907 Sedelmeyer auction. It is hard to see how

either of these can be described as circular, and, at the end of the day, we may have to accept that, by a sheer process of elimination, entry 8 on the ‘Archibald Duke of Hamilton’ inventory can only be the *modello* for the basin.

[Note about changes in the Drawing Room between 1811 and 1825

Between 1811 and 1825 four of the sixteen paintings listed above – the two *Sibyls* by or after Guercino, the *Queen of Sheba* ascribed to Tintoretto and the *St Catherine* attributed to ‘Moret[? a]’ (entries 59, 61, 63 and 70) – were removed from the Drawing Room. The *Sibyls* went into the Billiard Room, the *Queen of Sheba* into a ‘Dressing Room’, and *St Catherine* into the First Dressing Room.

Between the taking of the two inventories, four paintings were added to the Drawing Room. Three were definitely new acquisitions by the 10th Duke: ‘The Lords Supper [£]200 [by] Masaccio’ – *The Institution of the Eucharist* by Ercole de’ Roberti (now in the National Gallery, London) – and the *Cumaen Sibyl* ascribed to Ludovico Carracci and the *Laughing Boy*, then attributed to Leonardo and now to Luini, both from the 1823 Fonthill sale.

The fourth work is described on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory as ‘A Picture concealed (Guilio Romano) [£]50 [by] Guido’. This, too, may have been another recent acquisition by the 10th Duke, but one cannot as yet exclude the possibility that it was in the old Hamilton collection and was simply being re-displayed.]

State Bed Room

[75] **S^t.. John** _____

There are a number of ‘St Johns’ on the 1793 inventory of Hamilton Palace, including painting number ‘53 A round Picture of S^t. John [by] Luigi Cazi’ listed as in the ‘first Picture Closet’ and number ‘227 S^t. John asleep [by] Petro Cortona’, recorded in the ‘Crimson first Dressing Closet’ (HA, M4/51, pp.7 and 17 respectively).

Between 1811 and 1825 ‘S^t.. John’ was taken out of the State Bed Room. The

copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records a 'St John [£]30' in the First Dressing Room (HA, M4/70, p.171). The 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library lists a 'S^t John' without an attribution, valued at £20, in the First Dressing Room, however 'Correggio' has been added in pencil very faintly (p.173). These two entries probably refer to entry 85 on the 1811 inventory.

The 1853 inventory notes 'S^t John a Portrait [by] Gargione' and 'S^t John [by] Guercino' in the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms (HA, Volume 1228, p.140).

[76] **Holy Family** _____ **Teniers (?*)**

Entry 76 is recorded, as 'Holy Family [£]50 [by] Teniers', in the State Bed Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.170). Not in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

[77] **Entombing of Christ** _____ **Titian (?*)**

Possibly 'The Intombing [by] Titian' listed as in the 'Front Drawing Room' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 64). The 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory records at least two other possibilities in the old Hamilton collection: painting number '349 A Piece of several Figures carrying a dead Christ After Titian' and '350 A Piece of several Figures laying our Saviour in Tomb After Titian'. Both are listed as in the Gallery in 1793 (HA, M4/51, p.2).

Entry 77 is recorded, as 'Entombing of Christ [£]200 [by] Titian', in the State Bed Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.170). It is listed in the same room on the 1835 and 1853 inventories. Both the 1835 inventories record it as 'Entombment of Christ [by] Titian [£]200 ,, ,,' (HA, Volume 1223, p.149, and HTHL, p.169). It appears simply as 'Entombment of Christ [by] Titian' on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.146).

See entry 64 on the annotated inventory inscribed 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' for more information and ideas about this painting.

[78] **Christ in the Garden** _____ **M Ang. Buonaroti**

Note '249 A Sketch by Michael Angelo', listed as in the 'Bed Chamber Upper

Storry East Wing' on the 1759 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/48, p.38). Between 1811 and 1825 *Christ in the Garden* attributed to Michelangelo was taken out of the State Bed Room and moved to an unknown location. It is not recorded on the main list of paintings on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, pp.163-80).

Christie's sale of Sir Joshua Reynolds's collection on 13 March 1795 (the third day of the sale) included, as lot 77: 'Mich. Angelo. Christ in the Garden of Olives. In this picture are two figures of Christ, one in meditation, the other waking his disciples. Mariette in his detail of the works of Michael Angelo, distinguishes this; there is also a particular account of it, in the *Description des Tableaux du Palais Royal*'. There is a fully priced catalogue of this sale in the Hamilton archive which records that lot 77 was bought by 'Clark' for £21, but nothing else is added against the entry (M4/53, p.18). There was also a 'Christ praying on the Mount' attributed to 'Michael Angelo Buonaroti' in the sale of the 'Remaining Part of the Orleans Collection' on 14 February 1800 (Peter Coxe, Burrell, and Foster, *The Catalogue of the Remaining Part of the Orleans' Collection of Italian Paintings*, p.11, lot 51). There is also a priced catalogue of this sale in the Hamilton archive (M4/64), which records that lot 51 was sold for £'53.. 12..', but nothing else is noted against the entry.

Entry 78 was probably/possibly lot 362 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'M. Venusti. The Agony in the Garden. 21 in. by 28 in.' Lot 362 sold to F. Davis for £51 9s.

[79] **Punishment of a Father & Son _____ Parmegiano**

Entry 79 is recorded, as 'Punishment of a Father & Son [by] Parmagiano', in the State Bed Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.170). 'The punishment of a Father and Son' is listed without an attribution in the Duke's Bed Room on the 1853 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.163).

More work needs to be done on this item but it appears to be the 'Martyrdom' attributed to 'Parmegiano', which was sold as lot 341 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, with measurements of 45 x 38 inches. This painting, with Hamilton Palace sale references on the back, is now in the William Morris Gallery and

Frank Brangwyn Gift, Walthamstow, and is included in the National Inventory of Continental European Paintings. It is said to depict two Christian martyrs being tortured, but no illustration was available in December 2007.

[80] **Landscape** _____ **Wooverman**

Probably lot 77 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'P. Wouvermans. A Man watering his Steed, and a Sportsman with a Gun. [A long description of the work follows.] 23 in. by 28 in. See Smith's "Catalogue Raisonné", Supplement, p.198.' Lot 77 was bought by J.H. Fitzhenry for £693.

Lot 77 was apparently included in Sotheby's *Old Master Paintings*, London, 21 April 1993, as lot 18, with the new title 'Dune Landscape with a Rider and Other Figures on the Banks of a River'. The figure of a man watering his horse at the river, noted by Smith and Christie's cataloguer in 1882, is missing from the painting and is said to have been removed. The Sotheby painting is accepted as an autograph work, signed indistinctly on the lower left, of about 1652/54, and from the Hamilton collection, by Birgit Schumacher, *Philips Wouwerman (1619-1668): The Horse Painter of the Golden Age* (Doornspijk, 2006), I, p.370, cat. no.A515. Schumacher illustrates what she calls the 'Dune Landscape' in volume II as colour plate 83 and black and white plate 476, and notes that it is in a private collection.

Entry 80 is not recorded as a *Landscape* by Wouwerman in the State Bed Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.170). However, two works in the room in 1825 are described as 'Landscape [£]20 Flemish'.

Entry 80 is recorded, as 'Landscape [by] Wouermans [£]80 ,, ,', in the Old State Bed Room on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.149, and HTHL, p.169).

[81] **Prince of Guelders menacing his Father** _____ **Rembrandt**

= Lot 1034 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'P.G. Rembrandt. The Prince of Guilders menacing his Father in Prison. 61 in. by 52 in.' Lot 1034 was bought by M.S. Nathan for £21.

Entry 81 is actually a copy of Rembrandt's *Samson threatening his Father-in-Law* in Berlin. It is not synonymous with the painting of the same subject,

measuring 61½ x 51½ inches, which was included in Sotheby's sale of *The Estate of Walter P. Chrysler, Jr. Old Master and 19th Century Paintings*, New York, 1 June 1989, lot 44. This was in the Stowe sale in 1848 (see H.R. Forster, *The Stowe Catalogue: Priced and Annotated* (London, 1848), pp.191-2, lot 406) and was at Glendon Hall, near Kettering, from 1848 until 1916.

Eugène Dutuit refers to the Hamilton painting as a 'mauvaise copie' (*Tableaux et Dessins de Rembrandt* (Paris, 1885, p.25) and there are references to it subsequently being in Montreal.

Entry 81 might be the copy attributed to Ferdinand Bol which was sold at The Hague in May 1772 and in Amsterdam in September 1783, although this seems to have been larger than the Hamilton painting (155 x 132 cm.), with measurements of approximately 181.4 x 138.3 cm. (1772) and 179.9 x 138.8 cm. (1783): see the Rembrandt Research Project, J. Bruyn *et al*, *A Corpus of Rembrandt Paintings, Vol. III, 1635-1642* (Dordrecht, 1989), p.123.

Entry 81 is recorded, as 'Prince of Guilders menacing his father [£]100 [by] Rembrant', in the State Bed Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.170). A decade later it is listed, as 'Prince Guilders menacing his father [by] Rembrant [£]100 ,, ,,', in the Second Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms, on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.158, and HTHL, p.179 (with capital F for 'Father'). It was subsequently re-assessed, downgraded and relegated to the new services/staff wing. It is recorded as 'Prince Guilders menacing his Father (after Rembrandt)' in Room 'Number 6', 'Kitchen Court' on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.28).

[82] **Portrait** _____ **Georgione**

Entry 82 is listed as 'Portrait of a man in Armour [£]50 [by] Georgioni' in the same room, the State Bed Room, on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.170). It was included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale as lot 411: 'Giorgione. A Venetian General in Half Armour and Trunk Hose, with sword, his right arm resting on a pedestal, on which are his helmet and gauntlet. 6 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 11 in.' Lot 411 was bought by F. Davis for £530 5s. and was one of many Hamilton Palace paintings and other items acquired by the 5th Earl of Rosebery for Mentmore and Dalmeny, etc.

Crowe and Cavalcaselle described the portrait in *Life and Times of Titian* (second edition, London, 1881), p.469) as ‘Full-length of life size on canvas of a captain in armour. He stands near a table, on which his right arm reposes. Near the arm a helmet. This picture, once under the name of Giorgione, is now called a Titian, and reminds us of Morone, but it is injured and unworthy of any one of the artists named.’

The portrait was sold from Mentmore, after the 5th Earl of Rosebery’s death, by Christie’s – still as a Giorgione – on 5 May 1939 (lot 45) and was re-assessed by Teresio Pignatti after the Second World War.

Pignatti compared it to the *Portrait of Francesco Franceschini*, dated 1551, in the Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida, which is generally agreed to be by Paolo Veronese, and attributed it to Veronese (*Veronese* (1976), Vol.I, p.106, no.18, and Vol.II, fig.26). Three years later, he described it as ‘an extraordinary example of Veronese’s early portraiture’ when it was shown in the exhibition *The Golden Century of Venetian Painting*, held at Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 30 October 1979-27 January 1980 (pp.114 and 167, no.39).

The portrait was included – as a Veronese – in Christie’s sale of *Important Old Master Pictures from the Frederick W. Field Collection*, London, 5 July 1991, as lot 4.

It seems likely that entry 82 was added to the collection by the 9th or 10th Dukes of Hamilton. However, the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory lists ‘A Gentleman in Armour’, without a painting number or an attribution, in the ‘Crimson Bed Room’, and painting number ‘407 A Man in Armour, black hair’ and ‘A Gentleman in Armour’ in the Library (HA, M4/51, pp.16, 19 and 21). The 1759 Hamilton Palace inventory records painting number ‘170 A Man in Armour with black hair Closet size, on Timber’ as in the ‘Second Closet’ (HA, M4/48, p.14). The latter is clearly not the ‘Giorgione’/Veronese *Portrait*.

Despite these references, the fact that so many of the paintings in the State Bed Room were additions to the Hamilton Palace collection inclines one to think that entry 82 was also a new addition.

If one accepts the ‘matching’ of the portrait attributed to Giorgione to the

portrait subsequently in the Field collection, entry 82 would have been by far the largest painting in the State Bed Room (78½ x 46⅞ inches or 199.5 x 119 cm.) and would have been followed, in all probability, by the *Entombment* after Titian, which would have been about 60 x 54 inches if it was lot 758 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, and the copy of Rembrandt's *Samson threatening his Father-in-Law* (61 x 52 inches). All the other paintings were significantly smaller.

Entry 82 may be the 'Portrait of a Venetian' listed without an attribution in the Bed Room in the Old State Rooms on the 1853 inventory, but it is possible that it was moved and becomes 'a Portrait (man in Armour)' recorded in the Tribune on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, pp.146 and 97 respectively). One working theory would be that it is the 'Gentleman in Armour [£]100 ,, ,,' recorded in the New Dining Room in 1835 (HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.147) and was later moved to the Tribune.

Entry 82 may be the 'Portrait of a Man in Armour [by] Giorgione' listed in the Lobby and Passage leading to the Duchess's Rooms on the 1876 inventory (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.32).

Christie's sale of Sir Joshua Reynold's collection on 13 March 1795 included, as lot 87: 'Giorgione. Portrait of a Venetian Officer of State'. There is a fully annotated copy of this sale catalogue in the Hamilton archive which records that lot 87 was bought by 'Farrington' for thirteen guineas (M4/53, p.18). It is also worth noting that Christie's Hulse sale on 21-22 March 1806 included 'Giorgione [...] Portrait of a Warrior – the Character remarkably grand and animated, and painted in his usual rich Tone of Colour.' This was lot 30 on the second day of the sale and sold to Woodburn for three and a half guineas. Although it is tempting to link this lot to entry 82, the 'Character' of the Hamilton portrait is not really 'grand and animated', and one is not instantly convinced by this possible 'match'.

[Note about changes in the State Bed Room between 1811 and 1825]

Between 1811 and 1825 two of the eight works listed above – *St John* and *Christ in the Garden* (entries 75 and 78) – were definitely removed from the State Bed Room. The *Landscape* by Wouverman (entry 80) may also have been taken elsewhere, although it may have remained and been described as an anonymous ‘Flemish’ *Landscape* (see below).

Between the two dates, nine or ten paintings were added to the room. They are listed in the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory as follows.

Anything in square brackets has been added by me.

S^t.. Cecilia [£]50 Dominichione

Cathrine 2^d.. of Russia [£]25 [Acquired by the 10th Duke of Hamilton during
or after his visit to Russia]

Landscape [£]20 Flemish

Landscape [£]20 Flemish

Pair of Landscapes (Rocks) [£]50 Sal. Rosa [From the First Dressing Room]

Landscape [£]100 Hobbimar [From the Breakfast Room]

Centaurs [£]600 Rubens [Acquired by the 10th Duke of Hamilton at Christie’s
sale of the Greville collection on 31 March 1810 (lot
95) for £640 10s. Now in the Gulbenkian Museum,
Lisbon]

Portrait of Albert Durer [£]100 Albert Durer [This is either lot 14 or 53 in the
1882 Hamilton Palace sale. A
portrait of Durer is recorded in
the old Hamilton collection and
the 9th or 10th Duke apparently
acquired another, possibly the
better of the two (?).]

Madonna & Child [£]40 Guircino]

1st.. Dressing Room

[83] **Head, Madona** _____ **Sassaferato (?*)**

Entry 83 is recorded, as ‘Head of Madona [£]20 [by] Sassaferato’, in the ‘1st..

Dressing Room’ on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.171).

See entry 56 on this inventory and entry 19 on the inventory annotated ‘Archibald Duke of Hamilton’, in Appendix 1, for more information.

[84] **S^t. Augustine & Child** _____ **F Mola**

This could be connected to ‘A small Pair of Landscapes [by] Mola’ on the inventory annotated ‘Archibald Duke of Hamilton’ (my number 59). However, see the discussion in Appendix 1, entry 59.

Entry 84 is probably lot 740 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: ‘F. Mola. St. Augustine at Hippona. 29 in. by 21 in.’ Lot 740 was bought by Shepherd Brothers for £60 18s.

Between 1811 and 1825 ‘S^t. Augustine & Child’ was moved out of the First Dressing Room and taken to another location. It is not recorded on the main list of paintings on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, pp.163-80). It is probably recorded, as ‘S^t Augustine By Mole £40 ,, ,,’, in the Second Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.158, and HTHL, p.179, with S^t). This is confirmed by the fact that ‘S^t. Augustin and Child’ is listed in the Second Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.151).

[85] **S^t John** _____ **Corregio (*)**

= ‘S^t John [by] Corregio’ listed as in the ‘Back Drawing Room’ on the inventory annotated ‘Archibald Duke of Hamilton’ (my number 60).

Entry 85 is probably the ‘St John [£]30’ listed in the First Dressing Room on the copy of the 1825 inventory (HA, M4/70, p.171). The 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library records a ‘S^t John’ without an attribution, valued at £20, in the First Dressing Room, and somebody has added ‘Corregio’ in pencil (p.173). Thus it seems that entry 85 remained in the First Dressing Room from at least 1811 to 1835.

The 1853 inventory lists ‘S^t John a Portrait [by] Gargione’ and ‘S^t John [by] Guercino’ in the Breakfast Room of the Old State Rooms (HA, Volume 1228, p.140).

[86] **Landscape** _____ **Titian**

See also entry 129.

Entries 86 or 129 might be the 'Landscape with a white horse [£]40 [by] Titian' listed in the Dining Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.179). 'A Landscape with a White horse [by] Titian [£]40 ,, ,' is recorded in the Old Dining Room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.139).

[87] **Pair of Landscapes (Rocks) _____ Sal. Rosa**

See entry 39 on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton'.

Entry 87 might be lot 712 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Salvator Rosa. A Pair of Rocky Landscapes, with figures. 24 in. by 19 in.' Lot 712 was purchased by T. Agnew & Sons for £84.

Between 1811 and 1825 entry 87 was taken out of the First Dressing Room and installed in the State Bed Room. It is listed there, as a 'Pair of Landscapes (Rocks) [£]50 [by] Sal. Rosa', on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.170). The 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library records '2 Landscapes Rocks [by] Salvator Rosa [£]50 ,, ,' in the Drawing Room in the Old State Rooms (p.165).

It seems likely that Dr Spiker was commenting on entry 87 when he referred to 'two excellent landscape studies, by Salvator Rosa' (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.247).

Spiker states that they were in 'the apartments to the right' of the Gallery in 1816. He records them in the middle of a list of paintings that were in the Breakfast Room and Drawing Room in 1811, but it is clear that he was not following the exact sequence. Spiker's sequence appears to reflect a writer trying to produce a reasonably interesting, flowing review of eighteen works, rather than a linear gallery guide.

[88] **Crowning the Virgin _____ Schidone**

Entry 88 is recorded, as 'Crowning the Virgin [£]30 [by] Schidore', in the First Dressing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.171).

The 'Crowning of the Virgin' by the tragically short-lived Emilian artist

Bartolomeo Schedoni (1578-1615) was lot 37 in Christie's sale of pictures purchased as a speculation by the American painter John Trumbull in Paris, which was held in London on 17 February 1797. It was described in the auction catalogue as:

Schidoni – – 37 The Coronation of the Virgin, small,
a fine composition of twelve figures,
in perfect preservation, and from the
very choice collection of the Duke de
Praslin

(Christie, *A Catalogue of A most Superb and Distinguished Collection of Italian, French, Flemish, and Dutch Pictures, A Selection formed with peculiar Taste and Judgement by John Trumbull, Esq. during his late residence in Paris, from some of the most Celebrated Cabinets in France*, 17 and 18 February 1797, p.7).

As the catalogue notes, the *Coronation of the Virgin* came from the collection of Renault-César-Louis de Choiseul, duc de Praslin, who had been the French ambassador at Naples from 1766 to 1771 and apparently acquired it from a 'célèbre galerie italienne'.

An annotated copy of the sale catalogue in the National Art Library in the Victoria & Albert Museum (23.XX) records that lot 37 was sold for '29 G^s' (i.e. 29 guineas) to 'M^r. Price', who was almost certainly a dealer as his name is repeated in this and other contemporary catalogues.

Exactly when the work entered the Hamilton collection is not clear. It is not on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton', unless it is 'The Trinity [by] Carra[h/c]i' or the crossed out 'Ascension of the Virgin [by] Valasquez' (my numbers 71 and 67). The key point, however, is that the work was bought after the beginning of 1797 and was a 'recent acquisition', rather than an inherited item or an early purchase. It comes after Lord Archibald Hamilton/the 9th Duke of Hamilton's partly documented purchases from Woodburn in the mid 1790s and after the 8th Duke of Hamilton became ill and it looked as though the collateral line would inherit the dukedoms. It is therefore, whatever the exact date of acquisition, very much part of the sudden and dramatic upgrading of the Hamilton collection in the very late 1790s-early 1800s. It is also significant that the price of 29 guineas almost exactly matches the

valuation of £30 and indicates that valuations on the 1825 inventory may be a good reflection of the prices paid for recent acquisitions.

The panel, which measures 47 x 38 cm., was purchased by Sir Denis Mahon in 1950 and is now regarded as one of Schedoni's early works. For further information on the work itself see Giuliano Briganti, 'The Mahon Collection of Seicento Paintings', *Connoisseur*, CXXXII, July 1953, pp.8 and 18, no.46; Emilio Negro and Nicosetta Roio, *Bartolomeo Schedoni 1578-1615* (Modena, 1999), pp.67-8, no.6; and Gabriele Finaldi and Michael Kidson, *Discovering the Italian Baroque: The Denis Mahon Collection* (London, 1997), pp.154-5. The 'Crowing [sic] of the Virgin [by] Shidoni' is recorded in the New Sitting Room on the 1835 inventory in the Hamilton archive (Volume 1223, p.136). In the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library it appears as the 'Crowning of the Virgin [by] Schidoni' (p.155), as an addition after the total valuation for the main list. It is recorded in the same room on the 1853 inventory, as 'Crowning of the Virgin', with the attribution 'Schidone' added in pencil (HA, Volume 1228, p.105).

The *Adoration of the Shepherds* by Ciro Ferri (which was also subsequently acquired by Sir Denis Mahon) was also in Christie's Trumbull sale on 17 February 1797, as lot 40: 'Pietro da Cortona _ 40 The Adoration of the Shepherds, a beautiful little specimen of the master; from the collection of the Baron D'Espagnac'. According to the annotated copy of the sale catalogue in the National Art Library in the Victoria and Albert Museum, lot 40 was bought by 'Bryan' (i.e. Michael Bryan) for thirty guineas (£31 10s). It is not listed on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, but it must always be remembered that this only records some of the paintings in the palace at this time. The *Adoration* by Ferri is clearly recorded in the Music Room on the 1835 inventories as 'Madona and Child, Nativity of our Saviour [by] Ciso. Ferri [£]50 ,, ,,' (HA, Volume 1223, p.107) and as 'Madona & Child, Navivity [sic] of our Saviour [by] Ciso. Ferri [£]50 ,, ,,' (HTHL, p.127).

For Ferri's *Adoration*, see Finaldi and Kitson, *op. cit.*, pp.68-9.

[89] **Temptation of St. Anthony _____ D. Teniers (?*)**

See entry 5 on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton'.

Between 1811 and 1825 entry 89 was removed from the First Dressing Room and hung in the Dining Room. It is listed, as ‘S^t Anthonys temptations [£]30 [by] Teniers’, in the Dining Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.179).

Entry 89 is probably lot 68 in Christie’s Hamilton Palace sale on 6 November 1919: ‘D. Teniers. The Temptation of Saint Anthony. On copper – 19 in. by 25½ in.’

A smaller ‘Temptation of St. Anthony’ by Teniers, on panel and measuring 18.6 x 24.8 cm., from the 1842 Strawberry Hill sale and William Beckford’s collection, is at Brodick Castle on the Isle of Arran and is included, with full provenance information, in the National Inventory of Continental European Paintings.

Entry 89 has yet to be identified among the many versions of this subject by or after Teniers. An example at Hopetoun, stated to be on wood and 19¼ x 24½ inches, was exhibited in the Royal Academy’s 1939 exhibition of seventeenth-century Dutch art, as no.59, while another, attributed to a follower of Teniers, and described as on panel and 18½ x 24¾ inches, was offered at Christie’s London on 25 October 1985 as lot 51B.

A Temptation of St Anthony attributed to Teniers, described as ‘Teniers. The Temptation of St. Anthony, a very spirited small picture’, was included in Skinner and Dyke’s sale of Charles Alexander de Calonne’s collection on 28 March 1795 as lot 7. There is a copy of the catalogue of this sale in the Hamilton archive, marked up with prices and buyers’ names, which records that lot 7 was bought by ‘Benfield Esq^r’ for £22 1s, but nothing else is noted beside the entry (HA, M4/54, p.27).

[90] **Landscape with a drunk Peasant _____ Teniers (?*)**

See entry 5 on the inventory annotated ‘Archibald Duke of Hamilton’.

The only ‘Teniers’ listed in the First Dressing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory is ‘Teniers Chatteau [£]20 [by] Tenniers’ (HA, M4/70, p.172). The 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library records that a ‘Landscape of House (small) [by] Teniers’ – presumably the painting of the ‘Chatteau’ – was added to the First Dressing Room in the Old

State Rooms after February 1835 (p.175).

The 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library records a 'Landscape [by] Teniers [£]80 ,, ,' (p.169) in the Old State Bedroom. The high valuation suggests that this was entry 90 and the work seen in the same room by Waagen in 1851 (see below). The 1835 'Landscape' may have been the 'Landscape with 2 figures [£]20 [by] Teniers' recorded in the Second Dressing Room on the 1825 inventory (HA, M4/70, p.173).

There is the possibility that the 1835 painting was replaced by a 'Landscape with Figures [by] D. Teniers' from William Beckford's collection. The latter was in the Dining Room at Lansdown Crescent at the time of Beckford's death in 1844. It is not clear where this 'Landscape' went, or exactly what it depicted, and other paintings from Beckford's collection were certainly added to the Old State Rooms in the 1840s. Nevertheless, entry 90 – 'Landscape with a drunk Peasant' – seems to be the 'Teniers' that Dr Waagen saw in 1851 in the 'Third Room' (which would have been the Bed Room in the Old State Rooms) and described as 'Landscape, with a woman leading her drunken husband; animated in the figures and very transparent in colouring' (*Treasures of Art* (London, 1854), Vol.III, p.302).

This painting was probably lot 51 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'D. Teniers. A Landscape, with a woman leading her drunken husband, three peasants in front of a cottage on the right, and a church, with peasants and sheep in the distance. Signed. 31 in. by 25 in.' Lot 51 was bought by Duncan for £69 6s.

[91] **Diogenes** _____ **Sal. Rosa**

= Lot 725 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Salvator Rosa. Diogenes. 18 in. by 16 in.' Lot 725 was bought by W. Boore for £52 10s.

Entry 91 is listed, as 'Diogenes [£]30 [by] Sal. Rosa', in the First Dressing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.172). It is recorded in the same room, the First Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms, on the 1835 and 1853 inventories. The 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library describes it as 'Diogenes [by] Salvator Rosa [£]30 ,, ,' (p.173), while the 1853 inventory refers to it with maximum brevity simply as

‘Diogenes’ (HA, Volume 1228, p.148).

[92] **Flight into Egypt** _____ **Paul Potter (*)**

= ‘The Holy Family, Journey into Egypt [by] Paul Potter’ listed as in the ‘Front Drawing Room’ on the inventory annotated ‘Archibald Duke of Hamilton’ (my number 76).

Between 1811 and 1825 Potter’s *Flight into Egypt* was removed from the First Dressing Room and taken to an unknown location. It is not recorded on the main list of paintings on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, pp.163-80). It may be the ‘Landscape Holy Family journeying to Egypt [£]40 ,, ,’ noted in the Old Dining Room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.139). This possibility is increased by the description of the same work in the same room in the 1853 inventory: ‘Holy Family journeying to Egypt _ a Landscape and Cattle &° &°’ (HA, Volume 1228, p.156).

The copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records ‘Sheep & Lamb [£]80 [by] P Potter’ in the First Dressing Room in 1825 (HA, M4/70, p.171).

[93] **Administring the extreme Unction** _____ **Guido**

= Lot 364 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale; ‘Guido. Extreme Unction – octagonal. 13 in. diam.’ Lot 364 was bought by the Hon. W. Massey-Mainwaring for £21.

Between 1811 and 1825 entry 93 was removed from the First Dressing Room and taken to an unknown location. It is not recorded on the main list of paintings on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, pp.163-80). ‘Extreme onction [by] Guido [£]10 ,, ,’ is listed in the Old Dining Room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.139), and, as ‘Extreme Onction’, in the same room, on the 1853 inventory, with the later added attribution in pencil ‘P. Laur[illegible last letter]’ (HA, Volume 1228, p.156).

[94] **Inside of a church, with figures by** _____ **Brughell**
Architecture _____ **Stenwick**

Entry 94 is probably the ‘Church Piece [£]20 [by] Stenwick’ recorded in the First Dressing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory

(HA, M4/70, p.172). Another (less likely) possibility is that it became the 'Inside of a Temple [£]25 [by] Elchemer' [i.e. Elsheimer] listed in the same room in 1825 (*ibid.*, p.171).

[95] **Burial of S^t. Petronella** _____ **Guercino**

= Lot 729 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Guercino. The Burial of St. Petronella. 24 in. by 42 in.' Lot 729 was bought by J. Knowles for £89 5s. Entry 95 is recorded in the First Dressing Room, as 'Burial of S^t. Petronella Copy [£]20 Guercino', on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.172) and, as 'Burial of S^t Petronella copy of Guerchino [£]20 ,, ,,', on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.173). It is listed simply as 'Burial of S^t. Petronella' in the same room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.149).

[96] **Landscape** _____ **Gainsborough**

Between 1811 and 1825 entry 96 was removed from the First Dressing Room and taken to an unknown location. No *Landscape* by Gainsborough is recorded on the main list of paintings on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, pp.163-80), but 'A Landscape Painting [by] Gainborough [£]10 ,, ,' is noted in the Old Dining Room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.139).

Entry 96 could be lot 1104 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'T. Gainsborough, R.A.. A Woody Landscape, with sheep – an early work, 11½ in. by 13½ in.' Lot 1104 was bought by T. Agnew and Sons for £168 and is now owned by the Countess of Plymouth and on indefinite loan to the National Museum of Wales, Cardiff. It is catalogued and illustrated, as 'Wooded Landscape with Figure on a Winding Track, Sheep, Lambs and Cottage' (canvas, 11½ x 13½ in., 29.2 x 34.3 cm.), by John Hayes in *The Landscape Paintings of Thomas Gainsborough* (London, 1982), Volume II, pp.360-1, no.31. Hayes dates it as c.1750-3 and gives its provenance as 'Probably William Beckford'.

The alternative would be a painting in the 1919 Hamilton Palace sale: 'T. Gainsborough, R.A. A Woody Stream. A market-cart, with cattle, crossing a bridge in the centre, with a youth and peasant-girl by the edge of a wood; two

donkeys by an old willow-tree on the right. 30 in. by 27 in.’ This was included in Christie’s sale, *Fine Historical Portraits and Ancient and Modern Pictures, The Property of His Grace the late Duke of Hamilton*, London, 6 November 1919, lot 19, and is now owned by William A. Coolidge, Cambridge, Mass. It is catalogued and illustrated, as ‘Wooded River Landscape with Cows crossing a Bridge, Rustic Lovers, Country Cart and Donkeys’ (canvas, 29½ x 57½ in., 74.9 x 146 cm.) by Hayes, *op. cit.*, p.408, no.70. Hayes dates number 70 as c.1757-8 and gives its provenance as ‘Perhaps William Beckford’, which is partly supported by his assertion that it was in his daughter, the Duchess of Hamilton’s possession, as *The Lakes of Cumberland*, in 1856.

Hayes number 70 could be the ‘Landscape and Cattle [by] Gainsborough’ or ‘Ditto [by] Ditto’ recorded in the Duchess’s Boudoir – Duchess Susan’s boudoir – at Easton Park, Suffolk, in 1852 (HA, M12/52/1, p.38, and M12/52/2, p.14). Also at Easton were ‘Three paintings in one oblong Frame (Cattle) [by] Gainsborough’. They were in the ‘Marquis Bed Room’ (HA, (M12/52/1, p.41, and M12/52/2, p.16). Beckford left his collection to his daughter, Duchess Susan, for his grandson, the Marquis of Douglas, and many Beckford items were taken to Easton after Beckford’s death in 1844.

[97] **Night Scene** _____ **Teniers (??)**

The only ‘Teniers’ listed in the First Dressing Room on the main list of paintings on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory is ‘Teniers Chateau [£]20 [by] Tenniers’ (HA, M4/70, p.172).

[98] **Landscape with Figures &c** _____ **Teniers (??)**

The only ‘Teniers’ listed in the First Dressing Room on the main list of paintings on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory is ‘Teniers Chateau [£]20 [by] Tenniers’ (HA, M4/70, p.172). ‘An old Chateau’ is listed in the same room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.149). This presumably depicted the Castle of the Three Towers near Perck which was owned by Teniers.

2^d Dressing Room

[All the items in this room appear to have come from the old Hamilton Palace

collection.]

[99] **Virgin, Babe, & Figure** _____ **(O)**

Probably '45 The Virgin & Babe and a Figure with a Palm' listed as in the 'Drawing Room' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.4). This was recorded, as 'N^o. 45 The Virgin and Babe and a figure with a Palm', in the 'Drawing Room' on the 1759 inventory (HA, M4/48, p.6). Entry 99 is recorded, as 'Virgin Babe & Figure with a Palm [£]20 [by] unknown', in the '2^d. Dressing Room' on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.173).

[100] **General Leslie** _____ **(O)**

Possibly '206 A General by Lilly' listed as in 'The Steward's Room' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.23). On the 1759 inventory this was described as '206 A Generall a half length by Sir Peter Lilly' (HA, M4/48, p.16). At this date, it was in the Billiard Room. Entry 100 is probably lot 1103 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Sir P. Lely. Portrait of General David Leslie, created Lord Newark, with crimson scarf and sword. 49 in. by 40 in.' Lot 1103 was bought by F. Davis for £388 10s. Between 1811 and 1825 'General Leslie' was removed from the Second Dressing Room and taken to an unknown location. 'A Portrait of General Leslie [without attribution] [£]10 ,, ,,' is recorded in the 'Blue Room over Gallery' on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.65, and HTHL, p.81). It is listed in the same room, as 'D^o [i.e. Painting] of General Leslie', on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.74).

[101] **Prince of Orange** _____ **Vandyke (O)**

This is almost certainly either '438 Prince van Oranien', listed as in the 'Blue Bed Room', or '335 Prince of Orange and a Dog', recorded in the 'Crimson Bed Room', on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, pp.15-6). On the 1759 inventory, the latter appears as '335 The Prince of Orange half length with a Dog by Vandyck' (HA, M4/48, p.36). At this date, it was in 'The Room next the Dutchess's Dressing Room'. It seems likely that this was a repetition or copy of Van Dyck's painting of the young prince William of

Orange, later Prince William II of Orange (1626-1650) as a child (now in Schloss Mosigkau, near Dessau): see Susan Barnes *et al*, *Van Dyck: a complete catalogue of the paintings* (New Haven and London, 2004), pp.339-40, no.III. 114.

Between 1811 and 1825 the 'Prince of Orange' was removed from the Second Dressing Room and taken to an unknown location.

[102] **Philiph 2^d. of Spain** _____ **Titian (O)**

= '217 Philip the 2^d. of Spain; full length [by] Titian', listed as in 'The Steward's Room' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.23). On the 1759 inventory this is described as '217 An Original picture of Philip the 2^d. of Spain laying his hands on fame A full length by Titian' (HA, M4/48, p.16). At this time the painting was in the Billiard Room.

Entry 102 was lot 765 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Titian. Portrait of Philip II. of Spain, in black dress and hat, with white ruff and cuffs, whole-length, a figure of Fame kneeling before him, wearing a badge inscribed "Philippus II., Secundus Hispaniarum Rex," and jewelled ornaments with monogram R. S. V. frequently repeated, the royal insignia and order of the Golden Fleece suspended from a sculptured pedestal on the right. 6 ft. 3 in. by 5 ft. 5 in.' See Dr. Waagen, "Art Treasures in Great Britain", vol. 3, p. 294.'

Lot 765 was bought by P. and D. Colnaghi and Company for £110 5s.

The painting was in 'the Drawing Roome belonging to her Grace' at Holyrood House in 1704. In the inventory of the Duke of Hamilton's pictures at Holyrood taken on 8 October 1704 it is recorded as 'An Original Picture of Phillip the 2^d. King of Spaine at full length laying his hand upon fame by —' (HA, M4/42, p.1, no.18).

Thomas Pennant saw entry 102/lot 765 in Hamilton Palace in 1769 and provides a little more information about the work. He describes it as: 'Philip II. at full length, with a strange figure of Fame bowing at his feet with a label and this motto, Pro merente adsto.' (*A Tour in Scotland; MDCCLXXIX* (third edition, Warrington, 1774), p.236).

Dr Spiker saw the picture in 1816, in 'the apartments to the right' of the Gallery, and was impressed with it. He identified it as 'Philip II., of Spain,

with America, as a female slave lying at his feet, by Titian', and added: '(a whole length figure, and one of his [Titian's] best portraits, the expression of the head of the proud king admirable)' (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.248). Entry 102 is listed, as 'Philip 2^d., of Spain [£]50 [by] Titian', in the '2^d.. Dressing Room' on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.173). 'Phillip 2^d. of Spain with Fame paying him homage [by] Titian [£]100 ,, ,' is recorded in the same room on the 1835 inventory in the Hamilton archive (Volume 1223, p.158). The word 'Removed' has been added to the left and 'David with Goliaths Head' – the work that replaced *Philip II* – has been added above. The entries in the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library are almost identical, with a lower case 'f' for 'Fame' and 'Goliaths' with a 'g': 'Goliaghs' (p.179). The 1853 inventory records 'Phillip the 2^d. of Spain [by] Titian' in the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms (HA, Volume 1228, p.140).

Remarkably, there is no photograph of this painting under Titian, Coello and other possible Italian and Spanish artists in the Witt Library, or under Philip II in the photo library in the Warburg Institute, nor has the work been included in recent exhibitions about Philip II. It would seem likely that the portrait was produced after Titian's *Philip II after the Battle of Lepanto offering his son Prince Ferdinando to Victory*, of 1573-75 (Museo del Prado, Madrid), which shows an angel descending from heaven and giving the child a palm inscribed 'MAIORA TIBI'. The Hamilton painting is clearly recorded as depicting the full-length figure of the king wearing black dress and hat. The figure of Fame is described as 'kneeling before' the king, which suggests that it was partly in front of him. As Philip was often depicted at 45° facing towards the right, the angel may have been on the viewer's right. The sculptural pedestal with the royal insignia and Order of the Golden Fleece suspended from it was definitely on the right – presumably the far right. All this suggests a Baroque composition. It is worth remembering that Rubens is believed to have painted a copy of Titian's *Philip II* (now at Chatsworth) and that he executed a large portrait of Philip II on horseback moving right to left with a flying angel on the

right crowning the king with a laurel wreath, while holding a palm leaf in the other hand (Prado). The Hamilton canvas could therefore post-date Philip's death and have been undertaken in the seventeenth century.

[103] **Major John Hamilton killed at Worcester _____ Jamieson (O)**

= '221 Major John Hamilton killed at Worcester [by] Jameson' listed as in the Gallery on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.2). The same portrait is recorded, as '221 Major General John Hamilton killed at the battle of Woster by Jamieson', in the 'First Closet' on the 1759 inventory (HA, M4/48, p.10).

Entry 103 is recorded, as 'Major John Hamilton (killed at Worcester) [£]25 [by] Jamieson', in the '2^d. Dressing Room', on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.173). It is recorded, as 'Portrait of Major General John Hamilton [by] Jamieson [£]25 ,, ,,', in the Second Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.158, and HTHL, p.179).

[104] **Landscape with Figures _____ (? O)**

Possibly '228 A Landscape by Bruar' listed as in 'The Steward's Room' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.23).

Entry 104 might be the 'Landscape with figures [£]30' recorded in the '2^d. Dressing Room' on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.173). Alternatively, it could be the 'Landscape with 2 figures [£]20 [by] Teniers' which was also in the Second Dressing Room in 1825 (*ibid.*, p.173).

[105] **Battle of Bothwell Bridge _____ Wyck (O)**

= '209 Battle of Bothwell Bridge [by] Wyck' listed as in 'The Steward's Room' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.23). The same painting was recorded, as '209 A Large picture of the battle of Bothwell bridge by Wyck', 'In the Great Stone Stair', on the 1759 inventory (HA, M4/48, p.23). Entry 105 is almost certainly lot 1018 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'J. Wyck. The Battle of Bothwell Brig. 5 ft. 7 in. by 3 ft. 5 in.' Lot 1018 was bought by F. Davis for £178 10s.

Entry 105 is recorded, as 'Battle of Bothwell Bridge [£]25 [by] Wyek', in the

‘2^d.. Dressing Room’ on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.173). ‘Battle of Bothwell Bridge[by] Wyek [£]25 ,, ,,’ is listed in the First State Dressing Room in the Old State Rooms on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.155, and HTHL, p.175). It appears as the ‘Battle of Bothwell Bridge’, in the same room, on the 1853 inventory (HA Volume 1228, p.148).

[106] **Arretine** _____ **Tintoretto (O)**

= ‘213 Arreline ½ length with Glovis in his hand [by] Tintoret’ listed as in the Billiard Room on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.11). The same portrait is recorded, as ‘213 A half length by Tintoret for arroline with his gloves in his hand’, in the Billiard Room on the 1759 inventory (HA, M4/48, p.16).

Entry 106 was in the Great Dining Room at the ‘Castle of Kenneill’, or Kinneil House, in 1704, and the 1704 Holyrood and Kinneil inventory provides the clearest description and identification of the work that is currently available: ‘A piece down to the Knees done by Tintorett for petro Arretino his gloves in his hand (HA, M4/42, p.5, no.160).

‘Arretine [by] Tintoretto’ is not recorded in the Second Dressing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory. It is not ‘The Doge of Venice [£]30 [by] Tintoretto’, as this becomes ‘Cornaro’ on the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventories and is now recognized as *St Jerome* by El Greco (see entry 113 on this inventory). It could, however, be the ‘Portrait [£]40’, without attribution, listed in the First Dressing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.172).

[107] **A Boy & Girl with Fruit & Flowers** _____ **(O)**

Probably ‘403 A Boy and Girl with Fruit & flowers’ listed as in the Gallery on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.2).

Probably lot 1087 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: ‘Sir P. Lely. Two Children, with flowers and fruit. 17 in. by 12 in.’ Lot 1087 was bought by W. Boore for £44 2s.

Entry 107 is recorded, as ‘A Boy & Girl with Fruit & Flowers [addition: [£]5]’, in the ‘2^d.. Dressing Room’ on the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA,

M4/70, p.173).

[108] **Children dancing &c _____ (O)**

Entry 108 is recorded, as ‘Children Dancing &c.. [addition: [£]7]’, in the 2^d.. Dressing Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton inventory (HA, M4/70, p.173).

Billiard Room

[109] **Jasen enchanting the Dragon _____ Sal. Rosa (*)**

Almost certainly ‘S^t. George and the Dragon [by] S Rosa’ listed as in the ‘Dining parlour’ on the inventory annotated ‘Archibald Duke of Hamilton’ (my number 28).

A ‘Jason and the Dragon’ attributed to Salvator Rosa was included in Phillips’s sale of ‘a Collection of Pictures, by Ancient and Modern Masters’, on 3 June 1807, as lot 141. The same sale included the ‘Decius Mus, devoting himself to his Country’ attributed to Rubens (lot 126) mentioned in entry 36, and, on the previous day, a portrait of Edward VI attributed to Holbein (lot 77). The problem about these possible connections is that the Marquis of Douglas was in Russia at the time of this sale and was not really active in Britain as a buyer until the end of 1808.

Entry 109 is recorded, as ‘Jason enchanting the Dragon [£]50 [by] Sal. Rosa’, in the Billiard Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174). The 1835 inventories record it, as ‘Jason enchanting the Dragon By Salvator Rosa £50 ,, ,,’, in the Music Room (HA, Volume 1223, p.107, and Hamilton Town House Library, p.127). ‘Jason treading on the vanquished Dragon [by] Salvator Rosa’ was still in the Music Room in 1853 (HA, Volume 1228, p.121).

[110] **Eeres & Autumn _____ And. Montigna (*)**

= ‘A Pair of the Seasons [by] Montegna’ listed as in ‘His Lordships Room’ on the inventory annotated ‘Archibald Duke of Hamilton’ (my number 13).

These paintings are now identified as *The Vestal Virgin Tuccia with Sieve* and *Sophonisba drinking Poison* by Andrea Mantegna and are in the National

Gallery, London.

Between 1811 and 1825 entry 110 was removed from the Billiard Room and taken to an unknown location. It is not recorded on the main list of paintings on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, pp.163-80).

Both paintings are recorded, as 'Ceres and Autumn [by] Montigna [£]20 ,, ,', in the Duke's Sitting Room on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.160, and HTHL, p.183), and as 'Ceres & Autumn in 2 Compartments [by] Mantigua' in the Boudoir in the New State Rooms on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.117). They were still in the Boudoir in 1876, when they were listed as 'Ceres & Autumnos' by that well-known artist 'A. Montagni'! (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.28).

[111] **S^t. Cecilia** _____ **Morillio**

Between 1811 and 1825 entry 111 was removed from the Billiard Room and taken to an unknown location. It is not recorded on the main list of paintings on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, pp.163-80), unless it was re-attributed and became the 'S^t. Cecilia £50 [by] Dominichione' listed in the State Bed Room in 1825 (*ibid.*, p.170). It would also have to have been the 'Portrait of St Cecilia By Dominichino [£]80 ,, ,', noted in the same room in 1835 (HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.169).

[112] **Madona della Sedia** _____ **Carlo. Marrati (*)**

Possibly/probably the 'Holy Family after Raphael [? like] Carlo Mar[?ra]' listed as in the 'Front Drawing Room' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 65).

Entry 112 is recorded, as 'Madona della Sed. – [£]20 [by] Carlo Morrotta', in the Billiard Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174).

[113] **Lewis Carnaro** _____

= *St Jerome as Cardinal* by El Greco, which was bought at the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 748) by the National Gallery, London (1122). This used to have the added inscription 'L. CORNARO / AEt suae 100 1566' on the right-hand page of the book.

Entry 113 is listed as in the Second Dressing Room on both the 1835

Hamilton Palace inventories. It appears as ‘Cornaro a Doge of Venice in his 100th year [by] Tintoretto [£]50 – –’ on the inventory in the Hamilton archive (Volume 1223, p.158) and as ‘Cornaro a Dog [sic] of Venice in his 100th year [by] Tintoretto [£]50 ,, ,,’ on the inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.179). Using the entries in the 1811 and 1835 inventories one can identify ‘Lewis Carnaro’/*St Jerome* as ‘The Doge of Venice [£]30 [by] Tintoretto’ recorded in the ‘2^d.. Dressing Room’ on the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.173). The 1853 inventory records ‘Lewis Cornaro in his 100th year’ still in the same room almost thirty years later (HA, Volume 1228, p.151).

Neil MacLaren and Allan Braham (*The Spanish School* (London, 1988), p.35) and others state that the Hamilton Palace painting was previously with Lord Northwick and was lot 237 in the Thirlestane House sale on 28 July 1859, but the Hamilton Palace inventories clearly show it was in the Hamilton collection since at least 1811.

Virtually nothing seems to be known about the Northwick painting. It was catalogued as ‘Titian. Portrait of Luigi Cornaro’, without any other details (Phillips, *Catalogue of the late Lord Northwick’s Extensive and Magnificent Collection of Ancient and Modern Pictures [...] at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham*, 26 July 1859 and twenty-one subsequent days, p.25, lot 237), but is not recorded – or identified clearly – in the early guides to the collection. According to MacLaren and Braham, lot 237 was bought by Kneller for £25 14s 6d. It seems that it was either one of the other versions or copies of *St Jerome*, or a mistaken identification. Whatever the explanation, the ‘Cornaro’ painting is clearly recorded on the 1811, 1835 and 1853 Hamilton Palace inventories and has much more right than the Northwick painting to be the ‘Cornaro’ sold at the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale and the *St Jerome* now in the National Gallery, London.

Entry 113 is believed to be a recent addition to the Hamilton collection. However, there is an as yet unidentified painting of ‘One Duke of Venice sitting in a chair, with a curtain behind his head, of [blank]’ recorded on the list of paintings owned by the 1st Duke of Hamilton, (HA, M4/20, last entry,

number 105, modernized spelling, etc.). This probably passed out of Hamilton ownership in the mid seventeenth century, but this has still to be confirmed.

[114] **Cupid and Dove (after)** _____ **Titian**

= Lot 317 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Titian. Cupid with a Dove. 9½ in. by 13½ in.' Lot 317 was bought by J.E. Taylor for £162 15s.

Entry 114 is recorded, as 'Cupid & Dove [£]20 copy', in the Billiard Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174).

[115] **Henrietta Lotharinga Princess of Psabburgh** _____ **Vandyke**

John Smith was mistaken in stating that Van Dyck's portrait of *Henriette de Lorraine, Princess of Pfalzburg and Lixheim*, dated 1634, formerly in King Charles I's collection and now part of the Iveagh Bequest at Kenwood House, London, was owned by the Earl of Carlisle in the 1820s-early 1830s (*A Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of the Most Eminent Dutch, Flemish, and French Painters, Part 3* (London, 1831), pp.94-5, no.327). The portrait is clearly recorded in the Billiard Room of Hamilton Palace on the 1811 and 1825 inventories. The 1811 inventory records it as 'Henrietta Lotharinga Princess Psabburgh _ Vandyke', while the copy of the 1825 inventory lists it as 'Princess Psalsburgh [£]80 [by] Vandyke' (HA, M4/70, p.174).

The provenances given for *Henriette de Lorraine* by Julius Bryant (*Kenwood, Paintings in the Iveagh Bequest* (New Haven and London, 2003), pp.44-9) and Susan Barnes *et al* (*Van Dyck: a complete catalogue of the paintings* (New Haven and London, 2004), pp.329-30, no.III. 102) are therefore incorrect and have now been superseded by the publication of this inventory.

The portrait of *Henriette* is not listed on the inventory of the 9th Duke of Hamilton's paintings. However, this is not a complete list of his collection and one should avoid drawing a precipitate conclusion.

The dealer Samuel Woodburn wrote to the 10th Duke of Hamilton about the portrait in 1850. On 20 March 1850 he noted 'I do not know whether your Grace is aware that the fine Vandyke of the Princess Psalburg and the black now at Hamilton Palace belonged to King Charles the first[.] I find it mentioned in a Catalogue I have of this Royal Collⁿ. it was brought to England by M^r. Endymion Porter' (HA, C4/843A/9). Twelve days later, on 1 April,

Woodburn sent transcripts of the entries on Rubens's *Daniel in the Lions' Den* (which had been at Hamilton Palace since at least the 1640s) and the portrait of *Henriette de Lorraine*. He transcribed the latter entry in the 1757 publication as:

<u>'Page 88. same work</u>				
Done by S ^r Ant	}	Item The Picture of the Princess of F[?au]lsburgh sister of the Duke of Lorraine with a blackmoor by her, at length in a black gilded frame brought from Brussels by M ^r . Endymion Porter'	}	Feet by 7 = 4
Vandyke beyond				
Seas,				
(HA, C4/843A/11)				

Woodburn wrote to the Duke the following day, 2 April 1850, and devoted the first part of his letter to the provenance of the Van Dyck portrait. He gives the following history for the work:

On investigating further respecting your Graces fine Vandyke of the Princess Psalsburg and the black I find that it formerly adorned the fine Collⁿ. formed by The Duke of Orleans at the Palais royale I presume after the death of Charles the 1st. it was purchased by Cardinal Richelieu and placed in the Palais royale he purchased several Pictures from the Royal Collⁿ. and lived there in great splendor

After his death the Palais became the property of The Regent Duke of Orleans who collected largely and they remained intire untill the first French revolution when Egalite sold his Dutch and Flemish Pictures to a certain Tho^s. Moore Slade Esq^r. from whom my late Father purchased it I can recollect it coming to S^t Martin's Lane and the pleasure it gave to my Father when he looked at it M^r Slade was at that time in difficulties and deposited several fine Pictures with my Father to sell for him among others The Judgement of Paris by Rubens now in our National Gallery I well remember that £1500 was the price then of this fine picture which was in better condition than it is at present. but he could not sell it M^r Slade afterwards sold it to Lord Kinnaird from whom it came to M^r de la Hamte a french dealer who sold it to M^r. Penrice and at whose sale it was bought by Government for £3150__ (HA, C4/843A/12).

Briefly, a syndicate consisting of George, 7th Lord Kinnaird (1754-1805), William Morland and Mr Hammersley bought the Dutch and Flemish paintings in the Orléans collection from Louis-Philippe-Joseph, duc d'Orléans (1747-93)

in 1791-92, using Thomas Moore Slade as their agent. They evidently failed to sell the portrait of Henriette at the exhibitions of the Orléans Gallery in April-mid June 1793 and May 1795. The work was included in Christie's sale of the collection of Benjamin van der Gucht on 12 March 1796, as

Van Dyck – 70 A WHOLE LENGTH PORTRAIT OF HENRIETTA OF
LOTHARINGE, Princess De Psalsbourgh, 1634, a
graceful figure, attended by a black page, one of Van
Dyck's finest coloured pictures

Interestingly, there is a copy of this sale catalogue in the Hamilton archive (M4/56), with the entry annotated '105' [i.e. 105 pounds or guineas]. However, the work was apparently bought in and remained unsold.

Woodburn's comments and the history of Rubens's *Judgement of Paris* (now in the National Gallery, London) suggest that either the portrait was owned by Slade (perhaps as part-payment for his employment) or that it had become the property or responsibility of George, Lord Kinnaird. Either way, it was evidently being off-loaded to Samuel Woodburn's father, John Woodburn. This probably took place in the late 1790s or between 1800 and 1805, although there is always the possibility that it followed the death of George, Lord Kinnaird, in 1805 and attempts to settle his affairs. His successor, Charles, 8th Lord Kinnaird, sold some of his paintings at Phillips on 4-5 March 1813. Rubens's *Judgement of Paris* was included in this sale but was sold by private contract to Alexis Delahante for 2,500 guineas. Delahante sold it to Thomas Penrice in or around September 1813. The *Judgement of Paris* was bought by the National Gallery at the John Penrice sale at Christie's in July 1844 for 4,000 guineas (not £3,150 as Woodburn informed the Duke: see Gregory Martin, *National Gallery Catalogues. The Flemish School, circa 1600 – circa 1900* (London, 1970, reprinted 1986), pp.157-8).

It is probably significant that the bottom of the second page of Woodburn's letter of 2 April 1850 is annotated – apparently by the 10th Duke of Hamilton – with the dates 1794 above 1806. This suggests that he thought that the Van Dyck portrait of Henriette entered the Hamilton collection between these two dates. The Duke's apparent ignorance of the exact date of acquisition, coupled with Woodburn's provision of so much information and the fact that John

Woodburn is known to have sold many items to the 9th Duke of Hamilton, suggests that the 9th Duke purchased the portrait of Henriette. However, this would presumably have been before 1803, as the 9th Duke ‘retired’ around this time and does not seem to have added to the Hamilton Palace collection after he gave his son limited control of the Scottish estates.

All this is confirmed by Joseph Farington, who saw the painting when he visited Hamilton Palace on 26 October 1801: ‘The best of them [the other paintings in the ‘other rooms’] are a Princess Sparsbergh [Phalsburg] by Vandyke. – A Head by Rembrant, called by Velasquez, – Small ones by Teniers, – Gainsborough &c.’ (Kenneth Garlick and Angus MacIntyre, *The Diary of Joseph Farington, Vol. V, August 1801 – March 1803* (New Haven and London, 1979), p.1682).

Dr Spiker saw the portrait of *Henriette de Lorraine* in 1816, in the ‘apartments in the wing to the left of the state-room’ (the Long Gallery), and described it as ‘a portrait of Charlotte of Lorraine, Princess of Pfalzburg, by Vandyke, a whole length figure, in a white satin dress, very beautiful, and less stiff than his usual portraits of females of that description’ (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.247).

Entry 115 is recorded, as ‘Princess Psalsburgh [£]80 [by] Vandyke’, in the Billiard Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174). The 1835 inventories record it, as ‘Princess of Salsburg [by] Vandyke [£]200 ,, ,,’, in the Music Room (HA, Volume 1223, p.107, and HTHL, p.127). The ‘Full length Portrait of the Princess of Phalsburg (1634) [by] Vandyke’ was still in the Music Room in 1853 (HA, Volume 1228, p.121).

[116] **S^t Bartholomew** _____ **Spagnioletti (?*)**

See entry 120.

Entry 116 or 120 is probably ‘S^t ~~Fran~~ Bartholomew [by] Spaniolet’ listed as in the ‘Front Drawing Room’ on the inventory annotated ‘Archibald Duke of Hamilton’ (my number 77).

Dr Spiker appears to have looked at entries 116 and/or 120, and possibly 122 and 124, in 1816, in the ‘apartments in the wing to the left of the state-room’ (the Long Gallery), and described them as ‘heads of St. Bartholomew and St.

Francis, by Velazquez' (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.247).

Entries 116 and 120 are recorded, as 'S^t. Bartholomew [£]40 [by] Spagnioletti' and 'S^t.. Bartholomew [£]30 [by] Spagnioletti', in the Billiard Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174). A decade later both paintings are recorded, as 'St Bartholomew [by] Spagnioletti [£]30 ,, ,,' and 'St Bartholomew [by] Spagnioletti [£]40 ,, ,,' in the Music Room, on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.107, and HTHL, p.127, with S^t and St.). 'S^t. Bartolomew [by] Spagnoletti' and 'S^t Bartholomew [by] Spagnioletto' were still in the Music Room in 1853 (HA, Volume 1228, p.121).

[117] **Battle** _____ **Titian**

This is probably lot 325 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Giorgione. Joshua's Battle. 55 in. by 91 in.' Lot 325 was bought by C.H. Waters for fifteen guineas. No 'Battle [by] Titian' is listed in the Billiard Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, pp.174-5). However, the inventory does record the 'Battle of Joshua [£]30 [by] Georgioni' in the Billiard Room in 1825 (*ibid.*, p.174). The 'Battle of Joshua By Georgeoni [£]80 ,, ,,' is recorded in the Duke of Newcastle's Bed Room on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.63, and HTHL, p.79). It was listed in the same room, as 'The Battle of Joshua', on the 1853 inventory and somebody has added an attribution in pencil: 'J R[illegible]' (HA, Volume 1228, p.94).

The attributions to Giorgione and Titian do not bear scrutiny. Lot 325 has still to be tracked down, but the identification of the subject as the 'Battle of Joshua' may help. Such a definite identification suggests that the painting includes a sun and a moon and depicts the defeat of the five kings of the Amorites by Joshua. The inventory-takers and Christie's cataloguer presumably believed the painting illustrated *Joshua*, Chapter X, verses 12-13, when Joshua called upon God for the sun and moon to stay still until the children of Israel had avenged themselves upon their enemies, and the sun 'stood still in the midst of heaven [...] about a whole day'.

[118] **S^t.. Francis** _____ **Sal. Rosa**

Entry 118 is recorded, as 'S^t.. Francis [£]50 [by] Sal. Rosa', in the Billiard

Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174). A decade later it is listed, as 'S^t Francis [by] Salvator Rosa [£]50 ,, ,,', in the Music Room, on the 1835 inventories (HTHL, p.127, and HA, Volume 1223, p.107, with St).

[119] **Two Philosophers** _____ **Carlo Dolce**

= Lot 322 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'C. Dolce. The Laughing and Crying Philosophers. 30 in. by 40 in.' Lot 322 was bought by M. Colnaghi for £58 16s.

Between 1811 and 1825 entry 119 was removed from the Billiard Room and taken to an unknown location. It is not recorded on the main list of paintings on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, pp.163-80). It is probably 'The two Philosophers [£]20 ,, ,,' noted in 'Mademoiselles Bedroom' on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.75). '1 D^o [i.e. Painting] the Two Philosophers' is listed in 'Mademoiselles Room', which has been corrected to 'Mademoiselle d'Este's Room', on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.91).

[120] **S^t Bartholomew** _____ **Spagnioletti (?*)**

See entry 116.

[121] **Portrait** _____ **Valasquez (?*)**

= ? 'Portrait of a Lady [by] Valasquez' listed as in the 'Back Drawing Room' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 54). As noted on the annotated transcript of that inventory, this might be the half-length *Portrait of a Young Lady* by Rembrandt, of about 1665, now in Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (1949.1006), which was attributed to Velázquez during part of its time in the Hamilton collection, and the 'Head by Rembrant, called by Velasquez' which Joseph Farington saw during his visit to Hamilton Palace on 26 October 1801.

Between 1811 and 1825 entry 121 was removed from the Billiard Room. It may be the 'Portrait [£]20 [by] Velasquis' recorded in the First Dressing Room in 1825 (HA, M4/70, p.171).

The painting is clearly recorded, as 'Female Portrait [by] Velasquez', in the Old State Boudoir in the 1876 inventory. 'Velasquez' was subsequently

crossed out and Rembrandt written to the left (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.101). It may therefore have been one of the two 'Portrait[s] of a Woman' listed in the First Dressing Room on the 1853 inventory, or one of the three 'Portrait[s]' recorded in this room and in the Second Dressing Room in the same inventory (HA, Volume 1228, pp.148, 149 and 151). The 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library lists a 'Portrait of a Woman' and 'A Head', both without attribution and valued at five pounds each, in the First Dressing Room, and also records the addition of 'Portrait with frill' to the same room between about 1835 and 1842 (pp.173-5).

See also entry 116.

[122] **Portrait** _____ **Titian**

This might be lot 387 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Titian. Portrait of a Venetian Nobleman. 26 in. by 22 in.' Lot 387 was bought by T. Agnew and Sons for £84.

Dr Spiker seems to have looked at entry 122 in 1816. He notes that it was in the 'apartments in the wing to the left of the state-room' (the Long Gallery) and describes it as 'an excellent picture, by Titian, of a man's head, with mustachios, in a fur cloak, probably a Venetian Doge' (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.247). There is, however, the possibility that Spiker was referring to the three-quarter-length portrait of a bearded man wearing a fur coat by Morone (now in a private collection in Germany). This is similar to his description and is clearly recorded hanging in the same room, the Billiard Room, in the 1825 inventory: 'Portrait of a Venetian [by] Moroni' (HA, M4/70, p.174).

Entry 122 is recorded, as a 'Portrait [£]30 [by] Titian', in the Billiard Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174).

It cannot be an altered attribution of entry 35, 'Portrait of a Venetian Admiral [by] Tintoretto', on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton', as this is entry 46 on the present inventory.

Entry 122 is listed again, as 'Portrait [by] Titian [£]20 ,, ,', in the Music Room, on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.107, and HTHL, p.127). 'a

Portrait [by] Titan' is recorded in the Music Room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.121).

[123] **Head of a Monk** _____ **Vandyke (*)**

= 'A Monk's [head] [by] [Vandyke]' listed as in the 'Dining parlour' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 34).

Between 1811 and 1825 entry 123 was removed from the Billiard Room and hung in the First Dressing Room. It remained there for the rest of the 10th

Duke's life. It is recorded in the First Dressing Room, as 'Head of a Monk [£]25 [by] Vandyke', on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.171); as 'A Head of a Monk By Vandyke [£]25 ,, ,', on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.155, and HTHL, p.175); and simply as 'Head of a Monk' on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.149).

[124] **A Saint reding** _____ **Guido (?*)**

Entry 124 might be 'One of the Evangelists [by] Guido' listed as in 'His Lordships Room' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 21).

It is probably lot 345 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Guido. St Francis reading. 24 in. by 19 in.' Lot 345 was bought by C.H. Waters for five guineas. Entry 124 is recorded, as 'A Saint Reading [£]20 [by] Guido', in the Billiard Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174). It may be the 'A Saint Reading [£]5' noted in Lady Lincoln's Dressing Room on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.85, and HTHL, p.101). This is listed, as 'An Oil painting of a Saint reading, in gilt frame', in the same room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.63).

[125] **Cain & Abel** _____ **Guido**

There were at least two paintings about Cain and Abel in the Hamilton collection in the nineteenth century. The most high profile was lot 327 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Guido. The Death of Abel. 75 in. by 32 in.' Lot 327 was bought by M. Colnaghi for £49 7s. However, there was also 'A picture of Cain and Abel – 47 in. by 57 in.' which was sold with five other works in Christie's sale of *The Remaining Contents of Hamilton Palace* on 12 November 1919, as lot 141.

Dr Spiker saw entry 125 in 1816 and subsequently wrote: ‘In the apartments in the wing to the left of the state-room [the Long Gallery], we noticed Cain and Abel, a beautiful picture, the figure almost as large as life, by Guido Reni’ (*Travels through England, Wales, and Scotland, in the year 1816* (English translation, London, 1820), Vol.I, p.247).

Entry 125 is recorded, as ‘Cain & Abel [£]40 [by] Guido’, in the Billiard Room on the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174). It probably moves on to become ‘1 Picture Cain & Abel By Guido [£]80 ,, ,,’ recorded in the Duke of Newcastle’s Dressing Room on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.61, and HTHL, p.77, with ‘and’ instead of ‘&’) and ‘Cain and Abel in Massive gilt frame – Guido’ in the same room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.92). This, in turn, probably becomes lot 327 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

The problem here is could entry 125/lot 327 be painting number ‘32 Cain killing Abel [by] Titian’, which was listed as in the ‘State Dressing Closet’ on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.14)? Or could this be the the painting sold in 1919? The number of recent additions to the collection in the Billiard Room in 1811 suggest that entry 125 should be a ‘new’ work. However, the ‘State Dressing Closet’ appears to have been re-hung between 1793 and 1811, and painting number 32 would presumably have had to be moved somewhere else.

Neither painting is mentioned by Stephen Pepper in *Guido Reni* (Oxford, 1984).

It should be noted that there was ‘A piece with Caine and Abbell by Zottoclave being 6½ foote long’ at Kinneil House in 1704 (HA, M4/42, p.6, no.171).

The seventeenth-century Hamilton inventories include many references to paintings of Cain killing Abel. For example, the list of paintings owned by the 1st Duke of Hamilton, HA, M4/20, records:

3 A piece of Cain killing Abel with a club, the figures naked, and so great as the life; of Momfredo

75 One piece of Cain killing Abel; of Jacobus Palma

The spelling, punctuation and grammar have been modernized.

Billiard Room

[N.B. 'Billiard Room' is simply a continuation note on a new page.]

[126] **Hercules (a Sketch)** _____ **Sir J. Reynolds (?*)**

Possibly the 'Infant Christ [by] S^r J. Reynolds' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 63).

Entry 126 is recorded, as 'Hercules (a Sketch) [£]30 [by] Sir J Reynolds', in the Billiard Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174). A decade later it is listed, as 'Hercules and the Serpent (A Sketch) [by] Sir J. Reynolds [£]30 ,, ,,', in the Music Room, on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.107, and HTHL, p.127, with 'Infant' subsequently added in front of 'Hercules').

Greenwood's sale of 'portraits, fancy pictures, studies and sketches' from Sir Joshua Reynolds' studio on 16 April 1796 (the third day of the studio sale) included, as lot 32: 'The first design for the infant Hercules, a very spirited sketch' (*A Catalogue of Portraits, Fancy Pictures, Studies and Sketches, by the late Sir Joshua Reynolds*, 14-16 April 1796, p.10). There is a fully annotated copy of the sale catalogue in the Hamilton archive (M4/57), marked up with prices and buyers' names on added sheets which are alternately interspersed and bound with the printed sheets of the catalogue itself. This records that the sketch of Hercules was bought by 'Woodburn' (almost certainly the dealer John Woodburn, who supplied items to the 9th Duke of Hamilton) for £'37. 16 _', but nothing else is noted about lot 32. The front of the catalogue is inscribed 'S^r Jos^a. Reynolds / Greenwood / April 1796' in the 9th Duke of Hamilton's handwriting, so there can be no doubt that he, rather than his son, was the person interested in this sale.

As it is not clear what became of this sketch, exactly what it represented and how many such sketches there were, it is worth noting the existence of a very highly regarded sketch of 'The Infant Hercules' by Reynolds in Lord Northwick's collection at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham, in the 1840s. This stimulated a twenty-line appreciation in the 1846 guide to the collection – by

far the largest entry on any of the works in this great collection. The anonymous writer explained Lord Northwick's sketch as follows:

'This sketch forms the original study for the celebrated picture painted by Sir Joshua, for the Empress Catherine of Russia. A fine, bold, and masterly composition, full of rich colour; and, though in its principal parts bearing strong evidence of rapid execution, embodying all the essential elements of a grand composition. There can be no mistake about its authorship – the colouring and style alike declare it. The figure of the brawny Infant is seen as just risen from his slumbers – the breast finely expanded, and the lower portions of the body and limbs all slightly foreshortened. The head, even in the unfinished state in which we see it, is powerfully expressive of determined effort. The Serpents – one grasped in either hand – are more finished than the other parts of the picture, the swollen and convulsive writhing of their bodies admirably telling of the giant strength of their youthful destroyer. To artists and the just appreciator of fine paintings there will be interest enough in the picture itself, as a work of art, to win their admiration; and to those less able to enter into its artistic excellencies, it may be interesting to know that its model is still living – "The best farmer in the County of Bucks!"' (*Hours in Lord Northwick's Picture Gallery* (Cheltenham, 1846), p.58, no.CCCIX).

Lord Northwick's sketch was included in Phillips' sale of his collection on 29 July 1859 (the fourth day of the sale) as lot 322: 'Sir J. Reynolds. The Infant Hercules. A sketch for the picture painted for the Empress Catherine of Russia' (Phillips, *Catalogue of the late Lord Northwick's Extensive and Magnificent Collection of Ancient and Modern Pictures, Cabinet of Miniatures and Enamels, And other Choice Works of Art [...] at Thirlestane House, Cheltenham*, 26 July 1859, and twenty-one subsequent days, p.33).

[127] **Hercules & Antæus** _____ **Guido**

= Lot 359 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Guido. Hercules and Antaeus. 20½ in. by 16½ in.' Lot 359 was bought by Dowdeswell and Dowdeswell for £7 17s 6d.

Entry 127 is listed, as 'Hercules & Antaeus [£]20 [by] Guido', in the Billiard Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174). It is recorded, as 'Hercules vanquishing Antius [by] Guido [£]20 ,, ,,', in the Old Dining Room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.139) and, as 'Hercules vanquishing Achelo[ii or ü]s', in the same room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.156).

[128] **The Descent from the Cross (a sketch)** _____ **Rubens**

= Lot 1014 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Rubens. The Descent from the Cross – a sketch. 20 in. by 15½ in.' Lot 1014 was bought by C. Sedelmeyer for £105.

= The oil on panel sketch of the *Descent from the Cross*, measuring 54.5 x 41.5 cm., purchased by the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Lille, in 1893 (inv. no. P.66).

This is the *modello* for the *Descent from the Cross* painted for the high altar of the Church of the Capuchins in Lille, which has been in the same museum since 1803 (inv. no. P.74): see J. Richard Judson, *Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard. Part VI, The Passion of Christ* (Turnhout, 2000), cat. no.48a, pp.194-5 and fig.167 for the sketch and cat. no.48, pp.192-4 and fig.166 for the altarpiece. A letter from the General of the Capuchin Order (*ibid.*, pp.193-4) reveals that the altarpiece was underway in March 1617 and indicates that the sketch was probably executed in 1616 or early in 1617.

Entry 128 is listed, as a 'Descent from the Cross [£]20 [by] Rubens', in the Billiard Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.174). It is recorded, as 'Descent from the Cross (Sketch) [by] Rubens [£]15 ,, ,', in the Old Dining Room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.139).

It follows from this that the *Descent* is not synonymous with the item included in Christie's sale of William Wilkins's collection on 7 April 1838 (lot 6), which was sold to Johnson for £27 6 shillings, as suggested (with a question mark) by Judson (*op. cit.*, p.194).

Christie's sale of Sir Joshua Reynolds' collection on 12 March 1795 included, as lot 27: 'Rubens. A Sketch, for a grand composition for the altar of the Augustine church at Antwerp'. There is a fully annotated copy of this sale catalogue in the Hamilton archive which records that lot 27 was bought by Lambert for £11 6s (M4/53, p.11). In addition, there are at least ten references to sketches of the *Descent from the Cross* ascribed to Rubens passing through the London sale rooms during the first decade of the nineteenth century.

The 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory records painting number '318 Our Saviour taken from the Cross on Timbir [by] Vandyke (HA, M4/51, p.12). This is not to be confused with entry 128. It is probably 'Our Saviour from the cross

[£]15 School Vandyke' recorded in the Dining Room on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.179) and the 'Descent from the Cross [£]10 ,, ,,' in the Old Dining Room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.139). This work probably became lot 1015 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Van Dyck. The Descent from the Cross. 15 in. by 19 in.' Lot 1015 was bought by M.S. Nathan for £22 1s. The 'Van Dyck' may be 'A picture of our Saviour taken from the Cross by Vandike', which was recorded in 'my Lord Duk's Clossett' at Holyrood House in 1704 (HA, M4/42, p.4, no. 120).

[129] **Landscape** _____ **Titian**

See also entry 86.

Between 1811 and 1825 a 'Landscape [by] Titian' was removed from the Billiard Room and taken to an unknown location.

Drawing Room

[130] **Catharine 2^d, Empress of Russia** _____ (+)

Definitely acquired by the 10th Duke of Hamilton, either during or after his visit to Russia in 1807-8. The 10th Duke also commissioned a tapestry of the Empress, but this arrived after the 1811 inventory had been completed.

Entry 130 is the second portrait of the Empress on the 1811 inventory; the other is entry 44, which was in the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms. The work in the Breakfast Room appears to become the 'Empress Catherine of Rusia on Horseback from S^t. Petersburg [£]50 ,, ,,' recorded in the Breakfast Room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.159).

Entry 130 is probably the 'Cathrine 2^d.. of Russia [£]25' recorded in the State Bed Room on the 1825 inventory (HA, M4/70, p.170) and the 'Catherine Empress of Rusia [£]50 ,, ,,' listed in the same room on the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.169).

The 1853 inventory does not mention the work in the Old State Bed Room. It must therefore have been moved and probably becomes 'a Painting of the Empress Catherine of Russia in rich gilt frame' recorded in Lady Dunmore's

Dressing Room in 1853 (HA, Volume 1228, p.81). The 1853 painting was subsequently moved and probably becomes 'The Empress Catherine the 2nd of Russia' listed in the Lobby and Passage leading to the Duchess's Rooms on the 1876 inventory (HTHL, 1876 inventory, p.32).

The catalogue entries for the two paintings of the Empress Catherine in the the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale and other details about these works are included in the note to entry 44.

[131] **Moses striking the Rock** _____ **Tintoretto (*)**

= 'Moses Striking the Rock [by] Tintoretto' listed as in the 'Front Drawing Room' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 82).

Entry 131 is recorded, as 'Moses Striking the Rock £700 [by] Tintoretto', as the only item on a page entitled 'Drawing Room' on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.176). The 1825 inventory of paintings begins with the Gallery and then lists the works in the Breakfast Room, Drawing Room, State Bed Room, First Dressing Room, Second Dressing Room, Billiard Room and 'Antiroom'. Then comes the 'Drawing Room' in which Tintoretto's *Moses striking the Rock* was displayed, followed by the paintings in a 'Bed Room', a 'Dressing Room' and the 'Dining Room'. 'Moses striking the Rock [by] Tintoretto' is recorded in the Music Room on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.121).

First Small Frame.

[The following list of miniatures in six frames is based on an earlier inventory. It is a slightly different version, in terms of orthography, of an inventory of the miniatures written on paper with the watermark 'GOLDING / & / SNELGROVE / 1799', now in Bundle 655 of the Hamilton archive. This begins 'First Small Drawing Frame in the State Dressing Room' and ends – as here – 'All these Drawings are done by D. Paton / 1693'.

The thirty-seven miniatures listed below appear to be the '36 small Family Prints in black Frames' recorded in the 'State Dressing Closet' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace

inventory (HA, M/451, p.14), with the difference in number either being due to a mistake in counting or to the introduction of one more work. The thirty-six 'Prints' are not individually identified, nor are old Hamilton painting numbers given for them. Fourteen 'Black & White Pictures in Miniature' of members of the Hamilton family by David Paton are individually listed, in the 'Dressing Room of the Bed Chamber' 'on the First floor of the East Wing', on the 1759 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/48, pp.20-1). They have old Hamilton painting numbers 295-308, and seem to represent fourteen of the individuals listed around 1799 and in 1811.]

- 1 James Marquis of Hamilton & Duke of Chatelherault, only son to John M^{ss}.. of Hamilton, created Earl of Cambridge in England by James 6th.. died 1625. [132]
- 2 Geo. Duke of Buckingham (called the Witty) Uncle to My Lady M^{ss}.. of Hamilton & Duchess of Chatelherault. [133]
- 3 Lady Anne Cunningham, Daughter to the Earl of Glencairn Lady M^{ss}.. of Hamilton & D^{ss}.. of Chatelherault. [134]
- 4 Lady Mary Fielding, Daughter of Will^m Earl of Denbigh _ Lady M^{ss}.. of Hamilton & D^{ss}.. of Chatelherault: [135]
- 5 Henrietta Maria of Bourbon Queen of Charles 1st.. [136]
- 6 James Duke of Hamilton and Chatelherault Earl of Cambridge &c. Suffered for his loyalty - 1649- [137]
- 7 Will^m.. Duke of Hamilton & Chatelherault Earl of Cambridge &c. (only Brother of James Duke of Hamilton &c) died of his wounds at the battle of Worcester, without Issue male 1651) [138]
8. Will^m.. Earl of Denbigh, Father to my Lady M^{ss}.. of Hamilton & D^{ss}.. of Chatelherault. [139]
9. Lady Elizabeth Maxwell Eldest Daughter of the Earl of Derlinton: D^{ss}.. of Hamilton & Chatelherault. [140]

Second or Gothick Frame

- 1 Princess Mary, Eldest Daughter of James 2nd.. of Scotland – married Lord Hamilton – Mother to James Earl of Arran & _____ Countess of Lennox. [141]

- 2 James second Lord Hamilton - married Princess Mary Eldest Daughter of King James second of Scotland (1474) by whom he had one Son, and one Daughter – died 6th Nov^r.. 1476 [142]
- 3 King James 2^d.. of Scotland, born at Holyrood House, in Octo^r.. 1430 – married Mary Daughter of Arnold Duke of Guilders, born of the Duke of Burgundy's sister, – and had by her King James y^e 3rd.. & The Princess Mary, afterwards married to Lord Hamilton. He was killed at the Siege of the Castle of Roxburgh 2^d Aug^t.. 1460. [143]
- 4 James Earl of Arran Duke of Chatelherault ___ Eldest Son to my Lord Governor – died 1610 – [144]
- 5 James Earl of Arran – Son to the 2nd Lord Hamilton Grandson to King James 2^d of Scotland — died 1528 [145]

Third Frame

- 1 Janet Beaton Countess of Arran Sister of the Arch Bishop of S^t Andrews and Aunt to the Cardinal of that name _ Mother to the Duke of Chaterherault [146]
- 2 James Earl of Arran, Lord Governor, and Second Person of the realm of Scotland ___ Duke of Chatelherault in France___ died. 1575 [147]
- 3 Lady Marg^t.. Douglas Eldest Daughter of James Earl of Morten & Co-heiress of the Earldom thereof – D^{ss}.. of Chatelherault. [148]
- 4 William Earl of Selkirk – Husband to Anne D^{ss}.. of Hamilton [149]
5. James Duke of Hamilton, Marquis of Clydesdale, Earl of Arran &c. Eldest Son and heir of Anne D^{ss}.. of Hamilton – married the Daughter & sole heiress of Digby Lord Gerard of Bromley. [150]
- 6 Elizabeth D^{ss}.. of Hamilton sole Daughter & heiress of Digby, Lord Gerard of Bromely – Mother to James Marquis of Clydesdale [151]
- 7 Anne D^{ss}.. of Hamilton & Chatelherault &c, – oldest Daughter of James Duke of Hamilton & heiress of the Family – married Will^m.. Earl of Selkirk, Eldest Son of Second marriage of Will^m.. Marquis of Douglas, by whom she had 6 Sons & 3 Daughters, who lived _ [152]

- 8 William Earl of Selkirk, eldest Son of the second marriage of Will^m Earl of Douglas, – married Anne D^{ss}.. of Hamilton, & heiress of the Family of Hamilton & Chatelherault – & afterwards created Duke of Hamilton for life by K. Charles 2nd.. died 17 April -1694 – [153]

Fourth Frame

- 1 Lord Arch^d.. Hamilton, 7th.. Son to D^{ss}.. Anne [154]
- 2 Lord George Hamilton, (created Earl of Orkney) 5th Son to D^{ss}.. Anne [155]
- 3 Lord Basil Hamilton, 6th Son to D^{ss}.. Anne [156]
- 4 Lord John Hamilton (created Earl of Rutherglen) 4th Son to D^{ss}.. Anne. [157]
- 5 Charles, Earl of Selkirk, 3^d Son to D^{ss}.. Anne [158]
(Lord William died in France
D^{ss}.. Anne's 2^d.. Son)

Fifth Frame

- 1 Anne D^{ss} of Hamilton (the original of this picture was done at London by S. Cooper 1661. This copy at Edinburgh by Paton 1693 [159]
- 2 William Earl of Selkirk, created Duke of Hamilton &c husband to D^{ss}.. Anne – (the original of this picture was done at London by S. Cooper 1661. this copy by Paton 1693 [160]
- 3 James Earl of Arran, eldest Son to D^{ss}.. Anne [161]
- 4 Lady Catharine Hamilton, eldest daughter to D^{ss}.. Anne - married Lord Murray, afterwards Duke of Athol. [162]
- 5 John Lord Murray afterwards Duke of Athol - married Lady Catharine Hamilton. [163]

Sixth Frame

- 1 Lady Marg^t. Hamilton 3^d daughter of D^{ss} Anne – married the Earl Panmure [164]
- 2 James Earl of Panmure married Marg^t.. 3^d daughter of D^{ss} Anne [165]

- 3 Unknown [166]
- 4 John Earl of Dundonald – married Susan 2^d daughter of D^{ss} Anne [167]
- 5 Lady Susan Hamilton 2^d daughter of D^{ss} Anne – married first the Earl of Dundonald, & afterwards the Marquis of Tweeddale. [168]

All these drawings are done by D. Paton 1693

Dressing Room

[At least two of the paintings in this room (entries 171 and 176) were probably in the 'Second Picture Closet' in 1793. This suggests that others were also in this room in 1793. As will be seen from the notes, it seems that most of the paintings in the 'Dressing Room' in 1811 were from the old Hamilton collection.]

[169] **Charles 12th.. of Sweden** _____ **G. Nelcher (O)**

= Lot 1031 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Magnus du Blare. Portrait of Charles XII. of Sweden – whole length. 49 in. by 39 in.' Lot 1031 was bought by F. Davis for £110 5s.

Entry 169 is recorded, as 'Charles 12th.. of Sweden £ 40 [by] G Nelcher', in a 'Dressing Room' on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.178). On this inventory the 'Dressing Room' comes after the Billiard Room, 'Antiroom', 'Drawing Room' containing Tintoretto's *Moses Striking the Rock*, and a Bed Room, and before the Dining Room.

Entry 169 is clearly listed, as 'Portrait of Charles the XII of Sweden By Nelcher [£]40 ,, ,,', in 'unfurnished' Room 15 'round the Kitchen Court' (the new services/servants wing on the west side of Hamilton Palace) on the 1835 inventories (HA, Volume 1223, p.43, and HTHL, p.55). The 1853 inventory lists 'a Painting of Charles the XII' in the 'Blue Sitting Room' (HA, Volume 1228, p.79).

[170] **Figure on Horse-back** _____ **(O)**

This might be painting number 155, 'A Man on Horseback [by] Wyck', on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.9). In 1793 this was in the 'Second Picture Closet'.

The copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory lists 'Figure on Horseback

Louis 14th. [£]30' (without attribution) directly after 'Charles 12th. of Sweden £ 40 [by] G Nelcher' in a 'Dressing Room' (HA, M4/70, p.178). See entry 169 for the latter and the location of this room.

The original entry in the February 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library records a 'Picture of Louis XIV [£]35 ,, ,, 'Over the chimney' in Lady Susan's Bed Room (p.97). Other paintings and items were subsequently added to the room and a new list was drawn up on the opposite page, which includes the entry: 'Over the Chimney a Portrait of Louis XIII on Horseback [£]35' (p.98).

The 1853 inventory records 'Portrait of Lewis XI4 on horseback in rich carved frame' in Lady Lincoln's Bed Room (HA, Volume 1228, p.61). This was the same room: Lady Susan Hamilton had married the Earl of Lincoln and become the Countess of Lincoln or Lady Lincoln.

Entry 170 was presumably lot 1132 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'H. Rigaud. Equestrian Portrait of Louis XVI., crowned by Victory. 46 in. by 36 in.' There is a note in the Errata and Addenda in the illustrated priced catalogue of the sale: 'For "Louis XVI." read "Louis XIV."' Lot 1132 was bought by F. Davis for fifteen guineas.

The 1704 Holyrood and Kinneil inventory lists this painting as 'A piece of Lewis 14th. on horse back in a Roman dress with a Battoon in his hand and an Angell Covering him with a laurell.' In October 1704 it was in the Great Dining Room of the 'Castle of Keneill', or Kinneil House (HA, M4/42, p.6, no. 166).

[171] **Figures smoking** _____ **Keimskirk (O)**

= Painting number 93, 'Figures smoaking by Heimskirk', on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.15). At this date, this was in the 'Blue Bed Room'.

Entry 171 is not included with other paintings listed in the Dressing Room in 1811 that are recorded in the 'Dressing Room' on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.178).

[172] **Small sea piece** _____ **Vanderveld Jun (O)**

See also entry 178.

There are a number of 'Sea Pieces' attributed to Vanderveld Junior on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (e.g. painting numbers 59 and 78 (HA, M4/51, pp.5 and 8)).

However, there were also seven unattributed 'Sea Pieces' – painting numbers 162, 163, 164, 165, 175, 182 and 184 – in the 'Second Picture Closet' in 1793 (*ibid.*, pp.10-1). As other paintings from this room are recorded in the 'Dressing Room' on the 1811 Hamilton Palace inventory, it is possible that two of these became entries 172 and 178.

Entry 172 is not included with other paintings listed in the Dressing Room in 1811 that are recorded in the 'Dressing Room' on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.178).

[173] **Joseph & his Breth[?]ren** _____ **Bassan (*)**

= 'Joseph & his bretheren [by] Bassan' listed as in the 'Back Drawing Room' on the inventory annotated 'Archibald Duke of Hamilton' (my number 44).

Entry 173 is probably listed as 'Joseph & his Brethren [£]60 [by] Basson' in the 'Dressing Room' on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.178). See entry 169 for the location of this room.

Entry 173 seems to be the *Joseph receiving his Brethren* which was bought at the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale (lot 368), as Pontormo, and became part of the founding collection of Auckland Art Gallery, Auckland, New Zealand. This poor painting was formerly attributed to Francesco Bassano and has recently been assigned to Andrea Vicentino at the suggestion of Professor Roger Rearick. The painting is now in bad condition, requiring conservation estimated to cost at least 80,000 New Zealand dollars, and was probably in indifferent/poor condition when it was in the Hamilton collection. All this suggests that *Joseph* was considered not good enough to be hung in one of the three main State Rooms and that it was being utilised but also hidden among paintings from the old Hamilton collection in the 'Dressing Room'. The idea that some of the pictures in the 'Dressing Room' were of secondary or tertiary importance needs to be borne in mind when considering the following item, entry 174. Were all the paintings inferior, or were they 'leavened' by a few superior works?

Surprisingly, 'Joseph & his brethren' appears to have been subsequently installed in the New Sitting Room along with many other Italian sixteenth-century paintings. It is recorded there on the 1853 Hamilton Palace inventory as 'Joseph receiving his Brethren' (HA, Volume 1228, p.105). Somebody has added 'Carr[a or u]ssi' or something similar in pencil to the right of the entry and therefore attributed the painting to Pontormo. However, this is certainly not Pontormo's *Joseph in Egypt* (now in the National Gallery, London) as this was seen by Dr Waagen in the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms in 1851 and is recorded as 'Allegory [by] Pontornio' [sic] in the Breakfast Room on the 1853 inventory (*ibid.*, p.140). One would have expected 'Joseph & his Bretheren'/'Joseph receiving his Brethren' to have been suppressed on grounds of poor quality, so there is presumably a definite reason for its inclusion in the new rooms. Was this simply the fact that it was also Italian, sixteenth century, and the need to have another large painting in the room to balance the arrangement, or was the painting regarded as a significant 'trophy'? On balance one would have thought that the Duke was obliged to display the painting in the New Sitting Room for thematic and practical reasons and that it shows him having run out of better pictures and 'scraping the barrel' to complete the hang.

[174] **Presentation in the Temple** _____ **Tintoretto**

Entry 174 is probably listed, as 'Presentation in the Temple [£]20 [by] Tintoretto', in the 'Dressing Room' on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.178). See entry 169 for the location of this room. Entry 174 was then either downgraded and becomes the 'Presentation to the Temple [£]15 ,, ,,' noted in the Duke of Newcastle's Bed Room in 1835 (HA, Volume 1223, p.63, and HTHL, 1835 inventory, p.79), or greatly upgraded and becomes the 'Presentation at the Temple [by] Tintorretto [£]100 ,, ,,' recorded in the New Sitting Room in 1835 (HTHL, p.155) and the 'Presenturi at the Temple' listed in the same room on the 1853 inventory, with the attribution 'Tintoretto' added in pencil (HA, Volume 1228, p.105).

The latter became lot 369 in the Hamilton Palace sale: 'Tintoretto. The Presentation in the Temple. 5 ft. by 5 ft. 11 in. See Dr. Waagen, "Art Treasures in Great Britain," vol. 3, p. 294'. Lot 369 was bought by M.

Colnaghi for £31 10s. Christie's reference to Waagen is incorrect: it should be to page 304. Waagen saw lot 369 in the 'Sitting-Room near the Library' (the New Sitting Room) and simply observed: 'Tintoretto. – 6. The Presentation in the Temple. In depth and glow of colour approaching Schiavone, but dark in some parts.'

Regrettably, it is not clear if lot 369 depicted the presentation of the Virgin or Jesus in the Temple. Tintoretto's outstanding *Presentation of the Virgin* in the Chiesa della Madonna dell' Orto, Venice, measures 429 x 480 cm. His *Presentation of Jesus in the Temple* in the Chiesa dei Carmini, Venice, is 350 x 195 cm., while the same subject in the Accademia is 239 x 298 cm. The *Circumcision* in the Scuola Grande di San Rocco is 440 x 482 cm. There is obviously no question of any of these being the Hamilton *Presentation*, but, at approximately 152 x 180 cm., lot 369 could have been a reduced copy of one of these paintings. The low auction price of £31 10 shillings might be interpreted as confirmation of this view.

The *Presentation of Christ in the Temple* attributed to Tintoretto in or formerly in Major General Sir George Burns' collection at North Mimms Park, Hertfordshire, is not the Hamilton painting. A Courtauld photograph in the Frick Art Library shows that this is a long horizontal composition and therefore the wrong proportions to be the Hamilton *Presentation*.

There would have been many opportunities to have bought a *Presentation in the Temple* attributed to Tintoretto on the London art market between about 1780 and 1810. A *Presentation* from the very distinguished collection of the duc d'Orléans was offered by Michael Bryan on 28 December 1798, as lot 287, and was apparently either sold or bought in at forty pounds or guineas.

Another, presumably inferior, example came under the hammer at Christie's on 29 May 1802, as lot 77, and was bought in, possibly at £3 15s. This may have come up for sale again at Farebrother's on 17 May 1804, as lot 83, or else there was a third *Presentation* in circulation. Either way, the Farebrother painting was also bought in at £2 13s. It is very tempting to think that entry 174 could have been the Orléans painting, but the valuation of £20 in 1825 for a painting that had a reserve of at least £40, or actually fetched this sum, in 1798 runs

counter to this idea. Moreover, one would have expected an Orléans painting to have ‘carried’ and retained its provenance in the Hamilton collection. The fact that the Hamilton painting only fetched £31 10s in 1882 suggests that it was more likely to have been one of the works or the work bought in in 1802 and 1804 – perhaps a painting that was too large and too religious for the taste of most dealers and collectors.

[175] **Abraham’s Servant presenting jewels to**

Rebecca _____ **Pietro da Cortona**

Entry 175 is recorded, as ‘Abrahams Servant presenting Jewels to Rebecca [£]20 [by] Pietro da Corton’, in the ‘Dressing Room’ on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.178). See entry 169 for the location of this room.

See also entry 177.

[176] **General & horse** _____ **Remini (O)**

This is probably painting number 52, ‘A General going to his Horse [by] Remini’, on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.10). In 1793 this was in the ‘Second Picture Closet’, along with entry 170.

[177] **Meeting of Isaac & Rebecca** _____ **Pietro da Cortona**

See entry 47, the ‘Marriage of Jacob [by] Pietro da Cortona’ in the Breakfast Room, and lot 707 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: ‘P. da Cortona. The Marriage of Jacob and Rachel. 30 in. by 24 in.’ Lot 707 was bought by D. Sherratt for £54 12s.

See also the oil painting ‘Pietro da Cortona. The Marriage of Isaac and Rebecca, in a wooded landscape. 29 in. by 24 in. From the Hamilton Palace Collection’, Sotheby’s, London, 22 May 1963, lot 130.

Entries 47 and 177 are definitely not on the 1759 and 1793 Hamilton Palace inventories.

See also entry 175.

[178] **A Sea Piece** _____ **Vanderveld Jun**

See entry 172.

Entry 178 is not included with other works in the Dressing Room in 1811 that are recorded in the ‘Dressing Room’ on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace

inventory (HA, M4/70, p.178).

A 'Sea View and Shipping [by] Vanderveldi' is recorded in the Breakfast Room in the Old State Rooms on the 1853 inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p.140). However, this was probably the painting now at Ardgowan, acquired by the 10th Duke in 1848.

[179] **Landscape** _____

Entry 179 could be anything. However as some of the paintings in the 'Dressing Room' in 1811 were in the 'Second Picture Closet' in 1793, it is possible that entry 179 could have been one on the following paintings recorded in the 'Second Picture Closet' on the 1793 inventory (HA, M4/51, pp.9-11):

98 A [illegible] Landskip on Copper with many figures [by] Brughell

186 A Landskip by Han^l Carracci

119 An Italian Landskip

130 A ditto

118 An Italian Landskip

189 [Illegible] Landskip of Our Saviour preaching in the Wilderness, Brughill

[No number] A Landskip on Copper with a Figure of a Man & Lamb

130 An Italian Landskip on Copper

133 A small Landskip on Copper

131 A Landskip

136 A small Landskip on Copper

148 A ditto [by] Brughill

[No number] A ditto

187 A Landskip [by] Blowir

196 A fine Italian Landskip

136 A small Landskip on Copper

Entry 179 might be 'A Landscape [£]20 Dutch' or one of the two works described as 'An Italian Landscape [£]20' listed in a 'Dressing Room' on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.178). However, 'A Landscape [£]20 Dutch' could well be entry 180, while one of the 'Italian Landscapes' would seem to match entry 181. This would mean that entry 179

would probably need to be an Italianate *Landscape* to ‘match’ the ‘spare’ entry on the 1825 inventory, or that it would have been removed from the ‘Dressing Room’ between 1811 and 1825.

[180] **Landscape** _____ **Blower (O)**

This could be painting number ‘187 A Landskip [by] Blowir’ listed as in the ‘Second Picture Closet’ on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.10).

Entry 180 might be ‘A Landscape [£]20 Dutch’ listed in a ‘Dressing Room’ on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.178).

Other paintings recorded with entry 180 on the 1811 inventory were in this room in 1825 (see entries 169-175 on the present inventory).

[181] **An Italian Landscape** _____ **(? O)**

Entry 181 could be painting number ‘118 An Italian Landskip’, ‘119 An Italian Landskip’, ‘130 An Italian Landskip’ or ‘196 A fine Italian Landskip’, all listed as in the ‘Second Picture Closet’ on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, pp.9-10).

There are, of course, other possibilities on the 1793 inventory, including ‘65 An Italian Landskip by Neopolitano’ and ‘470 An Italian Landskip [by] Neopolitano’ (*ibid.*, pp.18-9). Both are listed in the Library in 1793.

Entry 181 is probably one of two landscapes, both described as ‘An Italian Landscape [£]20’, listed in the ‘Dressing Room’ on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.178). Other paintings listed with entry 181 in 1811 are recorded in this room in 1825 (see entries 169-175 on the present inventory).

[182] **Holy Family** _____ **Titian**

Entry 182 is not recorded in the ‘Dressing Room’ on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.178), unless it is one of the two ‘Italian Landscapes’ listed in the room in 1825.

It may be lot 744 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: ‘Titian. The Holy Family, with St. John and another saint. 32 in. by 41 in.’ Lot 744 was bought by Duncan for £1,207 10s.

However, there is scope here for confusion with another ‘Holy Family’

attributed to Titian which was in William Beckford's collection and entered Hamilton ownership after Beckford's death in 1844. This was described as 'The Virgin, Infant Christ, S^t. John and S^t. Joseph [by] Titian' when it hung in the Dining Room in Lansdown Crescent, Bath, in September 1844 (Bod, Beckford MS. c.58, p.10). It was subsequently displayed in the Yellow Drawing Room in Arlington Street, London, and was described in a very similar entry in 1864: 'The Virgin, Infant Christ S^t John S^t Joseph [by] Titian' (HA, M4/78, p.136).

On the face of it, the Beckford painting is a Holy Family with St John the Baptist (i.e. four figures), whereas the 1882 painting should be a Holy Family with Saint John and another Saint, presumably a name saint. However, one does not know if Christie's counted St Joseph as a second saint in 1882. The high price of lot 744 suggests it was a fine painting and would have been out of place and wasted in the Dressing Room. Consequently, caution is necessary in pursuing the 'matching' of entry 182 with lot 744.

[183] **S^t.. George & the Dragon** _____

'S^t.. George & the Dragon' could be painting number '116 S^t George' listed as in the 'Second Picture Closet' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.9). The 1759 Hamilton Palace inventory includes 116, as 'A S^t George', among the 'Miniature Paintings in Watercolours in the first Closet'. The list is signed off, at the bottom, directly below 116: 'The whole of the above Miniature Paintings except N^o 114 wanting are valued in cumulo as several of them are set in Gold at thirty seven pounds' [etc.] (HA, M4/48, p.11).

This *St George and the Dragon* became lot 1667 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'St. George and the Dragon, a large miniature, after Raffaele – on vellum.' There is a note in the Errata and Addenda in the illustrated priced catalogue of the sale: 'Add, By Oliver, copy made for King Charles I.' Lot 1667 was bought by R.R. Holmes for £28 7s.

The 1704 Holyrood and Kinneil inventory notes 'A S^t. George by Paul Veronez. about 11 inches long' in 'her Graces Clossett' at Kinneil House (HA, M4/42, p.8, no.238).

It is also possible that entry 183 could be lot 351 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'Venetian School. A Landscape, with a castle and two figures with an animal. 29 in by 33 in.' This was included in a Sotheby's New York sale on 15 January 1987 as lot 6: Circle of Giorgione, *St. Theodore about to slay the dragon*. It was subsequently sold at Semenzato, Venice, 4 November 2000, as Manner of Giorgione, *St George and the dragon*, for \$45,300.

The problem with this is that no 'St. George and the Dragon' is listed in the 'Dressing Room' on the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory. There are, however, two 'Italian Landscapes' on the 1825 inventory, each valued at twenty pounds (*op. cit.*, p.178), and it is just conceivable that the Sotheby/Semenzato painting could have been described as a landscape in the early inventories.

Bed Closet

[All the items listed in the Bed Closet appear to have come from the old Hamilton Palace collection. The majority were in the 'State Bed Closet' in 1793. This suggests that they were still in the same room in 1811.]

[184] Countess of Cassillis _____ De Witt (O)

= Painting number 400, 'Countess of Cassillis ½ length [by] De Witt', listed in the 'State Bed Closet' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.14). The alternative is that this is painting number 224, 'The Countess of Cassillis [by] De Witt', which was in the 'State Bed Room' in 1793 (*ibid.*, p.13).

'A Countess of Cassillis [£]10 [by] De Witt' is listed on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.180) along with entries 185-189 on the 1811 inventory. All these paintings are recorded on a sheet without a heading or title. However, the previous page is headed 'Dining Room' and the following page 'Dining Room Cont^d.', which suggests that the items on page 180 were also in the Dining Room.

Another *Countess of Cassillis* is noted in an identical entry – 'A Countess of Cassillis [£]10 [by] De Witt' – in a 'Bed Room' towards the end of the main list of paintings on the 1825 inventory (*ibid.*, p.177). This bed room apparently

came after the Billiard Room, 'Antiroom' and 'Drawing Room' containing Tintoretto's *Moses Striking the Rock*, and before a 'Dressing Room' and the Dining Room.

Entry 184 could be either painting.

[185] **Landscape with figures fishing** _____ **(O)**

= Painting number 324, 'A landskip on timber with Figures fishing', listed as in the 'State Bed Closet' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.14).

The copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records (HA, M4/70, p.180) a 'Landscape with figures fishing [£]5', apparently in the Dining Room (see entry 184 for explanation).

[186] **Countess of Lanerk** _____ **Jamieson (O)**

= Painting number 270, 'The Countess of Lanark in Widows Dress [by] Jameson', listed as in the 'State Bed Closet' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.14).

The copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records (HA, M4/70, p.180) the 'Countess of Lanark [£]10 [by] Jamieson', apparently in the Dining Room (see entry 184 for explanation).

[187] **Earl of Dumbarton** _____ **Vandyke (O)**

= Painting number 326, 'The Earl of Dumbarton ½ length', listed as in the 'State Bed Closet' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.14).

The copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records (HA, M4/70, p.180) 'Earl of Dumbarton [£]10', apparently in the Dining Room (see entry 184 for explanation).

[188] **Knight of Jerusalem** _____ **(O)**

= Painting number 276, 'A Knight of Jerusalem [by] Vandyck', listed as in the 'State Bed Closet' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.14).

The copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records (HA, M4/70, p.180) a 'Knight of Jerusalem [£]7 [by] Vandyke', apparently in the Dining Room (see entry 184 for explanation).

[189] **Venus, a-sleep, & Satire** _____ **Carracci (O)**

= Painting number 245, 'A Venus a Sleep & Satire [by] Carracci', listed as in

the 'State Bed Closet' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.14).

The copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records (HA, M4/70, p.180) 'Venus asleep & Satire [£]10 [by] Carracci', apparently in the Dining Room (see entry 184 for explanation).

[190] **A View of Greenwich** _____ **[addition in pencil:**

Tillermens] (O)

Probably painting number 153, 'Greenwich Park', listed as in the 'State Bed Room' on the 1793 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/51, p.13). This is described as '153 Prospect of Greenwich park' on the 1759 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/48, p.19). In 1759 it was in the 'Bed Chamber on the First floor of the East Wing' and was valued at two pounds.

The above painting is almost certainly 'a prospect of Greenwich Parke' recorded in the Dining Room at Holyrood House on the 1704 Holyrood and Kinneil inventory (HA, M4/42. p.1, no.3).

Entry 190 is probably the 'View of Greenwich [£]5' (without attribution) recorded in a 'Bed Room' on the copy of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/70, p.177). The 'Bed Room' comes towards the end of the 1825 inventory of paintings, after the Billiard Room, 'Antiroom' and Drawing Room containing Tintoretto's *Moses Striking the Rock*, and before a 'Dressing Room' and the Dining Room.

'A View of Greenwich' passed to Lennoxlove and was sold by the 15th Duke of Hamilton in 2005. It was included – as Johann Vosterman, *A Prospect of Greenwich with the Queen's House and the Royal Observatory, the British Fleet on the River Thames beyond*, oil on canvas, 59 by 99 cm, 23¼ by 39 in. – in Sotheby's sale of *Important British Paintings*, in London, on 30 June 2005, as lot 41. Dated 'circa 1680' and regarded as 'Probably commissioned by Anne Duchess of Hamilton' by Sotheby's, it sold for £81,600, including buyer's premium. The same auction included four other Hamilton paintings (lots 5, 6, 7, and 82), however they are not directly relevant to the 1811 inventory.

[Most of the above paintings are listed as in the ‘Closet of the Dressing Room in the East Wing’ on the 1759 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, M4/48, p.22). They are recorded, with other paintings (which have been omitted from what follows) as:

- 386 The Earl of Dumbarton half length with a battle
- 276 A three quarter of a Knight of Jerusalem
- 324 A Landscape on timber with figures fishing – three quarters
- 245 A Naked Woman asleep and a Satyr looking on by Annibale Carraccius
- 270 The Countess of Lanark in a Widows dress by Jamieson

Note about changes between 1811 and 1825

All the paintings in the Bed Closet in 1811 appear to have been kept together with the sole exception of the *View of Greenwich* (entry 190). They are listed in the same order as on the 1811 inventory, on a single page, on the copy of the 1825 inventory. Unfortunately, the name of the room is not given. However, the previous sheet is headed ‘Dining Room’ and the following sheet ‘Dining Room Cont^d.’, which suggests that the pictures were installed in the Dining Room.]

Appendix 3: Annotated List of Manuscripts and Early Printed Books owned by the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale (later 10th Duke of Hamilton) by 1819

What follows is an almost exact replication of the list of 'the valuable manuscripts and printed books collected for the Marquis of Douglas in Italy and in various parts of the Continent' published by William Clarke in his *Repertorium Bibliographicum* (London, 1819), pp.257-64. Clarke's entries have been printed in bold, for easy identification.

Reference numbers, in square brackets, have been added at the beginning of each entry. Identifications, current locations, notes on provenance, acquisition and relevant publications are printed in normal type.

The Hamilton Manuscripts should have been sold by Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge (henceforward sometimes simply referred to as Sotheby's) on 30 June 1882, but were bought by the Royal Museum in Berlin, by private arrangement, for either £70,000 or £75,000 before the sale catalogue was published. Unfortunately, the Museum authorities failed to obtain the necessary extra funds from the German government to finance the purchase and were obliged to sell off many of their new acquisitions. The British Museum bought over two dozen of the Berlin Hamilton manuscripts in 1887 (Add. Mss. 33241-33269) and another 20 manuscripts were sold to J. and S. Goldschmidt of Frankfurt the same year. A further 88 or 91 ex-Berlin Hamilton manuscripts were disposed of by Trübner of Strasburg through Sotheby's on 23 May 1889.

Most of the printed books in the Hamilton collection (which were never part of the Berlin purchase) were sold by Sotheby's in May 1884. A further portion was dispersed by the same firm on 18 February 1920 (lots 495-713).

'Boese' is used as an abbreviation for Helmut Boese, *Die Lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin* (Wiesbaden, 1966). Boese's work largely supersedes W. von Sedlitz's three articles on Berlin's newly acquired manuscripts, 'Die illustrierten Handschriften der Hamilton-Sammlung zu Berlin', published in *Repertorium für Kustwissenschaft*, vol. 6, 1883, pp.256-73; vol. 7, 1884,

pp.78-89; and vol. 8, 1885, pp.94-110. 'Seidlitz' is only cited when Boese has little or nothing to say about the manuscripts under investigation.

There have been three main discoveries. The first has been documentation relating to the acquisition of large quantities of manuscripts and books by the Marquis of Douglas and his agents in Italy between about 1800 and 1803. Only a small part of this relates to the items on Clarke's list and confirms the belief that this is a highly selective and misleading record of Douglas's collection, if taken at face value.

Secondly, the research has highlighted the importance of the London bookseller James Edwards (1756-1816) in the formation of the 10th Duke of Hamilton's collection up to 1818. Edwards supplied Douglas with at least six manuscripts between about 1800 and his retirement in 1804 (see entries 10, 30, 31, 33, 43 and 54). Another half-dozen Hamilton manuscripts came from the sale of Edwards's library organised by his successor, Robert Harding Evans, in April 1815 (see entries 36, 37, 41, 44, 57 and 58). The very well-annotated copy of the Edwards sale catalogue in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Hanson 115, records that Douglas bought the manuscripts of Prudentius, the Koran, the Four Gospels in Latin, and the Psalter in Greek and Latin (lots 310, 798, 822 and 824) in his own name, as Marquis of Douglas, for £23 2 shillings, £52 10 shillings, £57 15 shillings and £110 5 shillings respectively – a total of £243 12 shillings. He subsequently acquired the Horace (lot 263) from the Rev. T.F. Dibdin for £125 – the same price that Dibdin had paid for it at the Edwards sale – and the Four Gospels in Greek (lot 821) which Payne had secured at the Edwards sale for £210.

Thirdly, the research has shown that, just as there was a peak of activity in collecting manuscripts and early printed books between 1800 and 1803, there was another peak in the mid 1810s. In addition to the Edwards items, Douglas apparently bought some of his finest manuscripts a year or two later. These included the *Cicero* with the arms of Francesco Visconti (entry 25) and the *Hours of François de Guise* (entry 49).

'James Edwards sale' appears as an abbreviation for R.H. Evans, *A Catalogue of the Valuable Library of James Edwards, Esq. containing a Splendid Assemblage of Early Printed Books, chiefly upon Vellum. Highly Curious and*

Important Manuscripts, many of them executed for Sovereign Princes. Magnificent Books of Prints, and various important Articles in every Department of Literature and Science [...], which will be sold by auction on Wednesday April 5, 1815, and the Five following Days (London, 1815). On Edwards generally, see Thomas William Hanson's two articles, 'Edwards of Halifax, a family of booksellers, collectors and bookbinders,' in *Papers, Reports etc read before the Halifax Antiquarian Society*, 1912, pp.141-200, and 'Edwards of Halifax, bookbinders', in *Book Handbook*, I, 1947/51, pp.329-38.

A reference to 'Quaritch' records the inclusion of the manuscript or book in the famous London bookseller Bernard Quaritch's review of the Hamilton library in his *Contributions towards a Dictionary of English Book-Collectors*, Part V, February 1894, pp.1-6.

- [1] **ALAIN Chartier, Poesies, MS. with illuminations, fol. XV. SIÈCLE.**
 = Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett (hereafter cited as Berlin), MS 78 C 7 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 144).
 Boese, p.78, as French, 15th century; Seidlitz, no.81.
 Entry 1 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is probably listed under folio volumes as 'Oeuvres d'Alain Chartier' or 'Alain Chartier Poesies' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.
- [2] **ALEXANDRE, Histoire du Roi, MS. sur velin du XIV. Siècle; avec miniatures.**
 = Berlin, MS 78 C 1 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 19).
 Boese, p.8; Seidlitz, no.27.
 Quaritch, p.4: 'Alexandre le Grand. MS. on vellum, with numerous miniatures. Folio. About 1320'.
 A manuscript 'roman dalexandre', costing 300 francs, is crossed off a list of items purchased by Douglas from the Parisian bookseller Chardin in 1816 (HA, M12/30/14).
 Entry 2 may have been seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It may be recorded under folio volumes as 'L'[H]istoire du Roy Alexandre' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.
- [3] **ANNE de Bretagne—Entrée de la Royne Anne de Bretange, et Nopces avec Charles VIII, 4to. MS. on vellum, with three fine illuminations.**
 = Berlin, Hamilton 393 = sold 1887 = Baron Edmond de Rothschild = Waddesdon Manor, MS 22.
 The irregular composition of this manuscript shows the development of the description of the coronation of Anne of Brittany, her entry into Paris and coronation banquet in November 1504 by André Delavigne, the queen's secretary, and includes three inserted miniatures of these scenes. For a full

description and discussion, see L. M. J. Delaissé, James Marrow and John de Wit, *Illuminated Manuscripts: The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor* (Fribourg, 1977), pp.471-86. Delaissé *et al* suggest that the nature of the manuscript, its richness and the many references to Anne indicate that it was made for the queen herself.

A plain oval on the spine contains the arms of Charles III de Bourbon, Cardinal de Bourbon-Condé (1562-94). They are surmounted by a cardinal's hat and would have been applied between 1582, when Charles III de Bourbon became a cardinal, and his death in 1592. Nothing more is known about the provenance.

Unfortunately, the manuscript is now water-stained and severely trimmed. Christopher de Hamel has recently described the Hamilton/Waddesdon manuscript as 'André Delavigne, Le sacre d'Anne de Bretagne et son entrée à Paris en 1504, Paris, vers 1505, 64 f., 3 miniatures, maroquin rouge doré, vers 1590' (*Les Rothschild collectionneurs de manuscrits* (Paris, 2004), p.108).

Quaritch, p.6: 'Entrée d'Anne de Bretagne. MS. on vellum, with three superb paintings and borders. 4to. 1504'.

Entry 3 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is probably recorded under '4o' as 'Entrée de la Royne Anne' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [4] **ANNE—Entrée et Sacre de la Royne Anne de Bretagne, 4to. with three large miniature paintings, representing her Entry into Paris, her Coronation, and the Banquet.**

This seems to be a duplicate of the previous entry. Sotheby's 1882 catalogue of the Hamilton manuscripts only describes one such manuscript, Hamilton 393.

- [5] **ANNE—Les Funerailles de Anne de Bretagne Royne de France, fol. MS. on vellum, with ten beautiful miniatures.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 27 = sold 1889, lot 56 = ?

Sotheby's 1882 catalogue of the Hamilton Manuscripts describes entry 5/Hamilton 27 as:

'Manuscript on Vellum (10½ by 7½ inches), beautifully ornamented with 10 Miniatures (containing full-length portraits of the Queen and of Persons as arrayed at the Ceremonies), 9 Coats of Arms and 180 Capitals, all finely illuminated in gold and colours, vellum folio. SAEC. XVI (1514)'.

Quaritch, p.6: 'Mort de la Royne Anne de Bretagne. MS. on vellum, with 10 miniatures. Folio. 1514'.

Seidlitz, no 101.

Entry 5 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is probably recorded under folio volumes as 'Funerali di Anna di Bretagna Regina di Francia _ Gallice' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[6] **APULEIUS, fol. ED. PR. Romæ, Sweynh. et Pannartz, 1469.**

Probably lot 95 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's sale of the Hamilton Library on Thursday, 1 May 1884: '95 APULEII OPERA necnon Epitoma Alcinoi in Disciplinarum Platonis Librum, FIRST EDITION, very large copy in vellum folio. Romæ (per E. Sueynheym et A. Pannartz) in Domo Petri de Maximo, 1469. *Excessively rare and valuable for containing all the suppressed passages. The La Vallière copy sold for 1520 francs and Hanrott's for £23.10s.' Lot 95 was sold to Quaritch for £6.

Quaritch, p.2.

Entry 6 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Apuleius 1469 E.P.' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper watermarked with the date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

R.H. Evans's sale of duplicates from the Duke of Devonshire's library on 29 May 1815 included, as lot 110, under folio volumes: 'Apuleii Opera, FIRST EDITION, of the greatest rarity. Romæ, in domo Petri de Maximo, MCCCCLXIX'. The copy of the catalogue in the main series of Evans catalogues in the British Library records that lot 110 was bought by 'Payne' for £28 7 shillings.

[7] **ARETINUS (Leon.) de Bello Italico adversus Gothos, fol. Venet. Nic.****Jenson, 1471.**

Probably lot 101 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's sale of the Hamilton Library on Thursday, 1 May 1884: '101 Aretinus (Leonardus [Brunus]) de Bello Italico adversus Gotthos, vellum follo [sic]. Venetiis, N. Jenson, 1471'. Sold to Quaritch for £1.

William Clarke apparently saw entry 7 in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Leon. Aretini de Bello Italico Jenson 1471' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

Count Leopoldo Cicognara wrote to Douglas on 22 July of an unrecorded year, possibly 1803: 'Egli e indubitato che ho trovato p voi un codice che mi piu bello di Leonardo Aretine De bello Italico adversus Gothos; interessante p la materia, p l'autore, e p la conservazione in bella pergamena' (HA, Bundle 1131).

Douglas also acquired a manuscript of *de bello Italico* (Hamilton 37), from the MacCarthy Reagh sale (lot 4454), from the Parisian bookseller Chardin in 1816 (see HA, M12/30/15 and Chardin's bill, M12/30/14).

[8] **ASTRONOMICON Libri—Macrobius in Somnium Scipionis, fol. MS. SÆC. XIV.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 338.

Boese, p.165, as Hyginus, *De astronomia*, and Macrobius, *in somnium Scipionis commentarii*, Italian, 15th century.

Provenance: Apostolo Zeno (d. 1750), no.CLXIII in the Zeno catalogue, and the library of Santa Maria del Rosario, Venice.

Entry 8 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Astronomicon Libri _ Macrobius in Somn_ Scipionis MS. Sæc. XIV. gr. mor.', or under '8º' as 'Macrobius in Som. Scrip^s', on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [9] **AUGUSTIN (S.) de la Cité de Dieu, *a most beautiful MS. on vellum, with miniature paintings and illuminated initials*, 2 vols. large folio.**

= Strasbourg, Bibl. univ. et régionale, Ms. 522, 523 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 62).

Quaritch, p.5: 'St. Augustin, La Cité de Dieu. MS. on vellum. 2 vols. folio. Vol. I written about 1420, Vol. II about 1460. With numerous splendid miniatures.'

See Seidlitz, no.84; Strasbourg, Cat gén. mss Déptm. XLVII, 1923, pp.170-1.

R.H. Evans's sale of the library of Edward Astle (1770-1816), one of the nine children of Thomas Astle the palaeographer, on 10-11 January 1816 included, as lot 110: 'Augustin de la Cité de Dieu, 2 vol. MANUSCRIPT OF THE XIVTH CENTURY, UPON VELLUM; at the end of the second volume is the following subscription: "Ceste Translacion fu Cōmēcee par Maitre Raoul de Praelles l'an de grace mil ccc soixante et unze et fu achevée le premier jour de Septembre 1365." This manuscript is richly ornamented with paintings, in russia.'

This might be Hamilton 62. Sotheby's 1882 catalogue of the Hamilton Manuscripts records that Hamilton 62 was bound in russia and concludes the entry with the note: 'At the end of vol. II there is a statement that Raoul de Praelles commenced this translation in 1371 and finished it on the first of September, 1375.' The differences in dates would have to be explained as two misreadings.

A list of books and manuscripts on paper with the watermarked date 1817, which includes titles published in 1817, 1818 and 1819, records 'Augustinus de Civitate Dei XIII [...] XIV Sæc.' under 'MSSⁱ [...] Folio'. 'S. Augustin de la Cité de Dieu 2 Vol. russia' is recorded under folio volumes on another list, which is on paper without a watermarked date. Both lists are with July 1816 list in Hamilton Town House Library.

It is worth noting that Douglas was offered 'S Augustini Libri due – De Dotrina Christiana; et de vera Religione – Conc[? ernate] del Secolo XIII – era de francescani' in a letter dated Venice 6 9bre [i.e. November] 1801 (HA, C4/928/1). He probably also owned a folio manuscript of Augustine's *Confessions*, of about 900 A.D., and a good copy of Sweynheym and

Pannartz's folio edition of Augustine's *City of God* of 1469: Quaritch, pp.2 and 4.

[10] **BEDÆ (Venerab.) Historia Ecclesiastica, fol. Codex Antiquissimus.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 70.

Boese, pp.36-7, as Beda, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, English, 11th century.

Provenance: 'Domnus abbas Dalmacius'.

The London bookseller James Edwards wrote to Douglas from Paris on 11 April 1803 to offer him a number of manuscripts he had just purchased. The second on the list is described as 'Beda Hist. Ecc. Anglicana. _ MS on Vell^m. of the 11th. or 12th. Centy along wth. the first Ed. of Beda 1550 wth. MS. Collations of the various reading of 9 diff^t. MSS. _ folio'. Edwards states that he had bought the Bede and three other manuscripts from the 'Abbé Tersan' (HA, C4/928/4).

The 1550 edition was probably lot 230 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's sale of the Hamilton Library on Thursday, 1 May 1884: '230 BEDAE ECCLESIASTICA HISTORIA GENTIS ANGLORUM, autograph of "Thomas Garrett 1658 Maii 15", who has collated 8 Manuscripts and the Edition of Argent, 1550, noting the numerous readings on the margins of this copy, half calf, folio. Antverpiae, 1550. *An important and valuable copy, which ought to be secured for a public library.' Sold to Quaritch for 10 shillings.

The manuscript need not have been an expensive purchase because a manuscript of Bede's *History* – described as a folio 'Beda, Gesta Anglorum et alii Bedae tractatus, manuscript on vellum' – was bought by Chandley for only 5 shillings at R.H. Evans's sale of the second portion of the Bibliotheca Towneleana on 21 June 1815, as lot 506: see the annotated copy of the sale catalogue in the Bodleian Library, Mus. Bibl. III. 8° 468, p.20.

William Clarke apparently saw entry 10 in July 1816. It is probably recorded under folio volumes as 'Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica MS.' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

The 1550 edition of Bede may be the next entry on the list: 'Ditto ____ printed'. A 'Beda [? O maliavio or omeliario] folo del Secolo XI. sopra pergamene' (etc.) is listed in a letter beginning 'Cavilo Fratello + Vienna ai 10 Maggio 18 [??]' (HA, C4/928/9/2).

- [11] **BESSARIONIS Card. libri v. adversus calumniatores Platonis, 4to., a most beautiful MS. bound in crimson velvet. SÆC. XIV.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 76.

Boese, pp.39-40, as Bessarion, *In calumniatorem Platonis liber*, Venetian, 15th century, with the arms of Cardinal Bessarion.

Provenance: Apostolo Zeno (d. 1750), no.CCIX in the Zeno catalogue, and the library of Santa Maria del Rosario, Venice.

William Clarke apparently saw entry 11 in July 1816. It is listed under folio volumes as 'Besarion Platonis Defensio MS. Sæc. XIV crimson velvet' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

Lotte Labowsky includes Berlin Hamilton 76 in the *Addenda to Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana: Six Early Inventories* (Rome, 1979), p.512, as: '*** [i.e. a manuscript showing Bessarion's arms without any other indication of his possession, and not corresponding to any item in the inventory now missing from the Biblioteca Marciana, Venice. These might be codices destined for him which never became part of his library: *ibid.*, pp.483-4.] MS Hamilton 76, membran. s. XV. Bessarion, *In calumniatorem Platonis*. Original version in two books, showing on fol. 1 upper margin, the Cardinal's arms, on the lower margin the family arms of the Foscari. See P. d'Ancona, *La miniatura fiorentina* II, 1914, p.331, H. Boese, *Die lateinischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hamilton zu Berlin*, Wiesbaden 1966, p.39 sq. – The volume possibly was a present from the author to the Doge Francesco Foscari.'

The Greek manuscript Berlin, Hamilton 41 is also associated with Cardinal Bessarion. Labowsky describes it (*op. cit.*, p.484) as: 'MS Hamilton 41, chart., s. XV. Aristoteles, *Ethica Nicomachea; Ethica Eudemia; Magna Moralia; Poetica*, with scholia of Michael of Ephesus. Studemund-de Boor II, no.397,

p.229. Formerly of the monastery of S. Michele near Murano. See E. Mioni, 'Bessarione scriba [e alcuni suoi collaboratori]', *Miscellanea Marciana di studi Bessarionei* (Medioevo e Umanesimo 24), Padua 1976], p.289.

No inscription, but marginalia in Bessarion's hand, see Harlfinger, p.409; A. Dreizehnter in: *Aristoteles Politik*, Munich 1970, p.xxiii.

= B 968.'

The entry B 968 – in the inventory of Cardinal Bessarion's manuscripts and books of 1474 – reads (*op. cit.*, p.241): '968 Nicomachia cum paraphrasi et alia quaedam, in papiro.'

It is worth noting that lot 257 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's sale of the Hamilton Library on Thursday, 1 May 1884, was 'BESSARIONIS (CARDINALIS) ADVERSUS CALUMNIATOREM PLATONIS LIBRI V et Liber de Natura et Arte adversus Georgium Trapezuntium, very large copy, but slightly wormed vellum Romae, C. Suereynheym et A. Pannartz in Aedibus Maximorum (1469). *First and rarest Edition. The Brienne-Laire copy sold for 200 fr.'

Labowsky (*op. cit.*, pp.17-8) notes that Bessarion had this edition printed by Sweynheim and Pannartz and 'owned several printed copies of this work.'

- [12] **BIBLE, traduction de Guyard des Moulins, l'an 1291, 2 vols. fol. MS. on vellum, with illuminations. The first translation of the Bible into French; it contains some curious readings, and was printed in 1490, in two folio volumes, by order of Charles VIII.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 87 = sold 1889, lot 7 (to Quaritch) = ?

Sotheby's *Catalogue of the Hamilton Collection of Manuscripts* (London, 1882) describes Hamilton 87 as:

'Bible Hystoricus ou les Hystoires Esolastres translatée de Latin en François de Pierre Comestor ou Le Mangeur par Girard des Moulins en 1291

Beautiful Manuscript on Vellum (14 by 10½ inches), Exquisitely Ornamented with 113 Initial Letters, richly illuminated in gold and colours and with 76 Elegant Miniatures by a[n] early French Artist, executed in Grisaille and vivid colours on a diapered gold ground, black morocco, gilt edges, by Boyet with perforated brass corners, inscribed Plaques, and Tablet with Arms of the Comte

de Clermont Tonnere on sides. From the Lamoignon Collection, in Russia Solander case lined with citron morocco folio. SAEC. XIII-XIV'.

Quaritch, p.5: 'Bible Hystoriaus . . par Guiars des Moulins. MS. on vellum with 76 miniatures in grisaille. 2 vols. folio. About 1370. From the Clermont-Tonnerre and Lamoignon collections.'

Seidlitz, no. 72.

A note (HA, M12/30/9), on paper watermarked 'RUSE & TURNERS / 1815.', suggests that this was a later acquisition. The note is in Douglas's handwriting and is also relevant to entries 25 and 49. It reads:

'Ce manuscript estoit porté en dot à Henry 2^d par Catherine de Medicis _ donné au Cardinal de Rich[? lue i.e. Richelieu] par Anne d'Autriche _ relié en chagrin, les pulles dosier et les bords de pourpre _

La Bible historien a de Guyere des Moulin Doyen de S^t Pierre d'acre doyen de Troyes de l'an 1291 _ Ce MSS porte le nom de Bible de Berry pour lequel elle fut composeé, elle [? faisost] partie du tressor de la couronne en 1551 lorsque Henrice 2^d la donna a Dianne de Poitiers _ Ce MSS estorné de 200 miniatures diene beauté rare –

M. Tullii Ciceronis epistolae avec le chiffre de Ferdinand VI _ la date vide _

Recueil de prieres mSS sur velin contenant 30 grands miniat et environ 100 petites et plus de 200 sujets satyriques contre la cour de Rome – provient de la bibliotheque de Charles de Lorraine'.

Douglas appears to have bought manuscripts from the Lamoignon collection through the Parisian bookseller Chardin in 1816: see the list beginning 'ordre de Monsieur de douglas [...] du mois d'avril 1816 a chardin pour acheter' (HA, M12/30/14). Chardin was the principal Parisian agent-supplier of manuscripts and books to William Beckford, Douglas's father-in-law, and was also supplying Beckford with items around this time.

[13] **BIBLIA Sacra, MS. circa an. M. folio max.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 82.

Boese, pp.40-2, as French, mid 9th century.

This is Quaritch, p.4: 'Biblia Latina. MS. on vellum. Folio. Written by Aldebaldus (about 980)'.

- [14] **BIBLIA Sacra, Italicé, anno 1396, folio, with the Papal arms on the sides, MS.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 86 = sold 1889, lot 9 (to Quaritch) = ?

Sotheby's Catalogue of the Hamilton Manuscripts describes Hamilton 86 as:

'Biblia cioe tutto il Testamento Vecchio

Beautiful Manuscript on Vellum (14½ by 10¾ inches), very distinctly written, with numerous ornamented capitals in blue and red ink, and finely decorated with painting of full-length figures of Adam and Eve listening to the Serpent twined round the Tree of Knowledge, executed in colours on a gold ground, and surrounded by a mosaic border, 11 fine Miniatures, 3 Borders and 73 Initial Letters, all exquisitely illuminated in gold and colours, red morocco extra, broad dentelle borders of gold, gilt edges, with Papal Arms in gold on sides folio. SAEC. XIV (1396)

* This magnificent Bible appears to have belonged to the Salviati family, and on the first leaf of Genesis is a written permission for Giovan Batista Salviati to keep and read this Bible, signed by the Inquisitor Thomas de Scotis, dated Roma 28 de Juglio 1559. On the last leaf the Scribe has written: "Questo libro scripse Giovanni di Bartholomeo Niccholi et compietto di scribere adi XX di Gennaio MCCCCLXXXVI."

Seidlitz, no.322.

Pietro Pisani writes about a 'Bibbia' in his letter dated Venice, 20 March 1802 (HA, C4/928/11), but it is not clear if this is relevant to 14 or to any of the bibles listed here.

Entry 14 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Biblia Sacra Vatican. 1396' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [15] **BIBLIA Sacra, Latina, in membr. Venet. Nic. Jenson, 1476.**

Not recorded under 'Biblia' (etc.) in the catalogue of the sale of the Hamilton Library in May 1884.

Possibly the 'Biblia Sacra in f^o. Ven: apud N[ic.] Jenson 1476' priced at 50 Roman *scudi* listed among the 'Libri del Secolo XV' on HA, M12/30/39. This begins with a list of the manuscripts that were purchased from Angelo Moretti of Ferrara for Douglas in April 1802. Alternatively, entry 15 might be the 'Biblia Jenson in carte pecora [...] £528' recorded on a list of Italian-related books and manuscripts, HA, M12/30/58, which was almost certainly written in Venice in the first years of the nineteenth century. Douglas's annotations on the back include '2000 Sasso' and indicate that the list predates the death of the Venetian dealer Giovanni Maria Sasso in 1803.

Entry 15 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Biblia Sacra printed on vellum Jenson 1476' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

The Jenson folio bible in the Edwards sale (11 April 1815, lot 810) was dated as 'MCCCCLXXIX'. It is stated to have been printed on vellum and to have had the arms of Pope Sixtus IV 'in the beginning'. Annotated catalogues of the Edwards sale record that this example was sold to 'Triphook' – the bookdealer Robert Triphook – for £115 10 shillings.

R.H. Evans's sale of a 'Valuable Library' on 14 June 1816 included, as lot 340, under folio volumes: 'Biblia Sacra Latina, rare edition, JENSON. MCCCCLXXVI.' The copy of the catalogue in the main series of Evans catalogues in the British Library records that lot 340 was bought by 'Ld Morpeth' (i.e. Lord Morpeth) for £2 10 shillings.

[16] **BOCCACCIO (Giov.) L'Amorosa Fiammetta, 4to. ED. PR. Patav. 1472.**

Probably lot 286 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's sale of the Hamilton Library on Friday, 2 May 1884: '286 BOCCACCIO (G.) LA FIAMETTA, FIRST EDITION, fine copy, with Initials in Letters of Gold, in green morocco, blind tooling, bevelled edges, leather joints, by C. Meyer, extremely rare s. l. and a. (Padova, circa 1470)'. Sold to Quaritch for £1 11s. 6d.

Possibly acquired from Chateauneuf of Ferrara. A copy of this edition appears, as the first item, on Chateauneuf's priced list dated 10 February 1803 (HA, M12/30/45). Chateauneuf's example is listed at 30 Roman *scudi* and a cross has been added to the right of the entry.

William Clarke appears to have seen entry 16 in July 1816. It is probably recorded under folio volumes as 'Boccaccio Fiammetta E. P. green mor.' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [17] **BOCCACCII (Jo.) Genealogia Deorum gentilium, ED. PR. fol. Venet. V. de Spira, 1472.**

Probably lot 295 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's sale of the Hamilton Library on Friday, 2 May 1884: '295 BOCCACCII (J.) GENEALOGIA DEORUM GENTILIUM, fine copy in vellum folio. Venetiis, Vindellinus de Spira, 1472'. Sold to Quaritch for £1 11s.

Possibly acquired from Chateauneuf of Ferrara. A copy of this edition appears, as the second item, on Chateauneuf's priced list dated 10 February 1803 (HA, M12/30/45). Chateauneuf's example is listed at 40 Roman *scudi* and a cross has been added to the right of the entry.

Entry 17 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Boccaccio Genealogia Deorum Ven. 1472' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [18] **BOCCACCIUS de Montibus, Sylvis, Fontibus, Fluminibus, &c. fol. Venet. (V. de Spira,) 1473.**

Probably lot 296 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's sale of the Hamilton Library on Friday, 2 May 1884: '296 Boccaccius (J.) de Montibus, Silvis, Fontibus, Lacubus, Stagnis, et Diversis Nominibus Maris, slightly wormed, vellum folio. Venetiis, 1473'. Sold to Quaritch for 5 shillings.

Possibly acquired from Chateauneuf of Ferrara. A copy of this edition appears, as the third item, on Chateauneuf's priced list dated 10 February 1803 (HA,

M12/30/45). Chateauneuf's example is listed at 30 Roman *scudi* and a cross has been added to the right of the entry.

Entry 18 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Boccaccius de Montibus &c. 1473' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by Mr: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

R.H. Evans's sale of 'the Extensive Library of a Nobleman' – actually the Duke of Grafton's library – on 7 June 1815 included, as lot 200: 'Boccacii de Montibus, Sylvis, &c. &c. fol. Ed. Pr. exemp. nitidis. C.T. F. D. – Venet. MCCCCLXXIII.' The fully annotated copy of the sale catalogue in the British Library, 123. f. 19, records that this copy was sold to Singer for £2 9 shillings. Singer bought many other lots at this and other sales.

- [19] **BONDELMONTII (Chr.) Insularum Venetarum Historia, fol. MS. on cotton paper, 1420, with drawings of the islands.**

Only a part of this work is printed in *Du Fresne "Illyricum Vetus et Novum."*

The Epigrams in the beginning are written by various literary men of the time; one by Bembo is in his own hand-writing.

= Berlin, Hamilton 108.

Boese, pp.58-60, as *Christophorus Bondelmontius, Insularum archipelagi et Cretae descriptiones*, Venetian, about 1460-70, with the arms of the Venier family of Venice.

Provenance: Apostolo Zeno (d. 1750), no.CLXI in the Zeno catalogue, and the library of Santa Maria del Rosario, Venice.

Douglas acquired many manuscripts and books relating to Venice during the late eighteenth-early nineteenth centuries. Forty-five manuscripts, including over two dozen about Venetian history, are listed in an undated 'Nota de' Mss^{ti}. delle cose venete, che Mylord Hamilton ha fissato per se', which ends 'I Codici sono stimati da Stefano Zuliani Librajo' (etc) (HA, C4/928/9/5). The list probably dates from between 1800 and 1803. However, it is far from clear at this stage if Douglas bought some or all of these works, and there is no obvious

reference to 'Bondelmontii' or *Insularum Venetarum Historia*, or to other titles associated with Apostolo Zeno and Santa Maria del Rosario.

There is a torn piece of paper (HA, M12/30/42) in the main hoard of letters and lists about manuscripts and books which were being considered for purchase in or from Italy in the early nineteenth century which reads:

'N.B. Di Autografi io non posseggo, che il Bondelmonti, ancora inedito, a riserva della Topografia di Costantinopoli stampata dal Du-lange nelle Note alla Bizantina; l'Evangelario in 3^{za}. rima del Gradenico; le lettere Latine di Andreozzo Petrucci; i versi latini di Francesco Patrizi; e quelli di Roberto Orso Riminese; dei quali tre ultimi non si puo asicurare, che siano autografi, sebbene sia assai probabile.'

William Clarke apparently saw entry 19 in July 1816. It is probably recorded under folio volumes as 'Insularium Bondelmonti' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[20] **BREVIARIO Græco, with illuminations, 4to. MS. on vellum.**

= Berlin, MS 78 A 9 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 119).

Boese, pp.66-8.

Provenance: An inscription on fol. 1v reads 'Isto libro la Regina Charlotta de Jerousalem de Chipre et Armenie x.'; Apostolo Zeno (d. 1750), no.CLXXIV in the Zeno catalogue, and the library of Santa Maria del Rosario, Venice.

For a discussion of this Byzantine psalter of about 1300, in Greek and Latin, see Christine Havice, *The Hamilton Psalter in Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett 78.A.9*, Ph.D. thesis, Pennsylvania State University, 1978. Holmes (*The First Annual Account of the Collection of the Manuscripts of the Septuagint Version* (London, 1789), p.71) records the psalter in the Dominican library of Santa Maria del Rosario in Venice, which inherited the manuscripts from the Apostolo Zeno after his death in 1750.

Douglas clearly records this manuscript, as 'Il breviario della Regina di Cyprio del XI secolo un volume in quarto', as the first item on his list of 'Maniscritti da me acquistati in Italia' (HA, M12/30/38), written on paper watermarked

1802. It might be among the following three items at the beginning of the 'Lista dei libri messi in una casse per Lond[ra or on] il di 22 Luglio 1801 _ Mestre' (HA, M12/30/unnumbered):

'Breviario di veluto rosso	1
D° Veluto turchino	1
D° turchino	1'.

However, MS 78 A 9 was rebound in black for the Marquis/10th Duke and one cannot come to a conclusion on this point.

Despite this, it is important to realize the implications of this purchase. Douglas definitely acquired this manuscript from Apostolo Zeno's collection and the library of Santa Maria del Rosario, Venice, in Italy – presumably in Venice – in the first years of the nineteenth century. This serves as a very clear indicator that he probably acquired other manuscripts from the Dominican library around this time, and that they were not purchased from James Edwards, who bought large quantities of manuscripts in Italy and elsewhere in Continental Europe, and sold them to British collectors.

For other Hamilton manuscripts from Zeno's collection and the library of Santa Maria del Rosario see entries 11, 19, 35 and 74. The Hamilton collection included other manuscripts with this provenance and they, too, were almost certainly purchased by Douglas and his Italian agents between 1800 and 1803.

Unfortunately, the miniatures in the psalter are poorly preserved and the manuscript was badly trimmed during rebinding.

[21] **CÆSAR, fol. MS. SÆC. XV.**

The first leaf elegantly ornamented, and the initial letters illuminated.

Entry 21 seems to refer to the more important folio copy of Caesar's *Commentaries* in the Hamilton Library, Hamilton 126 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 126 and now in the Bibliotheca Bodmeriana, Cologny, Geneva). This was described in Sotheby's 1882 catalogue of the Hamilton manuscripts as having a 'first page ornamented with an exquisite Border, in which are delineated Children, Birds (including Peacock), Hares, Griffin, Vases of Fruit, &c [....] and decorated with 15 bordered Initials'. The less important manuscript, Hamilton 125 (now Berlin, Hamilton 125), was described by

Sotheby's as: 'Manuscript on Vellum, transcribed by an Italian scribe from an older [manuscript] (12¼ by 9 inches), with painted Initials, oak boards, covered in leather, stamped with Medicean tooling folio. SAEC. XV'.

A shield at the foot of folio 1 on Hamilton 126 is charged with three wooden trunks, which is one of the *imprese* of the Aragonese kings of Naples, and the initial on the same page contains a miniature of a knight on a white horse brandishing a sword: an emblem of the 'Ordine della Banda', a military order founded by Alfonso IX of Castile to defend the Catholic faith. The same emblem is found in two other *Caesars*, in the University of Valencia (Ms. 840) and the National Library, Vienna (Ms. 34) which bear the arms of the Aragonese kings of Naples, and it seems highly probable that Hamilton 126 was also made for the Neapolitan royal library.

The illumination is by Cola Rapicano, a Calabrian from Amantea, who worked for the Neapolitan court from 1451 until his death in 1488.

Seidlitz, no.56; Sotheby's *Catalogue of the Dyson Perrins Collection, Part III*, London, 29 November 1960, lot 136; Boese, p.69.

Entry 21 could be the 'Julio Cesare foglio bellissimo XV secolo' recorded, as the second item, on the list of 'Maniscripti da me acquistati in Italia' (HA, M12/30/38), which Douglas wrote on paper watermarked with the date 1802.

[22] **CARRACCI (Ag.) Il funerale d'Agostin Carraccio fatto in Bologna, &c. 4to. Bologna, 1605. (Vid. p. 211.)**

Probably lot 459 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's sale of the Hamilton Library on Friday, 2 May 1884: '459 CARRACCIO (AGOSTIN) FUNERALE fatto in Bologna da gl' Incaminati Academici del Disegno, etchings by GUIDO RENI, very fine copy in blue morocco, extra, borders of gold, gilt edges small 4to. Bologna, 1603. * A very rare pageant, described by B. Moretto, who has appended the Funeral Oration by L. Faberio.' Sold to B. F. Stevens for £1 10s.

Entry 22 may be the 'Funerale Caracci – 22' included in an undated list of Italian-related manuscripts and books, HA, M12/30/31. The handwriting and context suggest that this item would have been acquired during the first few years of the nineteenth century. '22' would have been the price.

William Clarke apparently saw entry 22 in July 1816. It is recorded under '4' as 'Il Funerali d' Agost. Carraccio' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r. Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[23] **CASTIGLIONE (Il Conte Baldes.) Il Cortegiano, PRIM. EDIZ. fol.**

Venetia, Aldo, 1528.

A beautiful Grollier copy.

Almost certainly lot 469 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's sale of the Hamilton Library on Friday, 2 May 1884: '469 CASTIGLIONE (CONTE B.) LIBRO DEL CORTEGIANO, GROLIER'S COPY, with anchor and initial letters finely illuminated in gold and colours, black morocco, covered with gold tooling, gilt edges, lettered on obverse of cover IL CORTEGIANO DEL CONTE BALDESAR CASTIGLION and below IO. GROLIERII ET AMICORUM, with Inscription on reverse PORTIO MEA DOMINE SIT IN TERRA VIVENTUM folio. Venetia Aldo, 1528'. Sold to Quaritch with lot 468 for £70.

According to Gabriel Austin, the great French book-collector and commissioner of fine bindings Jean Grolier (1479-1565) owned a sixteenth-century manuscript of Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano* (now in the Biblioteca Mediceo-Laurenziana, Florence), six copies of the 1528 folio edition by Aldo and Andrea d'Asola, and five copies of their octavo edition of 1533 (*The Library of Jean Grolier* (New York, 1971), pp.50-1, nos.85-93.2).

Austin lists the Marquis of Douglas/10th Duke of Hamilton's copy as number 88 (on p.51) and gives its basic provenance as: '[] – Aguirre – [] – Hamilton – *Quaritch* – *Caperon* – *Morgand* – *Brenot* – *Morgand* – *Montgermont* – *Schiff** – *Lardanchet** – DET DANSKE KUNSTINDUSTRIMUSEUM*, Copenhagen.' (The names in italics are dealers and * indicates an illustration.)

Austin states that the Douglas/Hamilton copy was previously owned by Francesco d'Aguirre, whose library was 'said to have been sold about 1753 by the Milanese bookseller, Antonio Agnelli.' He also cryptically notes 'Signature,

Milan 1762' (*ibid.*, p.83). This raises the possibility that the Douglas acquired his copy in or from Italy in the 1790s or early nineteenth century.

The Grolier Castiglione may be an early purchase, but nothing has yet come to light to prove this. 'Castiglione cortegiano 8^{vo} ____ 1' is included in a short list of books (HA, M12/30/29), but this should refer to something else unless there was a mistake, as the entry should read folio, not octavo. For the record, one should note that the list mentioned above is followed by 'Conto continuato dal Sig^{re} Sasso', in Douglas's handwriting, and by another short list of books in a different coloured ink and a different hand. On the reverse is 'Pisani baule', in Douglas's handwriting. Sasso died in 1803. Douglas's 'Lista dei libri messi in una casse per Lond[ra or on] il di 22 Juglio 1801 _ Mestre' (HA, M12/30/unnumbered) includes

'Castiglione opera ____ 1

D^o. cortegiano _____ 1'.

One of these may refer to the same book as M12/30/29.

Entry 23 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is probably recorded, under folio volumes and after Venetian printed books produced between 1469 and 1495, as 'Il Cortegiano del Castiglione' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

The later provenance of the Grolier Castiglione needs to be expanded to Mortimer L. Schiff – Sotheby's Schiff sale, 23 March 1938, lot 46 – Librairie Lardanchet of Paris – Danske Kunstindustrimuseet, Copenhagen.

See Ruth S. Grannis, *Catalogue of an exhibition of Renaissance bookbindings* (New York, 1937), no.28; Sotheby's, 23 March 1938, lot 46; Librairie Lardanchet, catalogue 42, 1938, 721; Erik Zahle, 'Samlingen af bogbind er vokset', in *Virksomhed* (1949-54), pp.109-12 and frontispiece.

[24] **CECHI de Asculis Liber, *Codex super membr. fol. 1375.***

= Berlin, Hamilton 139.

'1375' should read 1475.

Boese, p.77, simply notes: 'Italienisch, s. Biadene S. 334, Lemm S.86.'

Entry 24 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Liber Cechi de Asculis 1375 blue mor.' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[25] **CICERONIS Epistolæ, Codex, 1472, folio.**

A MS. of great beauty; on the first leaf are the arms of Ferdinand VI.

= Berlin, Hamilton 167.

Boese, pp.88-9, as Cicero, *epistolarum ad familiares libri XVI*, Lombardy, 1472. The manuscript actually bears the arms of the Visconti and the initials FR. VI. for Francesco Visconti. See P. d' Ancona, *La miniatura Fiorentina*, II, 1914, p.331, no.708, and E. Pellgrin, *La Bibliothèque des Visconti et des Sforza, ducs de Milan, au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1955), p.355.

A note about items written by Douglas on paper watermarked 'RUSE & TURNERS / 1815.' (HA, M12/30/9) refers to 'M: Tullii Ciceronis epistolae avec le chiffre de Ferdinand VI _ la date vide _', and reveals that this manuscript was almost certainly acquired in the mid 1810s.

William Clarke apparently saw entry 25 in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Ciceronis Epistolæ 1472 crimson velv.' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[26] **CICERONIS (M. Tull.) Orationes, fol. MS. on vellum, SÆC. XV.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 170 ?, or 169, 171, 172 or 173.

See Boese, pp.90-2. See also the note to entry 27.

William Clarke apparently saw entry 26 in July 1816. It is probably recorded as 'Ciceronis Orationes MS. Sec. XV. russia' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[27] **CICERO'S various works, in several volumes, in fine preservation, MS.**

Probably now among Berlin, Hamilton 168-180.

See Boese, pp.89-95.

Douglas recorded the following four manuscripts of Cicero among the entries at the end of his list of 'Maniscritti da me acquistati in Italia' (HA, M12/30/38), written on paper watermarked with the date 1802:

'Eloquentiae princeps di Cicerone in 8^{vo} grande un bells^{mo} manoscritto del XV secolo _

De officiis M: T: Cicero in 8^{vo}

Philippici di M: T: Cicero in 8^{vo}

De oratore M: T: Cicero in 8^{vo} XV secolo'.

The purchase of three dozen manuscripts from Angelo Moretti of Ferrara in April 1802 included three volumes of Cicero, which are described on HA, M12/30/52 as:

'De natura Deoru[m], et de divinatione Codex Membranaceus Sec. XV. optime scriptus, et nitide servatus ad miniat. in 4. constat Chart. 149. [...]

Rhetoricoru[m] in 4. Codex Membranaceus Sec XV. constat Chart. 70

de Amicitia ad. Tib. Pompon[?ium] atticu[?m] Paradoxa ad M. Brutu[?m]. In somniu[m] Scipionis in 8. Codex Membranaceus Sec. XV. ad litteris auro pietis constat Chart. 134.'

In a letter dated Ferrara, 9 May 1803, J. B. de Chateauneuf informed Douglas: 'Per V : E ho riserbata parzialmente la rettorica di Cicerone ad Erennio Manoscritta in Membranaceo con Margine spazioso, con noteo, ben conservator, e di bellissimo Carattere. Di questo MSS_ il maggior presso é questo, che V : E lo ricevor. come un' attestato della mia Stima. Lo acquistai Specialmente a quest uso e non attendo, che i vostri Ordini, come parvelo passare nelle mani Sicuramente, con prontezza, e per qual messo' (HA, Bundle 1131).

- [28] **CNUTIONIS Magni Gesta. — A MS. of great antiquity: it is dedicated to Queen Emma, the widow of Canute, and is supposed to have been written about the year 1030: prefixed is a drawing of the author presenting his book to the Queen.**

= British Library, Add. Ms 33241 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 183).

In 1889 this was described as: “Gesta Cnutonis”; printed by Duchesne (*Historiae Normannorum Scriptores*) with the title “Emmae Anglorum Reginae, Richardi I. Ducis Normannorum filae, Encomium.” Vellum; ff.67. XIth cent. The latter part of the volume, from f.48, is in another hand, with more lines in a page. Ornamented with tinted initial letters, and having at the beginning a miniature in outline representing the author offering his book to the queen. In the margins are notes written late in the XVth and in the XVIth centt. Belonged to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. Small Octavo.’ *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCLXXXII-MDCCCLXXXVII* (London, 1889), p.281.

Helmut Gneuss describes Add. Ms 33241 as ‘Encomium Emmae Reginae: s. xi med., Flanders (St. Omer ?) or Normandy, (prov. Canterbury, St. A[ugustine's]’ (*Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments written or owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, Arizona, 2001), p.59, no.287).

William Clarke apparently saw entry 28 in July 1816. It is probably recorded under ‘8º’ as ‘Gesta Cnutonis’ on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated ‘List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816’. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[29] **COLUMELLA (Jun. Mod.) de Re Rustica, folio, with numerous miniatures in circles representing the labours of husbandry. MS.**

= New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.139 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 184).

This manuscript of the agricultural treatise *De re rustica* is signed and dated 10 September 1469 by the scribe Henricus Roffinus de Murialdo (near Genoa) and bears the arms of the Del Carretto family of Genoa, counts of Savona and Millesimo, on the title page. It was inherited by the Sandri, counts of Monbasilio (descendants of the Del Carretto family) and has their arms on the cover.

Entry 29 should not be confused with another Italian fifteenth-century manuscript of Columella's *De re rustica* formerly in the Hamilton collection,

Hamilton 185, which had previously been owned by the Reverend Henry Drury. This came from William Beckford's collection after his death in 1844 and is recorded in inventories of Beckford's manuscripts under number 59.

Entry 29 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Columella de Re Rustica 1468 moroc.' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

R.H. Evans's sale of a 'Valuable Library' on 15 June 1816 included, as lot 542: 'Columella de Re Rustica, a very fair and beautifully written manuscript upon vellum, in russia.' The copy of the catalogue in the main series of Evans catalogues in the British Library records that lot 542 was bought by 'Edwards' for three guineas.

[30] **DANTE, with miniatures, fol. MS. SÆC. XIV.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 202, 203, 204 or 205.

Boese, p.104, simply notes: 's. Biadene S. 326-28, Lemm S. 86-87.' None of these manuscripts were considered worth discussing by Brieger, Meiss and Singleton in *Illuminated Manuscripts of the Divine Comedy* (London, 1969).

Douglas recorded a 'Dante bello in foglio _ XV secolo' in his list of 'Maniscritti da me acquistati in Italia' (HA, M12/30/38), written on paper watermarked 1802. This might be the 'Dante foglio 1' recorded on the list of books sent from Venice to London on 22 July 1801 (HA, M12/30/unnumbered).

James Edwards wrote to Douglas from Paris on 11 April 1803 to offer him a number of manuscripts. The first on the list is described as: 'Dante the 3 parts MS. on Vellum with the obituary of a family to which it belonged in 1347. _ about 26 years after the authors decease _ folio'. Edwards states that he had bought this Dante (now Berlin, Hamilton 203) and three other manuscripts from the 'Abbé Tersan' (HA, C4/928/4).

In addition, an undated list (HA, M12/30/10), without a watermarked date, records:

'Dante MS. Cart. sec. XV. 4°.

_____ Fol. sec. XV.'

However, it is not clear whether these items were acquired.

William Clarke appears to have seen a number of volumes of 'Dante' in July 1816. Entry 30 might have been the folio 'Dante miniat^s XIV Siecle'.

- [31] **DANTE Alighieri, *La Commedia*, MS. *on vellum, oblong folio*. SÆC. XV.**

This fine MS. written about the year 1450, contains the entire poem, with the exception of some Cantos of the "*Inferno*." It is ornamented with eighty-eight original designs supposed to be executed by the hand of *Sandro Botticelli*, or some other eminent Florentine artist.

= Berlin, MS Botticelli/ CIM.33 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 201).

A manuscript note pasted inside the front cover provides a brief description of this famous work and ends 'Verificato da mi sottoscritto. Parigi li 27 _ di Aprile 1803. / Gio. Claudio Molini / Librajo'. This clearly records that the manuscript was with the Parisian bookseller Giovanni Claudio Molini (1724-1812) on 27 April 1803, and the 'verificato' strongly suggests that Molini was confirming the contents for a possible purchaser. James Edwards mentions 'calling at Molinis a few days ago' in a partly dated letter to Douglas, written from Mall Pall on 'Monday', possibly in late April or early May 1803 (HA, C4/928/6). Edwards lists three 'pretty' manuscripts, all on vellum and all dated 1394, which he 'spied' at Molini's, but makes no mention of a Dante. Another letter, written to Douglas from Paris, records that Edwards had been in Paris as late as 11 April 1803 and had 'ransack^d. all Paris for something worthy of a place in your Cabinet' (HA, C4/928/4). A third letter from Edwards, dated Pall Mall, 4 June 1803, invoices Douglas for £60 for manuscripts bought in Paris in March 1803 and four shillings and six pence for a box to protect them during transportation (HA, C4/928/8/2). There is no firm evidence that Douglas acquired the Dante in the spring/summer of 1803. At the same time, there is clear evidence that there was a link between Edwards and Molini, and it is possible that the Dante could have been acquired by Edwards and Douglas later that year.

The acquisition would have been particularly attractive, given that a 1472 edition of Dante was sold in London for 120 guineas in December 1801: see *The Times*, 21 December 1801, p.2, col.d.

For the Dante manuscript itself, see P. Dreyer, *Dantes Divina Commedia mit den Illustrationen von Sandro Botticelli* (Zurich, 1986) and H.T. Schulze Altcapenberg, *Sandro Botticelli. The Drawings for Dante's Divine Comedy* (London, 2000).

Quaritch, p.6.

[32] **DANTE col commento di Christophoro Landino, Firenze, 1481, fol. gr.**
(*Vid. p. 40.*)

Entry 32 may be the inferior, second Landino Dante, lot 646, in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's sale of the Hamilton Library on Saturday, 3 May 1884. The superior first lot, lot 645, appears to be the copy that the 10th Duke bought from Henry George Bohn on 13 January 1849. This seems to have come from the 1848 Stowe sale and is described on Bohn's bill, dated 30 January 1849 (HA, Bundle 681), as:

‘Commission from the Stowe Catalogue

Jany 13 Dante La Divina Comedia Col

Commento di Christophoro

Londini, with the 19 plates by

S. Botticelli, very rare fine 50. 10 „

tall & large Copy, purple

morocco, Joints, & gilt Edges

Commⁿ, 5 per cent 2 10 „

£ 53. „ „’.

The two Hamilton copies are described as follows in the 1884 sale catalogue:
645 DANTHE ALEGHERI COMEDIA COL COMENTO DI
CHRISTOPHORO LANDINO. FIRST EDITION OF LANDINO'S
COMMENTARY, very large copy, with initial illuminated in gold and colours,
ornamented with 20 excessively rare engravings (that to Canto XVII being in
two states) by BACCIO BALDINI from the beautiful designs by SANDRO
BOTTICELLI, purple morocco super extra, tooled leather joints, gilt edges, by

C. Lewis folio. Firenze, per Nicholo di Lorenzo della Magna, 1481. *On fly-leaf is written "COLLAT ET COMPLET," but as several leaves are inlaid the lot will be sold not subject to be returned on any account whatever. The rarity of this Edition of Dante especially with 19 engravings (most copies having only two) has been recorded by numerous bibliographers, and it must always be regarded as one of the most desirable acquisitions in any Dante Collection.' Sold to Quaritch for £380.

646 DANTHE ALEGHIERI COMEDIA COL COMENTO DI CHRISTOPHORO LANDINO. FIRST EDITION OF LANDINO'S COMMENTARY, very large and fine copy, with a very elegant border drawn in pen and ink by an Italian Artist, and ornamented with 2 excessively rare engravings, and inimitable facsimiles of the 17 other plates (plate II being in two states) by BACCIO BALDINI from the beautiful designs by SANDRO BOTTICELLI, russia folio. Firenze per Nicholo di Lorenzo della Magna, 1481. * Very slightly wormed, by which a letter here and there is partially destroyed, sold therefore not subject to collation.' Sold to Sotheran for £34.

Douglas would have had many opportunities to acquire a 1481 Dante. There are very brief references to 'Dante's and Landino in HA, M12/30. The only entry with any real information refers to a copy of the 1484 Landino edition, but it is quite possible that one of the one, two or more word entries could refer to a 1481 edition.

R.H. Evans's sale of 'the Valuable Duplicates of a Nobleman's Library' – actually the 2nd Earl Spencer's library – on 10 May 1815 included, as lot 362, under folio volumes: 'Dante, con Commento di Landino, imperfect, MCCCCLXXXI'. The annotated copy of the catalogue in the main series of Evans catalogues in the British Library records that 'Strettel' bought lot 362 for 3 shillings 6 pence. The very low price suggests Lord Spencer's copy was definitely imperfect and was not acquired by Douglas. R.H. Evans's sale of duplicates from the Duke of Devonshire's library on 30 May 1815 included, as lot 269, under folio volumes: 'Dante, con Commento di Landino, Firenze, MCCCCLXXXI'. The annotated copy of the catalogue in the main series of Evans catalogues in the British library records that lot 269 was bought by

'Arch' for one guinea. The same auctioneer's sale of 'the Extensive Library of a Nobleman' – actually the Duke of Grafton's library – on 9 June 1815 included, as lot 612: 'La Comedia di Dante col commento di Christ. Landino, Ed prima di Commento di Land. con tre fig. in rame, fol. Firenze, MCCCCLXXXI.' The fully annotated copies of this catalogue in the British Library record that the Grafton Landino was bought by Dalan or Dulan for £5.

[33] **ECCLESIAE Concilia: CODEX ANTIQ. fol.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 132.

Boese, pp.72-5, as *Collectio canonum et decretorum*, French, early and mid 9th century.

Edwards wrote to Douglas from Paris on 11 April 1803 to offer him a number of manuscripts he had recently purchased. The fourth on the list is described as: 'Concilia &c in the ancient Lombardic Character w^{ch}. ceas^d. about the 8th. Century _ its date may be nearly ascertain^d. as the Councils have been continued in a diff Hand to the 9th Century'. Edwards records that he had bought this manuscript and the previous three manuscripts from the 'Abbé Tersan' (HA, C4/928/4).

Entry 33 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is probably recorded under folio volumes as 'Ecclesiae Concilia' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[34] **ECHECS, Jeu des, MS. on vellum, illuminated, 1375.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 349.

Boese, p.168, simply notes: 'Französisch, s. Lemm S.30.'

William Clarke apparently saw entry 34 in July 1816. It is probably recorded under folio volumes as 'Jeu des Echecs' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[35] **EVANGELI, Concordia degli, 1398, MS. on vellum, the drawings, on a green ground, are elaborately finished; at the end of the volume are the arms**

and genealogy of the family of the Gradenigi.

= Berlin, MS 78 C 18 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 247).

Provenance: Apostolo Zeno (d. 1750) and the library of Santa Maria del Rosario, Venice.

For this manuscript see B. Segall, 'Ein Paduaner kodex von 1399 im Kupferstichkabinett zu Berlin', in *Berliner Museen Berichte aus den Preussischen Kunstsammlungen Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XLIX, 6, 1928, pp.133-6. Boese, p.119, simply notes: 'Italienisch, s. Biadene S. 320, Lemm S.87. Seidlitz Nr. 40 (VI, S. 272-73); Wescher S. 74-76 mit Abb. von Bl. Iv und Ausschnitten aus Bl. 4r und 12v.'

Entry 35/Hamilton 247 is a poem, decorated with representations of the symbols of the Evangelists, and is almost certainly 'l'Evangelario in 3^{za}. rima del Gradenico' mentioned on a torn piece of paper (HA, M12/30/42). This is in the main hoard of letters and lists of manuscripts and books which were acquired, or were being considered for acquisition, in and from Italy in the first years of the nineteenth century.

- [36] **EVANGELIA Quatuor Græcè: a magnificent MS. upon vellum: the subject of each page is designated at the top in letters of gold: it is one of the finest Greek manuscripts extant: bound in blue velvet with bronze-gilt medallions of the birth of our Saviour and the adoration of the Magi on the sides, fol. SÆC. X.**

= Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 244).

Provenance: James Edwards sale, 11 April 1815, lot 821:

'EVANGELIA QUATUOR, GRÆCE, fol. A magnificent Manuscript upon vellum of the Tenth Century, most elaborately executed. The subject of each page is designated at the top in letters of gold. This grand Manuscript is in the highest preservation, and is one of the finest Greek Manuscripts of the Gospels extant. It is supposed to have been one of the Imperial Collection saved at the capture of Constantinople. It would be a most important acquisition to any library public or private; bound in blue velvet, with bronze-gilt Medallions of the birth of Our Saviour and the adoration of the Magi on the sides.'

The best annotated copy of the catalogue of the Edwards sale in the Bodleian Library, Hanson 115, records that this manuscript was sold to 'Payne' or 'Paynes' – there is a flourish or s at the end of the name – for £210 on 11 April 1815. This was almost certainly Payne – a buyer whose name appears elsewhere in Hanson 115 and in other annotated sale catalogues – and this is confirmed by the entry in the annotated copy of the Edwards catalogue in the main series of Evans catalogues in the British Library.

It is not known exactly when between 11 April 1815 and 1818 Douglas acquired the manuscript. Douglas's most expensive purchase at the sale was the psalter (lot 824; no. 58 on this list), at £110 5 shillings, and the Greek Gospels presumably cost him almost twice as much, if not more. *The Gentleman's Magazine* had highlighted the manuscript, by publishing a complete copy of the entry in the sale catalogue, in a review of the forthcoming sale of the 'Bibliotheca Edwardsiana' in March 1815 (Vol. LXXXV, p.255), but the significance of the manuscript may only have become apparent at the time of the sale or indeed shortly thereafter. The importance of the manuscript lies in the fact that the illustrated frontispiece shows the monk Theophanes presenting the manuscript to the Virgin and the accompanying four-line poem in Greek ('Queen of all as Mother of God the Word / The donor as well as the scribe of the book / And worker of the embellishments within in it / Your monk and servant Theophanes') reveals that he was the writer, illuminator and donor of the work. This is an exceptionally rare combination and an almost unique self portrait of a Byzantine scribe and illuminator. Only one other portrait of a Byzantine miniaturist seems to be known and that dates from the late fourteenth or fifteenth century. Somebody must have read the Greek and realized the importance of the combination and the portrait. Douglas must have reacted and secured the Greek Gospels for at least double what he had paid for the psalter. See Sotheby's *Catalogue of the Dyson Perrins Collection, Part I*, London, 9 December 1958, lot 2; H. Buchthal, *An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book of about 1100 A.D.*, Special Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria, 1961; and M.M. Manion, *The Felton Illuminated Manuscripts in the National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne, 2005), pp.22-97.

- [37] **EVANGELIA Quatuor, Latiné, SÆC. X. 4to. A most beautiful MS. the capital letters in gold. Bound in velvet, with an ancient diptych in ivory of the crucifixion on the side.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 248.

Boese, p.119, as French, mid 9th century, written in the script of Tours.

Provenance: James Edwards sale, 11 April 1815, lot 822:

‘EVANGELIA QUATUOR, LATINE, 4to. A most beautiful and perfect Manuscript of the Tenth Century upon vellum, in the finest condition, with all the Capital Letters gilt; bound in velvet, embroidered borders, and an ancient dyptick in ivory of the crucifixion on the side; in a russia leather case.’

Hanson 115, the very well-annotated copy of the Edwards sale in the Bodleian Library, records that this manuscript was sold to the ‘Marq^s Douglas’ for £57 15 shillings. The copy of the catalogue in the main series of Evans catalogues in the British Library also notes that the ‘Marq. of Douglas’ bought lot 822 for the same amount. *The Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LXXXV, April 1815, p.349, published the auction price of £57 15 shillings but not the name of the purchaser.

See L.W. Jones, in *Speculum*, VI, 1931, pp.459-61, and F. Mutherich, ‘Observations sur l’enluminure de Metz’, in *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, July 1963, pp.47-62.

Quaritch, p.4.

- [38] **EVANGELIA Quatuor Latiné, fol. SÆC. XIV.**

This beautiful MS. containing the four gospels in Latin, is written on purple vellum, in capital letters of gold. It appears from the Latin verses prefixed to the book, that it was transmitted to King Henry VIII. by Pope Leo X. when he conferred upon him the title of “Defender of the Faith.”

= New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M. 23 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 251).

Douglas apparently acquired the so-called ‘Golden Gospels’ of Henry VIII in 1800 because he inscribed ‘Douglas & Clydesdale – 1800 ___’ in large assertive handwriting at the front of the manuscript. He wrote over the partly erased

inscription 'Bibliotheca Palmeriana Londini 1747', which referred to an earlier owner, Ralph Palmer of Little Chelsea, grandfather of the first Earl Verney.

The 'Golden Gospels' are written in gold on purple-stained vellum. They were produced in the Benedictine Abbey of St Maximin at Trier during the abbacy of Archbishop Egbert (977-993) by at least sixteen scribes and may have been made for the coronation of Otto III in 983. For further information, see E.A. Lowe, 'The Morgan Golden Gospels: The Date and Origin of the Manuscript', in *Studies in Art and Literature for Belle Da Costa Greene*, edited by Dorothy Miner (Princeton, 1954), pp.266-79.

According to tradition, the 'Golden Gospels' were presented to Henry VIII by Pope Leo X in 1521, when he conferred the title 'Defender of the Faith' upon the king. This is very far from proved, but they certainly belonged to Henry. They bear the inventory number 957. This can be accommodated as a continuation of the inventory of books in the Upper Library at Westminster in 1542, and within the later numbers on items recorded in John Bale's list of books 'ex bibliotheca Anglorum regis', compiled about 1548: see *The Libraries of King Henry VIII*, edited by James P. Carley (London, 2000), pp.176, 171-3 and 250-64. It should be observed that the high, late number suggests that Henry did not receive the manuscript from Pope Leo and that it came from a suppressed institution or some other source.

Douglas owned at least three other manuscripts from Palmer's library. Another Palmer-related manuscript, the early fifteenth-century illuminated register of Furness Abbey, Lancashire (British Library, Add. Ms 33247), is on this list, under entry 62. In addition, Douglas owned Guilelmus Redonensis, *Apparatus super summam de casibus*, English, second half of the 13th century (Berlin, Hamilton 30) and Petrus Comestor, *Historia scholastica* (Berlin, Hamilton 503), late 12th and 14th century. All three are inscribed 'Bibliotheca Palmeriana, Londini 1747'.

The inscription 'Douglas & Clydesdale _ 1800' at the front of the 'Golden Gospels' suggests that Douglas bought this outstanding manuscript and some, if not all, of the other Palmer-related manuscripts in England during the first years of the nineteenth century, and the obvious source would have been the

leading London bookdealer James Edwards. That said, one must view the date '1800' with caution. Douglas was in Italy in 1800 and only became seriously involved with Edwards after his return to Britain in 1801. It is possible that he bought the 'Golden Gospels' and other Palmer-related manuscripts a little later, and subsequently claimed to have acquired this superb 'trophy item' at the very beginning of his career as a great aristocratic collector.

Other Palmer manuscripts not associated with the Hamilton collection include Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS. 179 and Phillipps MS 7401 (= 7792).

Quaritch, p.4, noting that he paid £2,500 for the 'Golden Gospels' in May 1889.

- [39] **FABLIAUX et Poesies des XII. et XIII. Siècles, MS. fol. *Bound in crimson velvet.***

= Berlin, Hamilton 257.

See Boese, p.130, for bibliographical references.

Probably Quaritch, p.4: 'Fabliaux. A folio volume written on vellum. About 1350'.

William Clarke appears to have seen entry 39 in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Fables & Poesies XII Cent.' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [40] **GASTON — Histoire du Comte Gaston de Foix, par Arnaud Squerrer, MS. du XV^e. Siècle. fol.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 606.

Boese, p.289, simply notes: 'Französisch, s. Lemm S. 33.'

Entry 40 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is probably recorded under folio volumes as 'Histoire de Foix MS. 15 Siecle' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [41] **HORATIUS, SÆC. XV. *A most splendid MS. executed for Ferdinand I. King of Naples, folio.***

= Berlin, MS 78 D 14 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 334).

Boese, pp.163-4, as Horatius, opera, Italian, last quarter of the 15th century. Seidlitz, no.51.

Alexander describes the manuscript as written in Naples, c.1490-95, probably by Gianrinaldo Mennio of Sorrento, with illumination attributed to Giovanni Todeschino: see *The Painted Page*, pp.112-4.

Provenance: James Edwards sale, 6 April 1815, lot 263:

‘HORATII OPERA, manuscript of the XV. century, upon vellum, fol. red morocco.

This is a manuscript of the first splendor, both for writing and illumination. It was executed for Ferdinand I. King of Naples, who first introduced printing into his states, and was so ardent a collector of books and manuscripts, that Mr. Roscoe relates, that the Florentines, to conciliate him in a rupture, presented him with some fine manuscripts of the Classics; as the Palles of Florence are seen among the ornaments, this may be one of them.’

The Rev. T.F. Dibdin, the secretary of the Roxburghe Club, bought the manuscript at the Edwards sale. He recorded the purchase in *The Bibliographical Decameron; or, Ten Days Pleasant Discourse upon Illuminated Manuscripts, and Subjects connected with Early Engraving, Typography, and Bibliography* (London, 1817), Vol. I, p.cxiv. Dibdin notes: ‘This Ms. was purchased by me for 125l. at the sale, by auction, of the library of the late Mr. James Edwards.’ Dibdin also believed that it had been presented to King Ferdinand by the Florentines, and that ‘a more lovely folio volume never graced the shelves of a collector.’ He goes on: ‘Having procured it for the mere purpose of causing the fac-simile, here alluded to [an illustration of a capital initial reproduced opposite p.cxiv], to be engraved, I disposed of it afterwards to the Marquis of Douglas for the price at which it had been obtained.’ Annotated copies of the Edwards sale catalogue confirm that Dibdin did, indeed, pay £125 for the manuscript.

Quaritch, p.5.

There is some confusion in the literature about 78 D 14. In *The Painted Page*, Alexander states that it was owned by William Beckford, and was number 163

in his library, while A.N.L. Munby refers to it as it as the Hours of Ferdinand I, King of Naples (*Connoisseurs and Medieval Miniatures 1750-1850* (Oxford, 1972), p.75).

- [42] **HUON — Le Roman du Loyal Comte Huon escrit en 1341, fol. MS. on vellum, with miniature paintings on every page.**

= Berlin, MS 78 D 8 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 337).

Hamilton 337 is described in Sotheby's 1882 *Catalogue of Hamilton Manuscripts* as:

‘Huon. Le Roman du Loyal Comte Huon (en Vers)

Splendid Manuscript on Vellum (15 by 10½ inches), written in 2 columns and ornamented with 76 curious Paintings illustrating the Romance, heightened with gold and silver, vellum, fol. SAEC. XIV’.

Quaritch, p.4: ‘Huon. Roman du loiaus Quens Huon (in French verse). MS. on vellum, with miniatures and borders. Large folio. Written in Italy by Nicolas Trombeor in 1341’.

Boese, p.164, simply notes: ‘Französisch, s. Lemm S. 29. Seidlitz Nr. 26 (VI, S. 268), Wescher S. 68-70 mit Abb. von Bl. 4r; Olschki S. 38-39 und Taf. XLIV (Abb. von Bl. 7v unt. Hälfte).’

- [43] **JOSEPHUS, Latiné, MS. with miniature paintings, 2 vols. fol.**

= New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.533, M.534 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 361).

These two volumes of *Antiquitates Judaicae* and *De bello Judaico* were written and illuminated in Dijon, in France, in the late thirteenth century and come from a Carthusian monastery in Dijon. They were offered to Douglas by the bookseller James Edwards in a letter written from Paris on 11 April 1803. Edwards describes them as: ‘Josephi Historia &c MS. on Vell^m 2 vols very large folio wth. miniatures in high preservation about the 14th Century’. He mentions that ‘the Josephus I bo^t. of a Books^r. & gave him some other Books in Exchange & part in money’ (HA, C4/928/4).

A list of books and manuscripts on paper with the watermarked date 1817, which includes titles published in 1817, 1818 and 1819, records ‘Josephe Antiquites Juives XIII Siecle (imperf.)’ under ‘MSSⁱ [...] Folio’. ‘Josephi

Historia 2 vol.' is recorded, under folio volumes, on another list, which is on paper without a watermarked date but is annotated as part of William Clarke's listing of July 1816. Both lists are with the July 1816 list in Hamilton Town House Library.

Quaritch, p.4.

- [44] **KORAN, The — *A most superb MS. enriched with brilliant illuminations: it was a present from Maulowa Mohammed Achmed to Nijul al Dowlah, folio, in oriental binding.***

= Berlin, Hamilton 378.

Provenance: James Edwards sale, 11 April 1815, lot 798:

'THE KORAN OF MOHAMMED written in the grandest and boldest of Oriental Characters, enriched throughout with brilliant illuminations. A most splendid Manuscript in the highest preservation. It was a present from Maulowa Mohammed Achmed to Nijul al Dowlah, fol. with a blue morocco case.'

Hanson 115, the well-annotated catalogue of the Edwards sale in the Bodleian Library, records that the Koran was sold to 'Mq^s Douglas' for £52 10 shillings. The copy of the Edwards catalogue in the main series of Evans catalogues in the British Library garbles the listing of lots 792 to 803 and records that 'Marq. of Douglas' paid £52 10 shillings for lot 797, rather than 798.

Sotheby's catalogue of the Hamilton manuscripts describes Hamilton 378 as:

'Koran in Arabic

Superb Manuscript (16 by 10 inches), beautifully written within borders of gold and very tastefully and extensively ornamented with gorgeous golden decorations, Oriental morocco binding, doublé with red leather, gilt edges, in blue morocco case folio

* This magnificent Manuscript, probably one of the finest ever offered for sale, was a present from Nijieb al Dowlah the famous General, through Maulowee Mohammed Ahmed.'

Boese, p.180, simply notes: 'Arabisch, s. Ahlwardt Nr. 10260, 10222, 10221, 10247, 10246 (Hss-verz. XXI, S. 583, 573, 580).'

Entry 40 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Koran (Edwards)' on a list which the 10th Duke of

Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [45] **LIVIVS, 1416, fol.** *A most beautiful MS. the first leaf elegantly ornamented, and the initial letters illuminated.*

= Berlin, Hamilton 402.

Boese, p.192, as *Livius, ab urbe condita libri I-X*, Italian (Tuscany), 1416.

Provenance: 'Ex Manuscriptis Bibliothecae clarissime Familiae Purpureae a Pinerolio'.

Quaritch, p.5: 'Livius. MS. on vellum, with a small miniature to each book. Folio. Written at Florence in 1416'.

Douglas recorded a 'Tito Livio una traduzione in foglio del XV secolo. 8^{vo}' on his list of 'Maniscripti da me acquistati in Italia' (HA, M12/30/38), written on paper watermarked 1802, but this is not a good 'match': entry 45 is not a 'translation' and is folio, not octavo.

William Clarke appears to have seen entry 45 in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Livius Codex blue mor. 1416' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [46] **LUCANUS, Codex Antiquissimus, small folio.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 414?

Berlin, Hamilton 414, is Lucanus, *De bello civili libri X*, and is Italian, 13th century, with the arms of Cardinal Romualdo Braschi-Onesti (1753-1817), who was a cardinal from 1786 (see Boese, p.195).

The provenance suggests that Douglas acquired Berlin, Hamilton 414, after the cardinal's death. He acquired other Braschi-related items and either bought them during his visits to Italy or obtained them through his agents and friends. If entry 46 is Berlin, Hamilton 414, Douglas must have acquired it between 1817 and 1819. However, William Clarke appears to have seen a folio 'Lucanus' belonging to Douglas in July 1816. It is recorded on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk –

July 1816'. The list is on paper watermarked with the date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [47] **MAYCOES et Ypocras, le Livre de, 4to. MS. with numerous botanical drawings.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 407.

Boese, pp.193-4, as a 'Collection of Medical Writings', French, about 1400, with a good description and a reference to Julius Schuster's article 'Secreta Salernitana und Gart der Gesundheit: Eine Studie zur Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und Medizin des Mittelalters', in *Mittelalterliche Handschriften. Paläographische, Kunsthistorische, Literarische und Bibliotheksgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Festgabe zum 60. Geburtstag von Hermann Degering*, ed. Alois Bömer and Joachim Kirchner (Hildesheim and New York, 1973), pp.203-37.

Entry 47 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is probably recorded under folio volumes as 'Le Livre de Maygoes et Ypocras' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [48] **MISSAL, a superb, executed for the Cardinal JULIUS de MEDICIS, afterwards POPE CLEMENT VII. Painted in a most masterly style, and bordered with figures of birds, flowers, &c. in the most perfect preservation. The arms of the Cardinal Julius appear at the bottom of each page, and in several of the initial letters. On the last leaf is the following inscription: —**

Sedente Leone X. Pont. Maximo

Ludouicus Vicentinus scribebat Romæ

An. Sal. M D X X.

= Berlin, MS 78 D 17 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 443).

The colophon on folio 404v records that the Missal of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici was written in Rome by 'Ludovicus Vicentinus', now known as Lodovico Arrighi, in 1520. The main illuminator can be identified stylistically as Matteo da Milano, who worked in Ferrara and ended up in Rome, while the historiated initials and borders on a number of pages appear to be by Giovanni

Battista Cavalletto. For a brief recent review of the manuscript, see *The Painted Page*, p.239. The missal is described by Wescher, pp.104-7, and discussed by Sheryl E. Reiss, 'Cardinal Giulio de' Medici's 1520 Berlin Missal and other works by Matteo da Milano', in *Jahrbuch-Berliner Museen*, 1991, XXXIII, pp.107-28.

It would seem likely that the missal was removed from the Vatican in 1798, during the looting by the French and others, and became available to Douglas through associates in Italy or via Edwards or the London auction-houses.

Entry 48 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is probably described, under folio volumes, as 'Missal[e or l] Medici fam.' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

Quaritch, p.5.

- [49] **MISSALE Romanum, 4to. With 29 large and upwards of 80 small miniatures; the borders contain numerous figures, many of which are singularly grotesque.**

This beautiful Missal belonged to Charles of Lorraine, Duke of Guise; it is in old ornamented binding, with the arms of Lorraine impressed on the sides.

= Berlin, Hamilton 313 = Chantilly, Ms. 64 (formerly Chantilly, Ms. 1671) Seidlitz, no.132.

Quaritch, p.5: 'Heures du Duc de Guise. MS. on vellum, with 29 full-page miniatures and 408 splendid borders. 4to. About 1440. The Duc de Guise of Henri III's time was the owner from whom the book takes its name.'

Boese gives the provenance of entry 49 as Berlin, Hamilton 313 = sold 1889, lot 67 = Lord Aldenham's collection = Aldenham sale, 22 March 1937, lot 177 = ?. However, the *Hours of François de Guise* were lot 70 in the 1889 sale and were acquired by the duc d'Aumale (the founder of the Musée Condé) shortly after the sale, along with the famous illuminated translation of Diodorus Siculus made for Francis I of France, which had been owned by William Beckford. The *Hours of François de Guise* are described in *Chantilly, Musée*

Condé, Le Cabinet des Livres, Manuscrits (Paris, 1900), Vol. I, pp.58-9, no.64, and Baron Jacques Meurgey de Turpigny, *Les Principaux Manuscrits à Peintures du Musée Condé à Chantilly* (Paris, 1930), pp.52-4, no.25, and illustrated on pl.XXXIVB. Meurgey notes (*ibid.*, p.54): 'On lit à la garde: "Ce volume appartenait à Charles de Lorraine, duc de Guise, gouverneur et lieutenant général pour le Roy de Provence, amiral des mers du Levant." C'est le fils du Balafré. Le manuscrit est plus vieux de deux cents ans environ.'

Unfortunately, there are no indications of the original ownership, but the *Hours* were in the possession of François de Lorraine, duc de Guise, in the sixteenth century when they were re-bound, and his arms appear on the cover and opening folio.

A note about items written by Douglas on paper watermarked 'RUSE & TURNERS / 1815.' (HA, M12/30/9) refers to this manuscript as 'Recueil de prieres mSS sur velin contenant 30 grands miniat et environ 100 petites et plus de 200 sujets satyriques contre la cour de Rome – provient de la bibliotheque de Charles de Loraine', and indicates that the *Hours de François de Guise* were acquired about 1815-16.

William Clarke appears to have seen the *Hours* in July 1816. They are recorded under folio volumes as 'Missal[e or l] Guise in a Case' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

Millard Meiss has examined the *Hours*, which measure 240 x 175 mm. and have 204 folios and 29 miniatures, and has shown that they are by a number of illuminators associated with the Boucicaut Master and were produced around 1420. Only one miniature, the *Annunciation*, on f.25, is by a close follower of the Boucicaut Master. Folios 47-67, 178v and 180v-193 are by the Master of the Guise Hours, who takes his name from this manuscript and collaborated with the Boucicaut, Cité des Dames and Egerton Masters in the second decade of the fifteenth century. The Master of Egerton 1070, who worked with the atelier of the Boucicaut Master, was responsible for f.103. See Meiss, *French Painting in the Time of Jean de Berry. The Boucicaut Master* (London, 1968),

p.81 and fig.132, and *The Limbourgs and their Contemporaries* (London, 1974), I, pp.384-5 and 389.

[50] **MISSEL d'Angiers, MS. on vellum, with illuminations.**

= Princeton, University Library, Robert Garrett Collection Ms. 40 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 445).

Seidlitz, no.80; Seymour De Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1935), I, p.871, no.40.

De Ricci simply notes: 'Missale. Vel. (ca. 1450), 274 ff. (38 x 27 cm.). Written in France. 24 large miniat., including portraits of the Dukes of Brittany. Blue mor. by Bozérien, lettered "Missel d'Angiers".' At the start of his listing of provenance he states 'Written for the Carmelites of Nantes' and follows this with 'Duke of Hamilton coll.' and the manuscript's later ownership. It is safe to identify entry 50 as the Garrett manuscript because the other main fifteenth-century Book of Hours 'à l'usage de Angers' in the Hamilton collection, the Hours formerly owned by Cardinal de Soubise and his brother Charles de Rohan, was in William Beckford's possession by 1819 and is listed in Beckford inventories as number 70. This became Hamilton 295 and is now in a private collection. It is Hamilton 295 that Quaritch refers to on page 5 of his review of the Hamilton collection: 'Heures à l'usage d'Angers. MS. on vellum, with 62 miniatures. 4to. About 1450. A splendidly illuminated book from the Durfé and Soubise libraries.'

Entry 50 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is probably recorded under folio volumes as 'Missel d'Angiers' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[51] **MODUS (Le Roy) sur la Venerie et des Gens de divers Etats. MS. de l'an 1380, tres precieux, conten. 78 miniatures.**

= Berlin, MS 78 C 6 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 447).

Quaritch, p.6: 'Le Roy Modus. MS. on vellum, with numerous miniatures of Burgundian style. Folio. About 1440'.

Boese, p.215, simply notes: 'Französisch mit Miniaturen, s. Seidlitz Nr. 86 (VII, S. 297); Wescher S. 146-147; Olschki S. 40 und Taf. XLVIIa (Abb. von Bl. 90v).'

Entry 51 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Le Roy Modus sur la Venerie MS. de 1380' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[52] **MORUKKA, a most splendid oriental MS. fol.**

= Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, I. 4600 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 448).

The main hoard of letters and lists relating to manuscripts in HA, M12/30, contains an undated 'Notizie di Mss. Orientali del Cittadino Luigi Bossi' (M12/30/49) with details of eleven Arabic or Arabic-related manuscripts. There is sufficient information about these items to be able to tell if one of them is the 'Morukka', once more has been found out about this item.

Entry 52 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is probably recorded under folio volumes as 'Morukka' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[53] **NICEPHORI Gregoræ quædam Inedita, fol. A *fine MS. on stout oriental paper.***

= Berlin, Hamilton 453.

Boese, p.217, simply notes: 'Griechisch, s. De Boor Nr. 405 (Hss-verz. XI, S. 233-34).'

William Clarke appears to have seen entry 53 in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Niceph. Greg. quædam inedita' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[54] **PAULI (S.) Epistolæ — A *very ancient Greek MS, on cotton paper, folio.***

= Berlin, Hamilton 484.

Boese, p.228, simply notes: '484. (Or.) Ham. 484: Koptisch (Pauli epistolae).'

Edwards wrote to Douglas from Paris on 11 April 1803, offering him a number of manuscripts. The third on the list was described as 'S^t. Pauls Epistles MS. on Eastern pap^r. in Coptic and Arabic thick folio'. Edwards states that he had bought this manuscript and three others from the 'Abbé Tersan' (HA, C4/928/4).

It is worth noting that Pisani offered Douglas 'Epistole S Pauli – Saeculi XIII' in a letter dated Venice, 6 9bre [i.e. November] 1801 (HA, C4/928/1). Douglas was also offered 'Pauli Epistolae. Fol. S. XIII. Opus rarum' by the Augsburg bookseller Franz Anton Veith in 1802/3 but chose other items from Veith's list (HA, C4/928/9/4 and C4/928/7/1).

Entry 54 appears to have been seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is probably recorded under folio volumes as the 'Epistolæ D. Pauli', 'Pauli Epistolæ Gr.' or 'Epistole di S. Paulo' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library. The 1816 list also records a '4^o' 'S. Paulini Epistolæ'.

[55] **PÈLERINAGE, Le, de la Vie Humaine, avec belles miniatures; MS. du XV^e. Siècle, fol.**

= Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia MS 241/2 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 286).

Although there were two such manuscripts in the Hamilton collection, Hamilton 285 and 286, only 286 has 'belles miniatures'. Hamilton 286/number 55 contains the trilogy of allegorical poems, *Le Pèlerinage de la vie humaine* (which follows the first version written in 1330) and the sequels, *Le Pèlerinage de l'âme* and *Le Pèlerinage de Jesus-Christ*, by the monk Guillaume de Deguileville. It contains 284 pen-and-wash drawings – an unusually high number – and is also unusual in that it carefully illustrates some of the more doctrinal allegorical passages of the third pilgrimage. This suggests that it was probably copied from one of the Paris manuscripts of all three poems completed at the end of the fourteenth century.

A colophon on folio 204, recto and verso, records that the manuscript was written in 1437 by the scribe Frommentin for René I, duc d'Anjou, as a gift to Louis Martel, seigneur d'Angierville, his councillor and chamberlain. The miniatures were executed by at least three illuminators working at Angers. The artist responsible for the first quire was the best of three. Then comes the work of a man with a lively though sometimes rough drawing style, who executed most of the remaining miniatures. Finally, there is a cruder hand, who left parts of the final poem, *Le Pèlerinage de Jesus-Christ*, unfinished.

For further information on number 55 see Michael Camille's entry in the exhibition catalogue *Leaves of Gold. Manuscript Illumination from Philadelphia Collections*, edited by James R. Tanis with the assistance of Jennifer A. Thompson (Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2001), pp.205-7, no.71 (on which the above note is based). On page 207 it is incorrectly stated that the manuscript was owned by William Beckford and passed to the 10th Duke of Hamilton after Beckford's death in 1844. Clarke's entry shows that René I's commission of the de Deguileville manuscript was owned by the future 10th Duke of Hamilton by at least 1818/19.

William Clarke apparently saw entry 55 in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Pelerinage de la Vie Humaine' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

Quaritch, p.5: 'Guillaume de Deguileville. Pelerinage de la Vie Humaine. MS. on vellum, with 281 miniatures. Folio. 1437. Written for Louys Martel, Seigneur d'Angieville'.

Seidlitz, no. 79.

- [56] **PLINII Historia Naturalis, SÆC. XI. fol. A fine MS. bound in crimson velvet.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 517.

Boese, pp.248-9, as *Plinius, Naturalis historiae libri I-XXXI*, French, 11th century.

Boese notes (p.248): 'Die Herkunft der Hs aus S. Benigne in Dijon (= Ms. 230 nach dem Inventar bei Montfaucon, Bibl. Bibliothecarum II, S. 1287C).'

On the manuscript itself, see A.J. Dunston, in *Scriptorium*, VII, 1953, pp.210-8. Quaritch, p.4. Quaritch describes the manuscript as large folio, dated 993.

[57] **PRUDENTIUS, MS. *super pergam.* SÆC. X.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 542.

Boese, pp.261-2, as *Prudentius, carmina*, St. Gallen, late 9th century.

Provenance: James Edwards sale, 6 April 1815, lot 310:

'PRUDENTIUS, 4to. Manuscript of the X. Century upon vellum (formerly belonging to the Monastery of St. Gall), green morocco'.

Hanson 115, the well-annotated catalogue of the Edwards sale in the Bodleian Library, records that this manuscript was sold to 'Mq^s Douglas' for £23 2 shillings. It also notes that the last leaf was imperfect. The copy of the catalogue in the main series of Evans catalogues in the British library confirms the purchase, recording that the 'Marq. of Douglas' bought lot 310 for £23 2 shillings.

[58] **PSALTERIUM Græco-Latinum, MS. *super pergam.***

In this curious MS. which was written in the ninth century, the Greek is exhibited in Roman characters, by which means we learn the exact pronunciation of the Greek language as it was spoken, at that period, in the Byzantine empire.

= Berlin, Hamilton 552.

Boese, pp.269-70, as *Psalterium Graeco-latinum cum Canticis*, Milan, second half of the 9th century.

Provenance: James Edwards sale, 11 April 1815, lot 824:

'PSALTERIUM GRÆCO-LATINUM, fol. A Manuscript of the Ninth Century upon vellum, of the first curiosity and importance, written in a very fair and legible hand with this peculiarity, the Greek is written in Roman characters, by which means we elicit the curious and interesting knowledge of the exact pronunciation of the Greek language, as spoken at that period when the Byzantine Empire was in its literary glory.

A very learned antiquary has given the following illustration of the writing of the first page tending to fix the period when the Manuscript must have been written:

Kyrie Boeithi ton doulon sou

Cymeon Monachous Presbiterou, &c. &c.

Nota, que je trouve ce Pierre 2. Abbé de l'Abbaye de S. Ambroise de Milan depuis l'an 856 sous Louis II (après l'Abbé André 851) jusqu'en l'année 897. C'est la dernière date des Diplomes de l'Abbaye de S. Ambroise de Milan, lesquels commencent en l'année 721 sous le Roi des Lombards Luitprand – dans le “Codice Diplomatico Sant Ambrozio delle Carte dell' Ottavo e Nono Secolo de F. Angelo Fumagalli.” Milano, 1805. 4to.'

Hanson 115, the well-annotated copy of the Edwards sale catalogue in the Bodleian Library, records that 'Marq^s Douglas' bought the psalter for £110 5 shillings. The copy of the Edward catalogue in the main series of Evans catalogues in the British Library agrees, noting that the 'Marq. of Douglas' paid £110 5 shillings for lot 824. Another copy of the Edwards catalogue in the Bodleian, Bod 2593 e. 65 (3), which has some buyers' names, states that lot 824 was sold to the 'Marq. of Douglas' for £110 11 shillings. Other less well-annotated copies give the same price as Hanson 115: £110 5 shillings.

The Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LXXXV, April 1815, p.349, noted that the psalter had been bought by the Marquis of Douglas: 'Psalterium Graeco-Latinum, a MS. of the Ninth Century, on Vellum, (bought by Marquis DOUGLAS).....110l. 5s.'

On the manuscript itself, see N. A. Bees, 'Zum Psalter 552 der Hamilton-Sammlung', *Byzantinisch-Neugriechisch Jahrbucher*, XII, 1936, pp.119-28.

Quaritch, p.4.

[59] **PSALTERIUM, S^{ae}. Salabergæ Fundatricis et primæ Abbatissæ hujus monasterii S^l. Joannis Laudunensis, (ob. anno X^{ti}. 655,) folio.**

The writing, and particularly the initial letters, are singularly curious: the book is quoted, and a *fac-simile* of it given, in “*Mabillon de Re Diplomatica*,” fol. p. 358.

= Berlin, Hamilton 553.

This Roman psalter is written in Anglo-Saxon majuscule and may have Echternach connections; E.A. Lowe believed it was produced in Northumbria in the first half of the eighth century. It was owned by the monastery of St John, Laon, during the Middle Ages and was associated with the foundress, Salaberga, in a seventeenth-century inscription on Iiv.

For more information and illustrations, see Boese, pp.270-1; J.J.G. Alexander, *A Survey of Manuscripts Illuminated in the British Isles, Volume One: Insular Manuscripts from the 6th to the 9th Century* (London, 1978), p.45 and ill. 62-5 (as 'First half of 8th century. Northumbria.');

and the colour microfiche *Psalterium Salabergae: Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Ms. Hamilt. 553*, with introduction and codicological description by Dáibhi Ó. Cróinín (Munich, 1994).

Quaritch, p.4.

William Clarke apparently saw entry 59 in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Psalterium MS. S. Salebergæ sec. VII' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [60] **PTOLOMÆI (Al. Claud.) Catalogus fixarum stellarum, fol. MS. on vellum, with curious paintings.**

= Berlin, MS 78 D 12 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 556).

Boese, p.273, as *Ptolemai tabulae stellarum fixarum*, North Italian, second half of the 14th century.

Provenance: Boese notes: 'Auf dem Vorderdeckel ob. kleines Schildchen (der Piemonteser Gruppe) mit Nummer: 140. Im Hinterdeckel ob. N. 68. L. 40.; die Nummer: 68 auch auf einem Papierschildchen auf dem Rücken ob. Bl. 1r unt. Mitte ein grösserer ovaler Stempel ausradiert.'

Seidlitz, no. 46; Wescher, pp.80-3 (illus.).

- [61] **REGIME des Princes translate de latin en françois a la requeste de treshault et puissant prince mon tres redoubte seigneur Mons. le Comte d'Angoulesme Charles premier de ce nom.**

A beautiful MS. in long lines, with a fine illumination representing the translator presenting his book to the king. folio, in old morocco binding, covered with fleurs de lis.

= Berlin, Hamilton 629 = sold 1889, lot 49 (to Quaritch) = ?

Sotheby's 1882 *Catalogue of the Hamilton Manuscripts* describes entry 61/Hamilton 629 as:

Thomas d'Acquin Livre du Regime des Princes. Cy commence le Livre du regime des Princes translate de Latin en Francois a la requeste de treshault et puissant prince mon tresredoute seigneur Mons. le Comte Dangolesme Charles premier de ce Nom (par Octavien de Saint Gelais Evesque d'Angolesme) Beautiful Manuscript on Vellum (13¼ by 8¾ inches) having a Very Fine Illumination representing the Translator presenting his Work to his Patron the Comte d'Angouleme with 3 other Elegant Miniatures and numerous Capital Letters all exquisitely illuminated in gold and colours by a French Artist, richly bound in olive morocco, covered with fleur-de-lis stamped in gold folio. SAEC XV'.

Quaritch, p.6: 'Thomas d'Acquin, Regime des Princes, traduit par Charles de St. Gelais. MS. on vellum, with 4 very fine miniatures. Folio. Written for Charles Duc d'Angouleme. About 1480'.

Seidlitz, no.92.

Entry 61 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is probably recorded under folio volumes as 'Regime des Princes eleg b^d. fleurs de lys' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

Entry 61 is probably a manuscript of Gilles de Rome, *Le régime des Princes*, translated by Laurent de Premierfait for Charles, comte d'Angoulesme.

- [62] **REGISTRUM Sanctæ Mariæ Furnesii, per Abbate Guill. Dalton, fol. A**
most perfect MS. written about the year 1412: the capital letters are ornamented with the portraits of some of our kings: their arms also and those of the nobility, form embellishments to many of the initial letters.

= British Library, Add. Ms 33247 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 269).

In 1889 this was described as:

“Secunda Pars Registri cartarum et scriptorem Monasterii sancte Marie de Furnesio [Furness Abbey, co. Lancaster], Anno Domini M^{mo} cccc^{mo} xij^{mo}, per uenerabilem patrem in Christo dominum Willemum de Daltoñ, Abbatem huius dicti Monasterii, digesti, Anno regiminis sui vij^{mo}”. [...] Vellum; ff. 227. With illuminated initial letters, in many of which are introduced the arms of benefactors or portrait heads. In the initial of the Table is painted the figure of John Stell engaged in writing on a scroll the verse: “Stella, parens solis, John Stell rege, munere prosis”; and in the lower margin of f. 11b there is an outline drawing of the same, holding a scroll inscribed with the same words. On a fly-leaf at the end, f. 227, is a list of payments made from various places towards the moiety of a tenth granted by the province of York, 1478. “Bibliotheca Palmeriana, Londini, 1747,” is written on a fly-leaf at the beginning; and on the cover is the bookplate of Verney. Large Folio’ (*Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the years MDCCCLXXXII-MDCCCLXXXVII* (London, 1889), p.282).

This manuscript is of particular interest because it shares the same later provenance – Ralph Palmer/Verney family – as the ‘Golden Gospels’, which Douglas apparently acquired in 1800 (see entry 38). It is possible that the Furness Abbey manuscript came from the same source and was also acquired in or around 1800. The manuscript would have interested Douglas because he was raised near Lancaster and Furness was one of the most important ‘local’ medieval abbeys and monasteries.

Entry 63 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as ‘Registrum S. Mar. Furnes.’ on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated ‘List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816’. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [63] **RENÉ d’Anjou — Traité d’une Ame Devote par le Roi René d’Anjou, Roi de Sicile; fait en 1455, MS. on vellum, with miniature paintings, fol.**
= Berlin, MS 78 C 5 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 566).

Boese, p.279, simply notes: 'Französisch, s. Lemm S. 31. Seidlitz Nr. 89 (VII, S. 298-99). Wescher S. 147-49 mit 2 Abb. Olschki S. 40-41 und Taf. XLVIIb.'

Entry 63 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Traité d'une Ame devote par le Roi René d'Anjou' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [64] **RHETORIQUE, La, des Dieux; ou Principes de Musique. *Ornamented with the original drawings of Bosse, Nanteuil, and Le Sueur, oblong 4to. bound in black shagreen, with silver gilt ornaments.***

From the collection of Girardot de Préfond.

**(See a very elaborate description of this curious MS. in
De Bure Bibliographie, No. 2048.)**

= Berlin, MS 78 C 12 (formerly Berlin, Hamilton 142).

Boese, p.78, simply notes: 'Französisch, s. Lemm S. 26. Seidlitz Nr. 150 (VIII, S. 106-7); Wescher S. 238-39 mit Abb. von S. 175.'

- [65] **ROMAN de la Rose, MS. *with illuminations, 4to. apparently coeval with J. de Meun.***

= Berlin, Hamilton 576 = sold 1887 = ?

Sotheby's 1882 *Catalogue of the Hamilton Manuscripts* describes entry 65/Hamilton 576 as:

'Romant de la Rose ou tout L'Art d[']Amours est Enclose (par Guillaume de Louis et Jean de Meun)

Magnificent Manuscript (8½ by 6 inches), apparently written coeval with Jean de Meun, one of the authors, ornamented with superb borders, composed of flowers, birds, fruit, nondescripts, &c. and exquisitely decorated with 2 full-page paintings and 100 elegant Miniatures, and numerous capitals beautifully illuminated in gold and colours, black morocco, gilt edges, by Clovis Eve, lettered on sides

Cest	Ou la
Ler	Rtd
Oman	Amou

TDE	Res
La Ro	Tencl
Use	Ose
	Small 4to. SAEC. XIV'.

Quaritch, p.5.

Boese, p.283; Seidlitz, no.100.

Entry 65 appears to have been seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is probably recorded under '4º' as 'Roman de la Rose _ moroc.' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

R.H. Evans's sale of a 'Valuable Library' on 4 May 1816 included, as lot 328, under quarto volumes: 'Roman de la Rose, AN ANTIENT MANUSCRIPT UPON VELLUM, with illuminations, blue morocco.' The copy of the catalogue in the main series of Evans catalogues in the British Library records that lot 328 was bought by 'Balfour' for £1 5 shillings.

The 1884 Hamilton Library sale included, as lot 1713: 'ROMAN DE LA ROSE, par Guillaume de Lorris et Jehan de Meung. Nouvelle Edition avec Glossaire par M. Méon, 4 vol. portrait and plates, a beautiful specimen of Petit's binding in brown morocco super extra, the sides elegantly ornamented with a bunch of roses worked in gold, gilt edges. Paris, 1814.'

- [66] **RONSARD, (Pierre) La Franciade Poeme; *the first book is written in gold letters on purple vellum; the second in silver letters on dark green vellum, dated 1570.***

= Berlin, Hamilton 580.

Boese, p.283, simply notes: 'Französisch, s. Lemm S. 32. Boeckler, Schöne Hss, S. 122-23.'

Entry 66 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is probably recorded under folio volumes as 'La Franciade de Ronsard' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[67] **SALLUSTIUS, fol. ED. PR. Venet. (V. de Spira) 1470.**

Probably lot 1761 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's sale of the Hamilton Library on Thursday, 8 May 1884: '1761 SALLUSTII BELLUM CATILINARIUM ET BELLUM JURGURTHINUM, FIRST EDITION, fine large copy, with initial letters illuminated in gold and colours, vellum, folio, (Venetiis, Vindelinius de Spira), 1470. * Extremely rare. Sir Mark Syke's copy sold for £20. 10s.' Sold to Quaritch for £18.

Vindelinius finished his brother, Johannes de Spira's third book, Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, and published nine other books in 1470: see Victor Scholderer, 'Printing at Venice to the End of 1481', *Library*, N.S., V, 1924, p.131.

William Clarke apparently saw entry 67 in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Sallustius 1470' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r. Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[68] **STATIUS, CODEX ANT. SÆC. XI. fol.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 609.

Boese, pp.291-2, as Statius, *Thebaidos libri XII*, Italian, 13th and 15th century.

R.H. Evans's sale of the Duke of Grafton's library (which was referred to as 'the Extensive Library of a Nobleman') on 9 June 1815 included, as lot 582: 'Statius, MS. 8vo. Memb. vide Not. MS. C. R.' [i.e. Corio Russico]. The fully annotated copy of the sale catalogue in the British Library, 123. f. 19, has a long dash either side of this entry, indicating that the manuscript was not sold at the auction. The fact that lot 582 is described as octavo, rather than folio, should mean that it cannot be synonymous with the Hamilton manuscript.

A 'Codex membranaceus in quo continentur Statii Thebaidos Libri XII. Saec. XIV.' was included in the auction of a 'superlatively splendid and extensive Library, consigned from the Continent', which was sold by Leigh and Sotheby on 28 May 1816, as lot 3439. Leigh and Sotheby were actually selling the library of Charles-Maurice, Prince de Talleyrand, the former Grand Chamberlain and Vice-Grand Elector of the Emperor Napoleon. Talleyrand had formed the first government under the restored Bourbons but had failed to get

Louis XVIII's complete public backing over the peace treaty with the Allies and been obliged to resign. Despite having subsequently been made Grand Chamberlain, Talleyrand publicly criticized the new government, and particularly the King's favourite, Decazes, at the British Embassy in November 1815. For this offence he was banished from court. Although the ban was revoked the following February, Talleyrand decided to withdraw to his estates and left Paris for Valençy in April 1816. It is not known whether Douglas knew that Leigh and Sotheby were selling Talleyrand's library, or the source of this particular manuscript. As an admirer of Napoleon, he would have had mixed feelings about acquiring anything that had been owned by the turncoat Talleyrand.

William Clarke may have seen entry 68 in July 1816. It may be recorded under folio volumes as 'Statius' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[69] **TABLE Ronde, Chevaliers de la; *a beautiful MS. the pages embellished with elegant borders, fol.***

This is probably Hamilton 581 (now Berlin, Ham. 581), which is described in Sotheby's 1882 catalogue of the Hamilton manuscripts as:

'Roumans de Branor le viel Chevalier et du Roy Melyadus. et du Roy Artus et Compagnons de la Table Ronde et de Galehot le Brun et Plusieurs Aultres (traduit par Rustines de Pise)

Manuscript on Vellum (19 by 13½ inches), finely written and ornamented with 34 beautiful floriated Borders, 34 Initial Letters and numerous Capitals, all finely illuminated in gold and colours, red morocco, gilt edges, by Derome royal folio. SAEC. XV'.

The alternative is Hamilton 49 (now Berlin, Ham. 49), which was catalogued by Sotheby's in 1882 as:

'Artus, Lancelot de Lac et Chevaliers du Table Ronde. Roman de Chevalerie Manuscript on Vellum (12 by 8¼ inches), written in double columns in old French and ornamented with 17 rude Paintings of Processions, Tournaments, Battles, &c. and 6 historiated initials in colour, half bound folio. SAEC. XIII'.

Referring to Hamilton 581 Boese simply notes (p.283): 'Französisch, s. Lemm, S. 33.'

Leopoldo Cicognara mentions 'Codice dei Cavalieri della Tavola Rotonda' in a letter written to Douglas that is dated 3 9bre [i.e. November] 18[? 1]7 (HA, Bundle 1002) and this might indicate a recent purchase or the presence of entry 69 in Douglas's collection by 1817.

[70] **THEOCRITUS Hesiodus, &c. Gr. fol. Venet. Aldus, 1495.**

Probably lot 1958 in Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's sale of the Hamilton Library on Friday, 9 May 1884: '1958 THEOCRITUS, CATO, THEOGNIS, PYTHAGORAS, PHOCYLIDES, SIBYLLAE ET HESIODUS, Graece, fine copy in pigskin, leather joints, bevelled boards in the old style, by C. Meyer folio. Venetiis, Aldus, 1495'. Sold to Quaritch for 3 guineas.

William Clarke apparently saw entry 70 in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Theocritus Aldus E.P. 1495' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

R.H. Evans's sale of duplicates from the Duke of Devonshire's library on 2 June 1815 included, as lot 760, under folio volumes: 'Theocritus, Hesiodus, Theognis, et alii, Græce. First edition, red morocco. Ven. Aldus, MCCCCXCV'. According to the annotated catalogue in the main series of Evans catalogues in the British Library, lot 760 was bought by Lloyd for £6.

[71] **TRIOMPHE d'Honneur et d'Amour, 4to. with two fine miniature paintings: in old ornamented binding.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 673 = sold 1889, lot 53 (to Goldschmidt) = ?

Sotheby's 1882 *Catalogue of the Hamilton Manuscripts* describes entry 71/Hamilton 673 as:

'Manuscript on Vellum (9 by 6³/₈ inches), decorated with 2 beautiful Paintings, representing the Triumphs, finely executed in silver, gold and colours, and with 54 Initial Letters, richly illuminated in gold and colours, elegantly bound in brown morocco speckled with green spots, elegant gold tooling (à petits fer), gilt edges, by Clovis Eve 4to. SAEC.XV'.

Quaritch, p.6: 'Victoire et Triomphe d'Argent contre le Dieu d'Amours. MS. on vellum, with 2 fine paintings. Folio. Written for the Comte de St. Pol. About 1530'.

Seidlitz, no. 106.

Entry 71 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under '4^o' as 'La Victoire & Triomphe d'Argent contre le Dieu d'Amours' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [72] **TROYE — Historie de la Destruction de Troye, translate de latin, en françois, fol. MS. de l'an. 1289.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 340.

Boese, p.165, simply notes : 'Französisch, s. Lemm S. 29.'

Entry 72 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Histoire de Troye 1289 [...]' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

- [73] **VIGNE — Le Roman des Oyseaulx en vers françois par Gace de la Vigne: a beautiful MS. in fine preservation, with an elegant miniature of the author presenting his book to the king, folio.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 392 = sold 1889, lot 27 (to Quaritch) = Sotheby's Bibliothèque Marcel Jeanson, Première Partie, Chasse, Monaco, 1 March 1987, lot 247 = Library of the Château de Pau (ex- Marcel Jeanson collection).

Gace de la Buigne or Bigne was a royal chaplain to John the Good who began his poem *Roman des deduis* during imprisonment in England following the French defeat at Poitiers in 1348. Eventually running to 12,210 lines, the poem praises diversions (*deduis*) as instilling aristocratic elegance. It begins with a battle of virtues and vices, but quickly becomes a debate about the merits of falconry as opposed to hunting.

This high-quality manuscript was illuminated for René II of Lorraine (1473-1508) at the end of the fifteenth century. It starts with a large, splendid

miniature on f.1 of the author presenting his poem to John the Good's son, Philip the Bold, which is by the 'Master of René II', who has been identified as Georges Trubert by Nicole Reynaud ('Georges Trubert, enlumineur du Roi René et de René II de Lorraine', *Revue de l'Art*, XXXV, 1977, pp.41-63).

Entry 73 was previously in the collections of Marcellin-François-Zacharie de Selle (his sale, 19-28 February 1761, lot 1281) and Charles-Adriaen Picard (his sale, 31 January 1780). It is the sort of manuscript one would have expected Douglas to have obtained from the Parisian bookseller Chardin around 1816-17, but it is not recorded on Chardin's principal surviving bill of this period (HA, M12/30/14).

Seidlitz, no. 97.

William Clarke apparently saw entry 73 in July 1816. It is recorded under folio volumes as 'Roman des Oiseaux' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

[74] **VIRGILIUS, a very ancient MS. small folio.**

= Berlin, Hamilton 678.

Boese, p.326, as *Vergilius, Aeneidos libri XII*, Italian, 13th century.

Provenance: Apostolo Zeno (d. 1750), no.CCXL in the Zeno catalogue, and the library of Santa Maria del Rosario, Venice.

Douglas recorded 'Un Virgilio in 8^{vo}' in his list of 'Maniscritti da me acquistati in Italia' (HA, M12/30/38), written on paper watermarked 1802. Given the Venetian provenance of Hamilton 678, this seems to be a reasonable 'match', as 'small folio' might just squeeze by as 'octavo'. Either this Virgil or another one is described on a list of two dozen Italian-related manuscripts, which was almost certainly drawn up in the first years of the nineteenth century, as: '23. P _ Virgilis; Maronis Fragmenta Eneid MS. Antico in Cartapecora con molte piccole Iniziali d'Oro, e colori'te belliss^e. Codice imperfetto, ma pregevole non ostante, e assai bello in 8^o.' (HA, M12/30/47).

A note in Douglas's handwriting (HA, M12/30/15) reveals that he was interested in acquiring or actually acquired a Virgil manuscript from the sale of

'manuscrits de la Bibliotheque Mons^r McCarthy', which he describes as 'N^o 2541 _ Virgil in 8^{vo} m r _ a la fin de L' Aeneide "hoc volumen expletum fuit &^c &^c _ MCCCXVIII _'. A list 'ordre de Monsieur de douglas [...] du mois d'avril 1816 .. a chardin pour acheter' (HA, M12/30/14) records, under 'Les Livres suivant a la vente macarty', '[N^o] 2455 _ virgilii opera Manuscrit sur velin in 8 . . . 261' [francs]. If Douglas acquired and received one or both of these manuscripts, there is the possibility that entry 74 refers to one of the manuscripts from the MacCarthy Reagh collection, rather than the manuscript purchased in Italy. However, this seems unlikely. Douglas clearly obtained his other Ex-Zeno manuscripts from Venice around 1800-3, and there is no reason to think that this was an exception.

- [75] **VIRGILIUS, Cod. ant. qui nunc Florentiæ in bibliotheca Mediceo-Laurentiana adservatur, 4to. in membr. Florent. typ. Mannianis, 1741.**

This edition is a fac-similie of the Medicean Codex.

Entry 75 was apparently seen by William Clarke in July 1816. It is recorded under '4^o.' as 'Virgilius _ the Medicean Virgil printed on vellum Flor. 1741 yell. mor.' on a list which the 10th Duke of Hamilton annotated 'List of My M S S as made by M^r: Clerk – July 1816'. The list is on paper with the watermarked date 1815 and is now in Hamilton Town House Library.

Appendix 4: Lists and Bills relating to Manuscripts and Books acquired by the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale

List of books packed in a case in Venice for sending to London on 22 July 1801 (HA, M12/30/unnumbered)

Items that appear to match, or might match, entries on the Marquis of Douglas's list entitled 'Maniscritti da me acquistati in Italia' (HA, M12/30/38) are printed in bold type.

Lista dei libri messi in una casse per Lond[ra or on] il di 22 Luglio 1801 _ Mestre

Breviario di veluto rosso	1 [Only one of the 'breviarios' can be the first item on the Marquis's list]
D^o Veluto turchino	1
D^o turchino	1
Dante foglio	1
Terenzio _ Historia d'Alessandro }	1
e Dizionario __ foglio }	1
Justino foglio	1
Boezio _ folio	1
Grammatica Butis 8^{vo}	1
Biblia sacra 8^{vo}	1
D^o 8^{vo}	1
Fior di virtu foglio	1
Codice omelie 8 ^{vo} 1454	1
Psalterium 8 ^{vo}	1
D ^o non legato 8 ^{vo}	1
Epigramme ed epitassi 4^o	1
Turegius 4 ^o	1
Capello potestà Vicenza 8 ^{vo}	1
Capitaneo Padova 8 ^{vo}	1 [N.B. Capitaneo is written over D ^o and 8 ^{vo} appears to be written over 4 ^{to}]
D ^o Cremona	1
Giuramesto di Consigliere	1
Capitoli del procuratore di S ^t Marco	1
Biblioteca codicum	1
Psalmi Marselli	4
Foscarini istoria	
Marini L'Adoni	
Borghino	
Verona illustrata	
Zannetti pittura Veneta	
Baglioni	1
Abedario	

Temazza vita scultori Veneziani	
Scienza cavaleresca	
Filichaja	1
Chiabrera	
Castiglione opera	1
D°. cortegiano	1
Boschini navigar pittoresco	
Do – minere	1
Guarini	
Italia liberata Chiabrera	
Bembo rime	1
D° Istoria Veneziana	1
Ceriffo Calvaneo di Luca Pulci	1
Caro anibale Rime }	2
Un 'altra opera }	
Pittura Lomazzo	
Cardinal Bentivoglio istoria	1
D° - Stazio	
Nascita di Christo Gaudenzio	1
Angeleide Valvesone	1
Osservazione sulla Felsina Pittrice	1
Apuleo Al[?] Edizione Vicenza 148[?]	1 [N.B. The last figure of the date appears to be a 5 or 6 written over an 0]
Ragguagli Parnasse	2
Istoria Diplomatico Mafferi	1
Historie des Tartars	2
Parabosco diporti	1
D° vita	1
Cose note di Venezia	1
Marino piccola edizione	1
Pompei vita Plutarca	5
Rime di Vittoria Colonna	1
Parabosco rime	1
Stato dei Cenomani	1
guidi poesie	1
Costanzo rime	1
Vita di Barbarosso	1
Malmantile Puccio Lamoni	2
Galileo Galileo	4
Valpi satire	1
D° rime	1
Boiardo 400	1
Scisma D Ingliterra	1
Satire Menzine	1
Rima della Casa	
Lione schatto e vita pittori sec XVII	1
Sannazzar Comino	1

[? Tannllo] Lagunia 1 ^r Pietro	1
Regi della Lingua [?]aleani	2
Lettere Parabosco	1
Gramotti Repubblica Veneziana	1
Mascellanie	1
Varchi Ercole	1
Bondi Ver[? gigtu]	1

Note: At least 84 titles are recorded on this list.

List of manuscripts acquired in Italy by the Marquis of Douglas, written by Lord Douglas on paper watermarked 'E & P / 1802' (HA, M12/30/38)

Items that appear to match entries on the 'Lista dei libri messi in una casse per Lond[ra or on] il di 22 Luglio 1801 _ Mestre' (HA, M12/30/unnumbered) are printed in bold type.

Manoscritti da me acquistati in Italia

Il breviario della Regina di Cyprio del XI secolo un volume in quarto

Julio Caesare foglio bellissimo XV secolo

Un Terenzio _ D° _

Un petrarca bellissima in 8^{vo} grande

Una bibbia Tusca bella 8^{vo}

Un orazio 8^{vo} [The number 6 has been added to the left of this entry]

Pomerium Riccobaldi di Ferrara del XV secolo un bellissimo volume in foglio

Un Virgilio in 8^{vo}

Francesco di Butis Grammatica 8^{vo}

Tito Strozzi traduzione della vita solitaria di Petrarca in 8^{vo}

Bartolemeo Fonzio di Calunnia da Luciano in 8^{vo} con una pittura d'Apelles _

Tito Livio una traduzione in foglio del XV secolo. 8^{vo}

[? Godefry's] manoscritto bellissimo _ Epitome della bibbia con miniature del XV secolo in 4^{to} _

Espozione dell'Evangelo da S^t Augustino una bella opera antica in 8^{vo}

Lucius Florus Epitome dell' Istoria di Livio del XV secolo in grande 8^{vo}

Regulole S^t Benedictus preziosissimo manoscritto (mentovato) del secolo XI in 8^{vo}

Shatagemme di guerra di Julio Feontino del XV secolo un opera in 8^{vo}

Eloquentiae princeps di Cicerone in 8^{vo} grande un bells^{mo} manoscritto del XV secolo

Una collezione di epigramme e varie altre cose di [illegible: ? somma] rarità del XIII in 4^{to} grandetto _

Dante bello in foglio _ XV secolo

De officiis M: T: Cicero in 8^{vo}

Philippici di M: T: Cicero in 8^{vo}

Mari anna di Volterra Cartusiano sui secoli et de septem verbis a Christo in crocem
codice bello in [small erasure] con oro in 4^{to} nitidissimū

Il processo di Bonifazio ottavo _ in 8^{vo} curioso piccolo manoscritto

De oratore M: T: Cicero in 8^{vo} XV secolo

Note: There are 25 items on this list. Each is separated from the following entry by a short line which has not been replicated here.

Items in Franz Anton Veith of Augsburg's 'Catalogue de Manuscripts' (HA, C4/928/9/4) which the Marquis of Douglas apparently bought for £48

Veith's printed 'Catalogue de Manuscripts' has handwritten crosses against entries 3, 5, 6, 8, 10, 12 and 14 and the handwritten entry relating to a manuscript of Nonnus, *Dionysiaca*, at the end. The printed catalogue entries describe the manuscripts as:

- 3. Evangelia per Annum, & Orationes variae. Adverte Testimonium Ludovici abbatis Bambergae in Fine. Fol. S. XII. Opus perrarum. . . . 50.
- 5. Hieronymi Epistolae. Fol. S. XV. 66.
- 6. Cypriani Opera. Fol. S. XV. Mit vergoldeten Buchstaben. . . . 50.
- 8. Lactantii Firmiani Institutionum divinarum Libri VII. Fol. S. XV. Mit vergoldeten Buchstaben. . . . 66.
- 10. Chrysostomi Homiliae. Fol. [damage to list] vergoldeten Anfangsbuchstaben. S. XV. . 100.
- 12. Gregorii M. Dialogorum Libri IV. Fol. S. XIII. 55.
- 14. Senecae -- 4to. S.XIII. Mit vergoldeten Buchstaben. . . . 44.

The handwritten addition is entered as: J'ai aussi un très-precieux Manuscript sur Papier / mais qui est presque come Velin: Nonni Panapolitani Dionysiacon. fol. Graece. Seculi XVI..f.100_

Note correlating two lists referring to manuscripts formerly in the MacCarthy Reagh collection with entries in the *Catalogue des Livres rares et précieux de la Bibliothèque de feu M. le Comte de Mac-Carthy Reagh* (Paris, 1815-17)

Manuscripts purchased by the Marquis of Douglas from the Parisian bookseller Chardin around 1816 (HA, M12/30/14)

The four items printed here in bold type are also definitely on the list of ‘manuscripts de la Bibliothèque de Mons^r M^cCarthy’, written by the Marquis of Douglas (HA, M12/30/15).

ordre de Monsieur de douglas duc de [? candale] du mois d’avril
1816 .. a chardin pour acheter
Les Livres suivant a la vente macarty . .

f

N^o 455 – actual Consilio Manuscrit sur velin in folio . . 10.

2455 – virgilii opera Manuscrit sur velin in 8 . . . 261.

2814 – La généalogie de La Sainte vierge Mst . . 260.

3955 – recueil de piees sur L’hist. des papes Mst. 50.

4455 – Leonard aretini Beau Mst sur velin . 122.

5475 – valerius Maximus Mst. sur velin 2 vol. . 230.

acheté cher moi, et Laisse L = 933.^{fr.}

a sa dispositives Les articles suivants

N^o. 32 – ~~de mon Catalogue Laymonius Mst. sur velin~~

~~in fol. mor. rouge 360^{fr.}~~ [\ in pencil]

37 – pascali Cat Cerlii in fol. Mst. 100. [x in pencil]

75 – Benedictionis. & in - - 4 Manuscrit 96. [x in pencil]

130 – La messe de rousselet sup Mst. 250 [x in pencil]

[The following entry is an addition]

145 Breviarum Coleniense ____ 1200 [written in ink by the
Marquis of Douglas]

~~146 – Breviarum magnique Mst. . . . 800.~~ [\ in pencil]

147 – Sermones in fol Manuscrit 168. [x in pencil]

~~300 — roman d'alexandre Mst.~~ ~~300.~~

454 — Le Beau Mst des blasons . . . 2400. [x in pencil]

468 — 36 cartes geographiques Mst..

in fol. Superbe exemplaire

[? d'heures] 4. 400. [x in pencil]

4874 ^{fr.}

Sur cette partie de Manuscrit.

il â été coure[...] comme il

apert par La Lettres de Mr.

de douglas, d'une diminution de

25 pour cent sur 4874 cequi vedint

La somme a _____ 3655^f. 10 cy 3655^f.10

L = 4588^f 10

[Reverse of list

The following two lines have been written very quickly in pencil by the Marquis of Douglas]

Pesse — M S S ___ 66 ___ 600

Evangiles ___ 74 ___ 172

[The final notes are written in ink by the Marquis of Douglas]

Du nouveau Catalogue

N° 24 M S S du IX [? siècle incorrectly spelt].

Prieres & [? illegible abbreviations] _____ 500

N° 26 _ Lancien testament 900 _

sum total

~~commission~~ ___ 4594

diminution — 3445 _ 10

Vente de Maccarthy - 933

nouveau catalogue ___ 1400

5778

Correlation

The items are described in the MacCarthy Reagh catalogue as follows. The texts in English are the entries from Sotheby's 1882 catalogue of the Hamilton manuscripts, with clarification where needed.

‘455. Acta Concilii Aquisgranensis, habiti sub Ludovico Pio Imperatore, anno 815.

In-fol. rel. en bois.

Manuscrit très ancien sur Vélin, de 85 feuillets. On croit qu'il a été exécuté dans le neuvième ou dixième siècle.’

Number 455 is described in Sotheby's 1882 catalogue of the Hamilton manuscripts under lot 31 as:

‘Acquisgranensis Concilii, habiti sub Ludovico Pio Imperatore Anno 815-16, Acta Manuscript on Vellum (11½ by 8½ inches), “Ex-Libris Venerabilis Capituli Ecclesiae Albiensis,” oak boards folio SAEC. IX’.

It is now Berlin, Ham. 31, and is listed as *Institutio canoniconum concilii Aquisgranensis a. 816*, French, 9th century, by Boese (pp.15-6).

Number 2455 on the list is a mistake. Number 2455 was not a Virgil manuscript but ‘Nicandri Theriaca, graece, interprete Joan. Gorraeo. Ejusdem Alexipharmaca, graece, interprete eodem, cum scholiis graecis auctoris incerte, et diversorum auctorum. *Parisiis, G. Morelius*, 1557, in-4. dem. rel. dos. de m. r. l. r.’ Chardin probably meant lot 2541, the octavo Virgil manuscript that is noted on M12/30/15. (The description of 2541 will be found in the notes to the transcript of M12/30/15 below.) Number 2544 was also a work of Virgil but it was a book, not a manuscript: ‘2544. Pub. Virgilii Maronis bucolica, georgica et aeneis, et reliqua opuscula cum Priapeiis. *Venetiis, per Bartholomeum Cremonensem*, 1472, in-fol. m. r. Imprimé sur Vélin’ (etc.).

‘2814. La généalogie de la Sainte-Vierge avec la vie et la passion de Jésus-Christ, suivis de plusieurs traités de morale; l’histoire des animaux, etc. le tout en vers françois, avec le livre appelé Trésor le Lucidaire, etc. en prose.

In-fol. m. r.

Manuscrit sur Vélin, de 165 feuillets, orné de miniatures et lettres tourneures en or et en couleurs. La souscription indique qu'il a été fait en 1323.'

= Hamilton 273:

'Genealogie de la Sainte Vierge (en Vers) et Livres apeles Tresors (en Prose)

Beautiful Manuscript on Vellum (11³/₈ by 8¹/₄ inches), dated 1323, and ornamented with 42 Miniatures, 55 Historiated Initials and numerous Capitals in gold, finely executed in gold and colours by a Norman artist, red morocco, gilt edges folio. SAEC. XIV (1323)'.

Formerly Berlin, Hamilton 273 and now Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, MS. 20. Described by Francis Wormald and Phyllis M. Giles as:

'Life of the Virgin, in French verse, with the metrical Bestiary of William the Norman, and other texts in French. 1323, N. France or Ghent. (Purchased at the Hamilton sale, 1889, MS 20.) 166 ff. 11³/₈ x 8³/₈ in. [28.7 x 21.3 cm.].

Written and illuminated in the north of France, or perhaps at Ghent, for a member of the family of Vianden-Rumpst, whose arms form part of the border decoration on f. 1. The miniatures, historiated initials and partial borders, many with grotesques, are in the style connected with Jean Pucelle's Paris workshop' (*Illuminated Manuscripts in the Fitzwilliam Museum* (Cambridge, 1966), p.22).

- '3955. Recueil de pièces sur l'histoire des Papes, sur celle de France, etc. In-fol. m. citr. R. A. Manuscrit sur Vélin. Il contient les pièces suivantes: *Catalogus pontificum romanorum a beato Petro apost. usque ad dom. Johannem XXII, pontificatus sui anno 14^o decurrente*. (Il fut élu Pape en 1316 et mourut en 1334.) Ce Catalogue consiste en 84 feuillets, dont le premier manque. = Abrégé du même ouvrage, sous le titre de *Catalogus brevis*. 19 feuillets. = *Brevis chronica imperatorum roman*. C'est la suite des empereurs depuis Jules César jusqu'à la fin du Bas-Empire, et depuis Charlemagne jusqu'à Louis ds [sic] Bavière. 12 feuillets finissant par ces mots: *et haec scripsimus, inchoante anno dominicae incarnationis 1440*. = *De origine francorum et eorum progressu*. On y trouve la suite des rois de France jusqu'à Charles IV

et à l'année 1325. 30 feuillets. = *De genealogia illustrium comitum Tholosae*. Cette généalogie finit au comte Alphonse en 1271. 3 feuillets. Ces cinq pièces sont écrites de la même main en beaux caractères gothiques. Entre la 3^e et la 4^e pièces de ce recueil, on en trouve une de 10 feuillets, écrite d'une autre main, également en caractères gothiques, contenant, sous le titre de *Genealogioe regum francorum*, la suite de ces rois, depuis les fils de Clovis jusqu'à Philippe de Valois qui y est nommé Philippe VII. Cette pièce est ornée de 149 médaillons où sont peints en or et en couleurs les portraits des rois et des reines de France. A la fin du volume, est une dernière pièce de quatre feuillets, contenant une harangue adressée au roi Charles VI, dans la grande salle royale de l'université de Toulouse, en septembre 1389, par G. de Bosquet, docteur en loix et recteur de ladite université. Cette harangue est traduite de la langue vulgaire en latin, et transcrite par Pierre de Longueil, qui termine ainsi: *Iste liber est mei Petri de Longueil quondam domini mei regis in sua parlamenti curia consiliarii, nunc Autissiodorensis episcopi*. Il fut évêque d'Auxerre depuis l'année 1449 jusqu'en 1473.'

= Hamilton 527 (Berlin, Ham. 527):

'Pontificum Romanorum Cathalogus (in quo Vita Joannae Papissae).

Accedunt Imperatores Romani a Julio Caesare usque ad Annum

MCCCXXIV; Genealogiae et Vitae Regum Francorum et Angliae; Comites Tholosani, &c.

Manuscript on Vellum (13 by 8¾ inches), decorated with 149 Portraits of Kings, citron morocco, gilt edges folio. SAEC. XIV

* At end in the Autograph of Pierre de Longueil, Bishop of Auxerre, is added a Manuscript of 8 closely written pages, entitled "Arenga sive Propositio facta Tholosae per Gaucelmum de Bosqueto Domino nostro Regi Karolo VI Anno Domini millesimo CCC octuagesimo nono de mense Decembris."

'4455. Leonardi (Aretini) de bello italico adversus Gothos gesto libri IIII, ad Julianum cardinalem S. Angeli. Petit in-fol. m. viol. dent.

Beau Manuscrit sur Vélin, exécuté en l'année 1444., en lettres rondes, longues lignes. Il contient 94 feuillets, et il est bien conservé. Le premier feuillet de chaque livre est décoré d'ornemens en or et en couleurs.'

= Hamilton 37 (Berlin, Ham. 37):

'Aretini (Leonardi Bruni) De Bello Italico adversus Gothos gesto Libri IV Manuscript on Vellum (10 by 6¾ inches), with four Initial Letters and a Border, finely illuminated in gold and colours, blue morocco, gilt edges, by Bozerian folio. SAEC. XV'.

The manuscript is dated 1444.

- '5475. Valerius Maximus de memorabilibus factis et dictis, cum commentario. 2 vol. in-4. m. r. dent. tabis. Manuscrit sur Vélin, de 308 feuillets, en caractères gothiques. On trouve à la fin du premier volume qui renferme le texte, la souscription suivante: *Explicit liber Valerii Maximi scriptus manu mei Francisci Nuti, anno Dom. 1423, die XVII mensis martii*. Le second volume renferme le commentaire, et finit par cette souscription: *Explicit commentum sive declaratio super librum Valerii Maximi in principio presentis voluminis descripti, scriptum per me Nicolaum Astesanum, illustr. et excellent. principis et dom. dom. Ducis Aurelianensis et Mediolani, etc. secretarium, ad opus et utilitatem ipsius domini Ducis, 1443*.

Le premier feuillet de chaque volume est orné d'une bordure et d'une petite miniature peinte dans la grande lettre tourneure. Les lettres initiales sont peintes en or et en couleurs, et parsemées de fleurs-de-lis.'

= Hamilton 648 (Berlin, Ham. 648/I and II):

'Valerii Maximi Facta et Dicta Memorabilia cum Notis marginalibus et Commentaria. 2 vol.

Fine Manuscript on Vellum (10¼ by 7⅞ inches), ornamented with Arms and Supporters of Duke of Orleans, 10 floriated Borders, Initial Letter historiated with Miniature Portrait, 9 other Initials with Arms of Charles Duke of Orleans, the Poet, and 82 Capitals, finely illuminated in gold and colours, red morocco, leather joints, silk linings, gilt edges, by Padeloup

small folio. SAEC. XV (1423-53)

* Specimens of the Library of the Poet Charles Duke of Orleans, who possessed 80 Illuminated Manuscripts are of extraordinary rarity. The Text of Valerius Maximus at end has the name of the Scribe and Date: “Scriptus manu mei Francisci Nuti Francisci Anno Dni MCCCCXXIII die XVII die mensis Martii”, and also the following Inscription in the Autograph of Charles Duke of Orleans: “Hunc librum dedit Episcopus Baiorum mihi Duci Aurelianensi MCCCCXL Karolus.” The second volume, containing the Commentary, appears from the inscription at end to have been written by the Duke’s Secretary: “Scriptum per me Nicolaum Astesanum Illustrissimi et excellentissimi Principis et Dni Dni Ducis Aurelianensis et Mediolaniensem Secretarium ad opus et utilitatem ipsius Dni Ducis Anno Dni 1453.”

The numbers of the items in the list that follows the list of MacCarthy Reagh manuscripts do not match entries in that catalogue and apparently relate to one of Chardin’s own catalogues, as is indicated by the entry to number 32: ‘de mon Catalogue Laymonius’.

‘Laymonius’ suggests that number 32 and some of the other items came from the library of Chrétien-François de Lamoignon (1735-1789), which was sold in 1792.

The numbers and entries on the list do not correspond with those in the three-volume *Catalogue des Livres de la Bibliothèque de feu M. de Lamoignon, Garde des Sceaux de France* (Paris, 1791-92). However, these catalogues are confined to printed works and there must be a separate listing of Lamoignon’s collection of manuscripts.

Unfortunately, none of Chardin’s catalogues for 1815-17 appear to exist in the British institutions involved with Copac, or in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Yale, or the Grolier Club, New York.

List of Manuscripts in the MacCarthy Reagh sale, written by the Marquis of Douglas
(HA, M12/30/15)

The four items printed below in bold type are also recorded on Chardin's bill for six lots 'a la vente macarty', which is headed 'ordre de Monsieur de douglas [...] du mois d'avril 1816 .. a chardin pour acheter' (HA, M12/30/14). They have already been identified and it only remains to identify the manuscripts not listed above.

manuscris de la Bibliotheque de Mons^r M^cCarthy __

N^o 2541 _ Virgil in 8^{vo} m r _ a la fin de L'Aeneide "hoc volumen expletum fuit &^c
&^c _ MCCCXVIII _

N^o 2809 _Recueil des poesies des troubadors fol m r portant la date de 1355 _

**N^o 2814 La geneologie de la Sainte Vierge avec la vie et la passion _ La
souscription indigne qu'il a été fait en 1323**

N^o 3697 Volumen di disciplinalibus _ fol _ appartenant a Gregoire Pape XI __

**N^o 3955 _ Recueil des piecees sur l'histoire des papes in fol m citr R A _ il
contient catalogus pontificium romanorum a &c & usque ad Dom Johannem
XXII _ Il fut e la Pape en 1316 _ et moruit en 1334 —**

N^o 4454 _ Leonardo Aretino di bello Italico _ execute en lanneé 1444 —

**N^o 5475 Valerius Maximus _ MS en caracteres gothiques ecrit par Francescus
N[a or u]tus mea manu 1423 2^d volume 1443 4^{to} m r _**

vieux catalogue No 66 _ oriental M S S wth drawings _ 600 _

The above list is undated and is written on paper without a watermark.

The items in normal type are:

‘2541. P. Virgilii Maronis Opera, nec non reliqua opuscula et Priapeia. In-8. m. r.

Beau Manuscript sur Vélin, contenant 271 feuillets; les pages sont chargées de notes écrites en caractères semblables à ceux du texte, mais si petits, quoique très nets, qu’il est très difficile de les lire sans se servir d’une loupe. Plusieurs de ces notes ainsi que les sommaires sont en rouge. Les ornemens et les lettres initiales sont peints en or et en couleurs. On lit à la fin de l’ Enéide:

Hoc volumen Virgilii expletum fuit a me Johanne Bapta de Lanes Jān- M. CCC. XVIII.

On trouve ensuite les Opuscles et les Priapeia. Ils sont terminés par une autre souscription datée de 1468. Peut être cette partie, exécutée longtemps après la première, aura été reliée ensuite dans le même volume, ou bien la date de 1318 est-elle falsifiée.’

= Hamilton 676 (Berlin, Ham. 676):

‘Virgilii Opera cum Glossis et Commentario

Beautiful Manuscript (5¾ by 4 inches) (including Priapeia and Carmina Minora), dated 30 June, 1318, with Initial Letters finely illuminated in gold and colours, red morocco, gilt edges, by Derome 8vo. SAEC. XIV (1318)

* At the end of the Aeneid is the name of the scribe with the date of its completion: “Hoc volumen Virgilii expletum fuit a me Johanne Baptista de Lanciis An. MCCCXVIII die ultima Junii Romae”.’

The last date is incorrect: it should have read 1468 in Roman numerals.

‘2809. Recueil de poésies des troubadors. In-fol. m. r. dent. tabis. R. A.

Beau et Très Précieux Manuscrit sur Vélin, portant la date de l’année 1355, contenant 290 feuillets, exécutés à deux colonnes. Les grandes lettres tourneures sont ornées de portraits peints en miniature. Les marges de plusieurs feuillets sont aussi décorées de miniatures, les unes au bistre et les autres en or et en couleurs. Les Manuscrits d’anciennes poésies françoises sont extrêmement Rares.’

Apparently not acquired by the Marquis of Douglas.

‘3697. Volumen de disciplinalibus, in quo continentur: Priscianus de grammatica.

= M. T. Ciceronis rhetoricorum, nempe libri duo de inventione rhet. et libri quatuor ad Herennium. = A. M. S. Boetii dialogus in Porphyrium a Victorino translatus. = Idem Boetius in praedicamenta Aristotelis, in librum Aristotelis de interpretatione. Interpretatio analyticorum, topicorum, elenchorum. Interpretatio libri divisionum. Topica Boetii. Idem de hypotheticis et cathegoricis syllogismis. = Liber M. T. Ciceronis de locis. = Geometria Euclidis. = Arithmetica Boetii. Ejusdem Musice. = Almagestum Ptolemaei, seu de astronomia. Grand in-fol. rel. en bois.

Beau Manuscrit sur Vélin, de 560 feuillets, exécuté en caractères gothiques. Il est enrichi de miniatures et d’un grand nombre d’ornemens en or et en couleurs, de figures géométriques et astronomiques, et surtout de bordures d’un genre singulier, chargées de figures d’hommes, d’animaux extraordinaires, etc. On lit sur un feuillet blanc, au commencement de ce Précieux volume, les mots suivans: Iste liber fuit domino Gregorio papae XI. (Ce pontife a gouverné l’église de 1370 à 1378.) Et ensuite: Cest livre de Prescian est à Jehan fils du roi de France, duc de Berry et d’Auvergne, comte de Poitou et d’Estampes, de Boulogne et d’Auvergne. Signé, Flamel. Et au verso du dernier feuillet du volume: Ce livre est au duc de Berry et d’Auvergne , comte de Poitou, etc. l’an 1392. Signé, Jehan. Et plus bas: Ce livre est à Jehan Coignet qui l’a acquis dudit monseigneur de Berry. Signé, Coignet.’

Apparently not acquired by the Marquis of Douglas.

Appendix 5: The Marquis of Douglas in Russia and Poland, 1807-8, with Letters and Bills, etc., relating to Russia and his Russian Acquisitions

The Historical Background

Douglas's journey to Russia began in the House of Commons. The Pitt administration's Reduction of the Militia Bill annoyed him intensely – as one would expect after all his efforts to build up the Royal Lanarkshire Militia – and he became one of its leading opponents. His speeches were convoluted, lacking clarity of thought and expression, and he made his mark in the debates in March 1805 by an overreaction. He accused a previous speaker, Mr Yorke, of talking 'much about the delicacy of his feelings; but he seemed destitute of all sensibility; his military apostacy was only equalled by his ministerial apostacy'.¹ Needless to say, uproar ensued, the Speaker 'desired the Noble Lord would abstain from anything personal', and Douglas was obliged to apologise to the House. It was not a first-rate cerebral performance, but it showed Douglas's commitment to the Whig opposition and led him to support Charles James Fox and his colleagues with more vehement and tenacious contributions. Sadly, he suppressed his much vaunted sensibilities and took part in the opposition's challenge to funeral honours to William Pitt and the payment of his debts in late January-early February 1806.²

Douglas probably saw the Commons as a short step, or rite of passage, to the Lords, but Pitt's death on 23 January 1806 opened up other opportunities and horizons. King George III appointed a new administration under Lord Grenville and accepted his *bête noire* Charles James Fox as Foreign Secretary. Pitt's heirs were largely excluded, and most of the offices went to Whigs. The new government was called the 'Ministry of All the Talents', despite the fact that there was insufficient talent to fill all the posts adequately. New ambassadors needed to be appointed, and Douglas received an offer of 'going Ambassador to the Continent' on or shortly before 8 February.³

¹ *The Times*, 27 March 1805, p.2.

² *Ibid.*, 28 January 1806, p.2.

³ HA, C4/566, Lord Archibald Hamilton to 9th Duke, postmarked 8 February 1806. Douglas had offended his father the previous year, by trying to discuss estate business with him, and the two were no longer communicating directly with one another. Douglas was therefore obliged to visit his brother

In spite of the 9th Duke's opposition, it was agreed that Douglas would succeed his cousin Lord Granville Leveson Gower as British ambassador to St Petersburg, and he received the papers appointing him 'Legati Nostri Extraordinarii et Plenipotentiarum' to the Emperor of Russia on 28 May 1806.⁴

Although Russia was one of Britain's principal allies against Napoleon, and Leveson Gower was on his way home, there was an astonishing, almost incredible, delay getting the new ambassador out to St Petersburg. This was partly due to Fox's illness and eventual death on 13 September, and the British government's subsequent desire to gain a clear understanding of the developing crisis between France and Prussia (which resulted in the defeat of the Prussians at Saalfeld, Jena and Auerstedt within one week in October). But Douglas also contributed to the delay. Initially, he sought time to arrange the succession of his parliamentary seat with Viscount Lowther (an important political patron in Lancashire), and then failed to achieve anything. Then, in early October, he had the temerity to make two demands to the new Foreign Secretary, Viscount Howick (the future Earl Grey). He asked, first, that his friend George Galway Mills⁵ should be appointed Secretary to the Legation, which would have meant the enforced movement of the serving Secretary, Charles Stuart, who was acting as Minister in St Petersburg after Leveson Gower's departure. More significantly – both in the light of his frequent declarations of 'duty' and 'being committed, and engaged to the publick', and the thorny question of his finances throughout his life – Douglas requested 'an increase of the allowances which Lord G. Leveson had, so as to leave him a clear salary of 10,000 l. after all deductions on account of income tax'.⁶ It was an outrageous, opportunistic demand, and Howick quite rightly sent him away with a 'stiff refusal on both'.

Howick's hope that Douglas would set out in October came to nothing and the days and weeks passed. Douglas blamed Howick for incompetence and

and ask him to convey this news to the Duke. Lord Archibald concluded his letter: 'I beg pardon for conveying to you disagreeable intelligence, but I cou'd not refuse my Brother his request'.

⁴ The Latin document, with the seal still attached, is in the Hamilton archive, in Bundle 2002.

⁵ Douglas and Mills's close involvement is indicated by the fact that Mills was authorised to act as a trustee, executor and administrator of Douglas's estate in February 1804: see Bod, MS. Beckford c. 89/1 and c. 89/2.

⁶ Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report on the Manuscripts of J.B. Fortescue, Esq., preserved at Dropmore, Vol. 8* (London, 1912), p.373.

bemoaned to his father, on 14 November, that he was ‘cruelly situated & not satisfied’.⁷

At long last, probably around the end of November, Douglas set sail from Yarmouth aboard the frigate *The Ariadne*.⁸ He landed at Gothenburg and visited the King of Sweden at Malmö,⁹ before going on to Stockholm. It was from there, on 26 December 1806, that he regaled his father with the dramatic story of how he had almost been killed when the eight horses pulling his carriage had broken away on a steep hill, causing his carriage to turn several times, and leaving the ‘poor coachman’ ‘quite dead’ in the middle of the road, with wheel marks across his chest.¹⁰ Douglas was very lucky to have survived with ‘no injury’.

The new ambassador finally arrived in St Petersburg around 23 January and was overcome by the spectacle. In a letter to his father, he recalled:

I got here by moon light & was delighted with the appearance of the town; the magnificent buildings of which it is composed, partly illuminated by lamps, & partly by the contending light of the moon & the snow produced a glorious effect; I forgot that it was cold, stopt my drunken Russian postilions, a[nd] gazed around me with admiration –¹¹

His reception at court on 27 January¹² left him in a state of rapture. He gleefully informed the Duke:

The Minister for Foreign affairs (contrary to what I had been told) treats me with great attention & apparent confidence; but with regard to the Emperor, I never was so pleased in my life; he kept me with him a full hour _ Upon my entrance, after having delivered my credentials he took me by the hand, said he was much pleased to see me, that he had expected my coming with impatience, that my character had been long established at Petersburg, & that he hoped I would like it as much as it

⁷ HA, Bundle 4351, Douglas to 9th Duke, 14 November 1806.

⁸ On 25 November Howick wrote a letter authorising Charles Stuart to hand over all the ciphers and official correspondence in St Petersburg to the new ambassador (NA, FO 342/5, p.285). A letter from Douglas to his father dated 22 November 1806 reveals that he should have set out on a British navy frigate before the end of the month (HA, Bundle 4351), and another to William Beckford dated 27 November 1806 notes that ‘In a few hours I set off for Yarmouth [where] The Ariadne waits my orders’ (Bod., MS. Beckford, c. 20, f.15).

⁹ Passing through Sweden in 1806 and 1808, Douglas would probably have seen examples of the vases, urns and other monumental vessels made of porphyry, which was being commercially mined at Älvdalen from 1788. Some of these pieces were based on designs by Carl Frederik Sundvall and decorated with ormolu mounts by the court *ciseleur* Frederik Ludvig Rung: see H. Sundblom, *Porfyr* (Stockholm, 1985).

¹⁰ HA, C4/531A, Douglas to 9th Duke, 26 December 1806.

¹¹ HA, C4/534A, Douglas to 9th Duke, 4 February 1807.

¹² S.T. Bindoff, E.F. Malcolm Smith and C.K. Webster, *British Diplomatic Representatives 1789-1852* (London, 1934), p.111.

liked me _ He then entered into a long political disquisition shewing much good sense and not less generosity and honor; & concluded by observing that I must not only thank H:B:M: [His Britannic Majesty] for his professions of friendship, but for the selection he had made in sending them thro' me –¹³

It is an alarmingly uncritical account, in which Douglas seems to be totally overwhelmed by all the politeness and flattery, and to have failed to realise that the Russians were bound – in the circumstances – to have treated him with the greatest courtesy.

Unfortunately – as could easily have been predicted – the new ambassador's (short) period in office was not a success. This was partly due to the general context and the poor communications of the day, and partly to Douglas's inexperience and character. The British government had charged him with two key objectives: the signing of the new commercial treaty with Russia, which would replace the existing treaty that was due to expire in March, and getting Russia to 'guarantee' the return of the Electorate of Hanover (captured by Napoleon) to George III.¹⁴ Neither was a high priority with the Russians. Alexander I and his ministers had responded to Napoleon's defeat of their Prussian ally and advance eastwards by declaring a national or patriotic war and levying an army of 612,000 men. Their cardinal priority was arming and financing these troops. Before Douglas had set sail, they had requested the Whig administration for a loan, or guarantee of a commercial loan, of six million pounds, with an immediate advance of one million pounds, and muskets from British army and navy stores (in addition to placing orders with British manufacturers). At the same time, the Tsar had decided to continue trading with France (which pleased Napoleon, but quickly led to British seizures of Russian ships). Much more crucially as far as Douglas was concerned, Tsar Alexander had issued a *ukaz* (or decree) which extended the rights and privileges hitherto enjoyed by the British merchants in Russia to his own subjects. This was intended to stimulate trade and increase the shipment of supplies but compromised the renewal of the commercial treaty between the two nations.

Grenville and Howick's response effectively scuppered the signing of the treaty in the immediate future. They refused to lend or guarantee a commercial loan

¹³ HA, C4/534A, Douglas to 9th Duke, 4 February 1807.

¹⁴ What follows is based on HA, Volumes 1604-1606, and NA, FO 95/227 and FO 342/8.

of six million pounds, noting that Russia was sufficiently large and important a country to make the necessary arrangements with private financiers, and insisted that Britain needed all the arms in the government depots for her own regular forces and volunteers. The Russians were foolishly and insensitively fobbed off by the ‘Talents’ with a subsidy of half a million pounds and the suggestion that they might obtain the arms from the Austrians and their stores in Hungary.

The Russians – not unnaturally – felt extremely let down by this meagre assistance from their last remaining ally, and it certainly did not augur well for the new ambassador. Twelve days after Douglas presented his credentials, the French and Russian armies clashed at Eylau in eastern Prussia, leaving 26,000 Russian dead or wounded. Within a month, the Imperial Guard was marching out of St Petersburg. Only a single battalion of the Preobrazhenskys and a squadron of Cossacks were left to guard the palace and patrol the outskirts. Tsar Alexander left to join his army soon afterwards.

Douglas thus found himself confronted with urgent Russian requests for Britain to mount an invasion of Europe, to create a second front and divide the French forces, and even invade France itself. The copy books of diplomatic correspondence in the National Archives at Kew and at Lennoxlove imply that he more or less gave up. To some extent, this was understandable. Douglas was fully aware that the Whig administration was totally opposed to becoming involved in a land war in Europe and wanted to reach an accommodation with Napoleon, if at all possible. Moreover, he himself was defeatist.¹⁵ He believed that the French military machine was so vastly superior it made opposition futile. Nor was there anything he could do when the Tsar refused to rescind or revise his *ukaz* and positively refused to renew or prolong the treaty of commerce – until such time as the British increased their aid.

¹⁵ Writing from Canterbury on 13 April 1806, during a visit to encourage his regiment, Douglas had told his father: ‘But it is all a jest, for if the French ever put their feet upon English shores, the whole is at an end _ We have neither military science, military discipline, military feelings’ [...] (HA, C4/536).

The diarist Joseph Farington confirms the idea that Douglas effectively gave up when he states, on 16 April 1807, that Douglas simply submitted the petition of the British merchants at St Petersburg in its raw form.¹⁶

Howick had long criticised Douglas for inertia over the renewal of the commercial treaty. Now the Russians despised him as useless, while the British castigated him as stupid and unprofessional.

Such low opinions were not confined to the inner circles of government, because on 26 April 1807 Martha Wilmot – an Irishwoman visiting Russia – noted:

Lord Douglas is now English ambassador at Petersburg. He is not much admired either by the English or Russians and & both partys unite in abusing him for affecting foreign manners. He is quite Italianiz'd.¹⁷

By this time Douglas was fast becoming an irrelevance. The Whig administration had fallen in mid March (over the bill to allow Roman Catholics to hold commissions in the army) and George III had asked the Duke of Portland to form a new government. George Canning, the new Foreign Secretary, returned to Pitt's policy of handing out large subsidies to allies to create an effective coalition against Napoleon; and some time prior to 16 April he decided to re-appoint Lord Granville Leveson Gower, the former able ambassador to St Petersburg, to replace Douglas.¹⁸

Douglas became a classic lame-duck ambassador. He made no attempt to follow the Tsar westwards and monitor events. By contrast, Leveson Gower moved with all the speed that had been so conspicuously lacking during Douglas's leisurely, self-indulgent progress to St Petersburg. After his formal appointment on 17 May, he reached Memel (in what is now Lithuania) on 10 June and presented his credentials at the Russian headquarters at Tilse two days later.¹⁹ Douglas handed over the archives to Leveson Gower's secretary, Rich, sometime after 25 June, and left his successor to report on the defeat of the Russians at Friedland on 14 June and the signing of the 'treaty of peace and friendship' between France and Russia at Tilsit on 7 July.

¹⁶ Kathryn Cave (ed.), *The Diary of Joseph Farington. Vol. VIII. July 1806-December 1807* (New Haven and London, 1982), p.3023.

¹⁷ The Marchioness of Londonderry and H.M. Hyde (eds.), *The Russian Journals of Martha and Catherine Wilmot* (London, 1939), p.291.

¹⁸ Cave, p.3023.

¹⁹ Bindoff, p.111.

The normal procedure would have been for the former ambassador to have left Russia as quickly as possible, but Douglas had other plans. On 5 May he had warned Canning that he would not be returning to Britain immediately:

As neither my affairs nor my health will permit me to return immediately to England; and as at all times I am unequal to a long sea voyage, I have set Lord Gower's frigate at liberty, & confide in the condescension & goodness of HM. [His Majesty] at a future moment.²⁰

Diplomatic historians have stated that the ex-ambassador left St Petersburg at the end of June,²¹ but a letter Douglas wrote to his father reveals he was still in the capital on 2 July. In this letter, Douglas reminds his father of his intention 'to make an excursion in the interior of this country' and goes on to allege:

I [...] have been induced by the Imperial family in so friendly a manner to undertake this journey that I have now resolved upon it _ The Empress mother has desired particularly that I would inform her previous to my departure that she may write letters herself to insure me every possible agreement _²²

There is probably some truth in this, but we need to treat this letter – and, indeed, all Douglas's letters to his father – with great caution. Douglas had annoyed his father so much in the past that, on a number of occasions, the Duke had insisted that they correspond through a third party. As usual, Douglas was trying to create a very favourable impression and justify his actions.

There is not a breath in this or in any of Douglas's other letters to his father that he had formed a relationship with the Countess Zofia Potocka (1760-1822),²³ whose name was mired in scandal. Zofia had been born into a humble Greek family in Bursa and had been sold by her mother to Karol Boscamp-Lasopolski, a member of the Polish mission in Constantinople. She had risen, through marriage to the son of the commander of the Kamieniec garrison and an impressive list of lovers, to become the third wife of Count Stanislaw Szczęśny Potocki, the richest Polish aristocrat and landowner in the Ukraine, in 1798. The Count had died in 1805 and his widow had moved to St Petersburg, to combat the claims of the Count's divorced

²⁰ HA, Volume 1605, unpaginated, letter no. 21.

²¹ Bindoff, p.111.

²² HA, Bundle 4351, Douglas to 9th Duke, 2 July 1807.

²³ For the Countess Zofia, see J. Howard and A. Szczerski, "William Allan, Greek beauty and Polish romanticism", *Apollo*, CLIII, June 2001, pp.47-55, and *William Allan Artist Adventurer* (Edinburgh, 2001), pp.31-41.

wife and get a better education for her children. Douglas was drawn to the Countess Zofia by her vast wealth and his taste for women with racy pasts. As we shall see, he was obviously intrigued with the Empress Catherine II of Russia, who definitely had twelve lovers and was (falsely) alleged to have taken part in orgies, and later became infatuated with Napoleon's sister, the equally notorious Princess Pauline Borghese.

On 30 July Leveson Gower wrote to Lady Bessborough:

I am at this time living in the House of my Predecessor, whose civility to me is above all praise; he is supposed to be violently in Love, and it is said has made proposals of marriage to the object of his attachment. The person is a Countess Potocka, whose husband, bearing that name, died about two years ago, and who left her an immense property [...] She is now gone – that is, yesterday – to her Estates in Poland, and It is Supposed that le marquis will follow her.²⁴

Exactly what happened next is unclear. Douglas definitely journeyed down to the Countess Zofia's extensive estates – mini-kingdom is a more accurate description – at Tulczyn, but the date of his departure and length of his stay in the Polish Crimea have still to be determined.²⁵ It is believed that he travelled down to Tulczyn with the Scottish artist William Allan, who had been living in Russia since 1805, or else Allan preceded him with the Countess.

The sequence of events has been muddled by the misreading of a passage in Lord Malmesbury's diary, to the effect that Douglas 'remained about the allied armies till October and [...] followed an old battered beauty into Poland',²⁶ but this has mixed him up with another man as far as dates are concerned.²⁷

A bigger problem is raised by a report in *The Times* on 2 October 1807:

[The Marquis of Douglas] is supposed to be at this time at Moscow, where he will remain some time. The Noble Marquis will proceed from thence to Siberia, to examine the wealthy mines of that extensive country, and from thence go on to Archangel. He is expected to visit Lapland also.²⁸

²⁴ *Leveson Gower Correspondence*, II, p.278.

²⁵ There seems to be virtually nothing in the Hamilton archive about Douglas's visit to Tulczyn and his attempt to marry the Countess. The only directly relevant discovery worth noting is a receipt, in Russian, for the dispatch of 'one packet and three parcels' to Tulczyn – probably from St Petersburg – which is dated 18 March 1808 (HA, Bundle 698).

²⁶ *The Complete Peerage of England, Scotland, Ireland, Great Britain and the United Kingdom* (Gloucester, 1987), Vol. 2, Part VI, p.274.

²⁷ *Diaries and Correspondence of James Harris, First Earl of Malmesbury* (London, 1844), IV, p.392.

²⁸ *The Times*, 2 October 1804, p.2, col.3.

There may be some factual basis to this, but – at this moment in time – it can equally be interpreted as a misleading, ‘planted story’, focusing attention in the diametrically opposite direction to Douglas’s sojourn at Tulczyn.

Virtually nothing is known about the twelve months August 1807-August 1808, and very little about Douglas’s return to Britain, via St Petersburg and Stockholm. Douglas must have left Russia in or before early August 1808, because he apparently wrote to Rodrigo Navarro d’Andrade from Stockholm on 11 August, and Martha Wilmot records that he took nine days to cross the Baltic.²⁹ A copy of a bill for bringing his luggage from Stockholm to Gothenburg and the ‘Boatage of your Carriage on board’ is dated Gothenburg, 8 and 12 October 1808,³⁰ and suggests he should have been back in England before the end of the month. A memorandum in his own handwriting places him in Hamilton Palace in early January 1809.³¹

²⁹ HA, Bundle 698, Rodrigo Navarro d’Andrade to Douglas, 28 December 1808, and Londonderry and Hyde, p.388.

³⁰ HA, Bundle 680, John Norris to Douglas, 1 October 1817, with copy of invoice for October 1808.

³¹ HA, M10/179, memorandum written by Douglas, 10 January 1809.

Letters and Bills, etc, relating to the Marquis of Douglas and Russia

The Marquis of Douglas to the 9th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton Palace, 2 October 1803 (HA, C4/585)

Hamilton Palace

October y^e 2^d 1803

My Dear Duke

Three words & I have done ____ If I have displeased you by conveying to you with candour the situation in which I am placed, & in which perhaps I may remain for some time, I am sorry for it – I did it with a view to shew your Grace that I was not capable of dec[e]iving you _ The charge that has been put upon me I will execute to the best of my abilities; but I will not promise when I do not see the possibility of performing that promise ____ I should have thought that my conduct would have pleased your Grace, & that you would have found in it the gentleman & the man of honor however you might have been disappointed by such an avowal ____ Enough – I wish to do right _ to be dutifull towards your grace _ delicate towards myself _ If I have erred I am sorry for it _

To a third person I am to address myself _ Be it so _ Will your Grace mention that third person, & I will then write to him directly; as both my honor & my interest is so deeply concerned in this business your Grace must excuse my extreme anxiety

—

I am My D^e Duke

Your Graces [illegible abbreviations]

Douglas & Clydesdale

P:S:

I am to be here for about
seven days, I then return again
to camp _ at Dunbar _

Edited draft letter from the 9th Duke of Hamilton to Lord Archibald Hamilton, dated
Ashton Hall, 16 November 1805 (HA, C4/557)

Ashton 16 Nov^r

1805

My D^r L^d A^d

After hav^g acted in y^e manner I have to all my Famyly & hav^g also signifid
disturb'd
my wishes not to be ~~troubld~~ with any business especially concern^g money, will
frankly confess I did not expect ~~any~~ ^{from any of my Famyly on y^e Subject} any application ^ The Property relinquish'd
I and many
was large & becomes larger every year as Leases dropp'd ~~my~~ I were near expiring
~~when I relinquish'd~~ [illegible] 3 years since, _ to oblige y^r [B^r for Brother] I refus'd
[?y^e Cossells offer] 2000 a year advance for a lease of Arran – in short I render'd
tho^t
myself y^e Poorest Duke in Brittain, and retir'd = but that was not ^ suffic^t. after I
been
had paid fifty Thous^d P^{ds} which ought to have paid from y^e Hamilton Property in
however sensible of y^e difficulty of raising money [illegible]
Scotland, [crossed out short word] ~~at the~~ I had said I w^d not have y^e English property
affected in y^e least degree & which ~~was~~ solemnly agreed to

[Note: All the text after 'I and many' is crossed out with a huge X]

~~that agreem^t was broken _ but not till after I had paid y^e money~~ These are Facts – &
must be too long remember'd
~~will~~ remain Facts, They are too much known & I fear will ~~be remember'd long after I~~
[crossed-out illegible words] you must see that
~~am gone~~ _ Thus My D^r Lord ^ ~~I must observe that~~ I am not y^e person to be applied
to _ If I can save any little _ out of my little I will keep it to be ready ~~to enable me~~ to
broken hearted
procure any little comfort or pleasure that an old ~~unhappy~~ man ~~may wish~~ at y^e close
may wish for
of his life ^ long it will not continue _ The wound I have rec^d is too deep ever to be
heal'd, & If I sh^d weather this attack y^e next will I think ~~will~~ be fatal. The Gout I
were
have been subject to & of course returns [~~? if y^e disorder was~~ to be expected _ but

some time
 this has been ~~such~~ an attack that has been feeding ^ with vexation, added to it y^e cruel
 reflection of its having been inflicted by one from whom I ~~tho^t I had~~ ^ trust it will be thought I
~~deserv'd a~~ [smeared erasure] I c^d proceed
 diff^t return _ am concern'd to hear that you expect opposition, (tho' not surpriz'd)
 but I have done – The remainder of my life I will pass ~~in peace &~~ quiet if in my
power, to effect which I must add that I shall not wish to have any communication
 person or
 with y^r Brother or indeed of any ^ persons who could for a Moment hesitate in
 condemning his Lordships conduct in this transaction indeed it ~~appears to me &~~ has
 appear^d to me, ~~our Ideas~~
 long ^ that we [?differd] too much in ~~opinion ab^t most things~~
 say I
 intercourse desirable _ & ~~I am sorry to see some things which have pass'd that by no~~
~~means appear to me right~~ I am still weak & unable to walk without my Sticks _
 every thing like business flurries me _ guess what I must feel to touch upon y^e one I
 have been oblig'd to do in writing this _ with every good wish towards you I remain

my D^r L^d

yr [abbreviation for affectionate]

H & Brandon

Lord Archibald Hamilton to the 9th Duke of Hamilton, postmarked 8 February 1806
(HA, C4/566)

Saturday

My Dear Father,

I have only time to write three lines before the Post goes out; but my Brother, (who has just left me) has insisted I will announce to you an offer made to him of going Ambassador to the Continent; and He wishes me to ask your leave either to write or wait upon you himself _ His Stay, if He goes, will probably not last above a Couple of years __. I beg pardon for conveying to you disagreeable intelligence, but I cou'd not refuse my Brother his request

in gt. haste very since[re]ly & affc^{tly}

Yours

A : Hamilton

Draft letter from the 9th Duke of Hamilton to Lord Archibald Hamilton, dated 11 February 1806 (HA, C4/565)

My D^r L^d A^d –

Old Brompton

I mean to sett off for ~~Town~~ on Sunday or Monday next, but am by no means able to undergo an Interview with y^e Marquiss of Douglas being very farr other than from well I assure you, If his L^dShip will write & not mention any business ~~but~~ that ~~by~~ in yrs of Saturday y^e 8th Ins^t L^dSh^{ps} & write him a few lines alluded to in y^e ~~letter~~ I will read his ^ letter ~~thre~~ ^ ____ [...]

The Marquis of Douglas to William Beckford, dated London, 29 July 1806 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 20 ff.11-2)

My Dear Beckford,

Having promised you, previous to my intended political expedition to the Northern Pole to visit those shady sceens of Monastic grandeur in which you are immersed; perhaps will you be surprized at not having received before this period some signs of my existence in these worldly regions __

My silence is not reprehensible _ Idleness is not the cause _ nor has the shrine of friendship to condemn or reclaim a votary ____ Since my curious overturn in Piccadilly I have been confined to my room, and am still suffering from the cruel effects of my fall _ Some tutelary Angel must have been at hand at that critical moment, and have snatched me from the realms of futurity ____ For what purpose? Heaven knows __ If I could flatter myself _ But we are no longer in those brilliant days of yore, when individual achievements characterized individual exertion _ one dark accumulated smoke now envelops the whole horizon, and blends everything in one general mass of impenetrable gloom, save where appears the splendor of one Country, or the stupidity of many ____

We are now talking of nothing but this Russian Peace, whilst all the wise Politicians of S^t Stephen's with angry and misterious countenances are inveighing against the Successor of the once magnanimous Paul, for having so basely anticipated the avowed wish of the Cabinet of S^t James's __ I smile at our National simplicity and exclaim, "whilst the senate (that sink of general corruption and self interest) is at once the Divinity and Oracle of a Premier's devotion; whilst the success of an election is to be the thermometer of national warmth, & the appointment of a place the guide and arbiter of Continental politics, we must ever remain the deluded Dupe of European negotiation" ____

I am rather melancholy __ The Northern politics have assumed a very different appearance since my Nomination to S^t Petersburg, and if the change of Czartorisky is not the forerunner of others of a similar nature (as I shrewdly suspect) I shall ere long from inaction be frozen into a pillar of Ice _ Would to Heaven that I could go directly to the spring and centre of all present negociations, instead of making so tedious and long a deviation from the road __ I have hinted my wish here

and I have engaged (entre nous soit dit) some of the satellites now moving within the influence of this maggior piassetta del secolo, to induce it to shine benignly upon an old acquaintance _ I am pretty confident that a ray of light will not be withheld from me, and yet without some friendly collision it may still want its creative power ____

When we last met, you were kind enough to say that my little all would willingly receive me before my journey to the north _ As soon as I am well enough I hope to profit of your kindness; I shall gladly repair to your holy sanctuary; I wish, after these pestilential gales, to inhale for a moment the pure breath of Heaven; within those shady volumes of accumulated verdure let me identify myself with every breeze, wander among those solemn pines, reply to their rustling murmurs, and gazing on the varying tints of animated nature forget the world _ and forgive it ____

But, my Dear friend these are not the joys now destined for My devoted head _ Futurity _ my courage would fail me were her dispensations open to my view _ one thing however I should find _ that I not only am but ever shall be

Yours most aff^{ly}:

& &^c

D= & C=

July 29th. 1806.

Gros^r: Place

William Beckford to the Marquis of Douglas, dated Fonthill Abbey, 1 August 1806 (from L. Melville, *The Life and Letters of William Beckford of Fonthill* (London, 1910), pp.286-7)

Do not imagine, my dear Douglas, that I have remained in stupid ignorance of your progress to recovery. Almost every day have I heard from my faithful Francis how you were going on.

Feeling the most sincere, I might add the most enthusiastic friendship for you, all my anxieties have been alive upon your account.

I am not surprised at the sort of interposition which seems to have rescued you from danger.

You have a Guardian Angel, and are reserved (so my interior Soul tells me) for all that is good and great. If I did not believe so, I should think still more deeply of our political Situation. The Russian News was exactly what I looked for, with a just and prophetic eye you seemed contemplating when we last conversed together.

My intelligence from Paris long since gave me to understand what is now passing. More will pass, unless such a mind as yours, pure, generous, unprejudiced and fervid, is turned into its proper current, not bound up in the regions of Ice and Nullity.

I hope to God you will be soon sufficiently recovered to fulfil your affectionate promise of passing a few quiet days in this solitude.

If I could but transport you hither without too many jolts and irritations, I could answer for the good effect the aromatic air of our pine forests would produce upon your nerves and spirits.

Adieu for the moment, my dear Douglas,

Believe me invariably

and affectionately yours

W.B.

Fonthill Abbey, 1st August, 1806.

The Marquis of Douglas to the 9th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 26 October 1806 (HA, Bundle 4351)

My Dear Duke

I hope you will not consider this letter as an importunate intrusion upon your leasure; It would give me pain to appear indiscreet, but as it would give me more to appear ungratefull, I shall proceed under the impression that you cannot be averse to receive my thanks for your kindness _ Your last letter assumed a degree of indulgence towards me that calls for my best acknowledgments, I beg leave to offer them to you, & to inform you that M^r Manby is highly sensible of your grace's goodness, & will certainly upon his arrival at Lancaster call to pay his duty at Ashton, with a letter of mine which he possesses by way of introduction ____

Before these few lines fall into your hands you will have seen probably my good friend Dent; He called upon me just before he set off, & informed he should take the earliest opportunity of going over to Ashton Hall: Having no particular message, I troubled him with nothing but my dutifull regards _ He will give you a sad account of the political proceedings of the day; perhaps from his partiality to the present opposition they may be somewhat in charicature in his representation, but I fear they will bear a deep tint without being exceeded by the artist __ The Duke of Northumberland has thrown Westminster into sad confusion in consequence of his having withdrawn Lord Percy from his independant constituents: His Grace objects to Sheridan as his son's colleague, & therefore administration are now supplying the place of the noble Earl __

I suppose for once Lancaster will be quiet, & you will hear no Election disturbance; I have sent down an advertisement to be made publick directly; whether it will give satisfaction I know not, but my situation is so peculiar that I hardly dare write a word without saying what I ought not to say, or without having unsaid what ought to be made publick ____

I yesterday received a letter from Lord Grenville desiring me to send to the Sec^y of State's office for the home department the title belonging to your Grace by which I was to be called up to the House of Peers _ I have consequently sent in Dutton, which being the English Barony I am led to suppose is the one I ought to

bear _ This I am led to think is the prelude to my departure from hence, & Lord Howick indeed told me that he was anxious for me to be at S^t Petersburg as soon as possible _ I shall therefore perhaps be prevented from throwing myself at your Graces feet before my journey; be this as it may, I shall ever retain a gratefull sense of your goodness, & ever rejoice in any opportunity of testifying with duty & affection those sentiments of respect with which I am

My Dear Duke

Your most o^b h^e Se^t [i.e. obedient humble Servant]

& Son

Douglas & Clydesdale

Gros^r: Place

8^{bre}: y^e 26th: 1806

The 9th Duke of Hamilton has annotated the cover ‘The Marquiss going to Russia 30th Oc^t 1806 & my answer’. His badly written answer – including the sentence ‘I do most heartily wish you health & happyness & I pray God to bless you from my Heart’ – has been separated from the letter but is in the same bundle.

Lord Lansdowne to the Marquis of Douglas, dated Southampton Castle, 9 November 1806 (HA, Bundle 956)

Southampton Castle Nov. 9th. 1806.

My Dear Lord

I cannot resist the inclination I feel of introducing to your acquaintance a very old friend of mine who will have the honour of delivering this letter. His brother M^r. Smith was the American Minister at Lisbon, and it is just possible that you may remember himself in Italy where he made a considerable stay. His knowledge of Russia will recommend him to you more strongly than anything I can say. He is recently returned from thence, and has made such a study of it as I would not undertake to [? profess] the [? fairest] of its provinces. [...]

The Marquis of Douglas to the 9th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 14 November 1806 (HA, Bundle 4351)

My Dear Duke

In reply to your kind letter I will say nothing to you concerning my departure for Russia; for I know nothing about it, & I really believe Ministers are not better informed _ Of this I am sure; the present official gentleman for foreign affairs might as well have remained at the Admiralty for all the Continental advantages that this Country may expect from his Diplomatic information _ But the fact is, we have no connections abroad at present, & nothing but time & ingenuity can give us any; force has been imprudently exerted, & we have exhausted ourselves & all the powers of Europe _ It remains for us to behold the diminution & restriction that will be imposed upon Russia - The thing is evident to anyone informed of the affairs of Continental policy & preponderancy; but we blunder on in the dark, & provided S^t: Stephens Chappel is but filled with a parcel of corrupt venal wolves who will vote anything, we are satisfied, because there still remains blood enough for another repast _ But we shall shortly only have a skeleton before us, & we shall then turn upon each other to satisfy our habitual rapacity _

To you I may say it, My Dear Duke, because I know I am speaking to one who feels for me, whatever may be my situation _ I am cruelly situated & not satisfied; but being committed to the publick, I must make an attempt; when I have fulfilled what becomes now a duty, I shall [? resume or assume, written quickly and incorrectly spelled] with haste & pleasure my natural situation, & act in it with every possible exertion _

The kind manner in which you say that you do not wish to take leave of me, satisfies a heart that I must say feels with jealousy everything that is addressed to it from you _ Do not blame me for this tenaciousness; were I not anxious for your affection, were I not desirous of deserving it, were I not hopefull of attoneing for past errors, I should not examine every word with so much accuracy; but hope and anxiety render us almost suspicious, & I will not even defend myself from the imputation _ The cause of it is too good, too near my heart, not too apologize for the emotion _

The Confusion that is going on here is not to be told _ No body thinks of anything but Elections, & I do not believe such a tribe of Jobbers contractors & Exchange-jews ever disgraced any deliberative assembly before, as is destined for Parliament at the ensuing Session _ Speculations are now thought better in Parliament than in the Alley; & when noble Peers can go there, it is not to be surprized that Brokers should shew themselves at the foot of the Throne _

It is now in agitation to expell the representative of Lancaster from the H: of Commons _ Of course there must be another person found to replace him _ The Rich Bolton from Liverpool threatens I understand _ if he gets in he will appropriate the whole Country to himself _

I hope I have not fatigued you with this long letter _ I trust to your indulgence

—

Let me assure you that I ever wish upon every occasion to testify myself what I am sure I ought to be your dutifull & affectionate Son

& &

Douglas & Clydesdale

Gros^r: Place

Nov^r y^e 14th: 1806 _

The Marquis of Douglas to the 9th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 22 November 1806 (HA, Bundle 4351)

I am surrounded, my Dear Duke, with all the prelude of departure, & my spirits are not a little overcome by it _ That my heart should turn itself to where it owes so much; that It should seek comfort in expressing its' anxiety and gratitude to you is not surprizing, & I am sure such sentiments will not be rejected by you _

It is decided (unless changes take place which I cannot answer for) that I am to set sail directly; the frigate is to be ready to wait my orders on monday; on that day I go to receive my instructions & ultimate orders, & then am to proceed with the utmost expedition _ I cannot refrain from saying, I not only feel uneasy at leaving this country, but at the perilous task that awaits me _ The systems adopted, the people engaged, the plan (as far as I know) of future proceedings, if I may guess from past operations, can only tend to throw the whole Continent into greater confusion, and augment the general distress _ I am to do what I can _ My duty calls upon me _ I am committed, and engaged to the publick; I trust If hereafter you have to lament my want of success, you will not have to blush at the endeavours I employed, nor be ashamed of the conduct of your Son ____

I see everything in a dismal point of view, but I inherit courage and firmness enough to front the danger without dismay, & to hope that a name respected allthro' Europe will not lose its estimation from the nearer approach, & more intimate knowledge of the one who now bears it ____

I am too much hurried to continue, but allow me to assure you my Dear Duke, that nothing is nearer my heart than to deserve your approbation, & enjoy your affection and regard _ If I have mis-judged & mis-conducted myself upon any points, all I claim in my favour is your indulgence; my errors have been involuntary, my atonement shall be voluntary & carried to any pitch _ Let me hope to hear from you, & let me hope to feel when I am freezing under the pole that there is the congenial warmth of parental affection in another part of the globe that pants for the successes of a son, & is prepared to receive him with open arms _ My stay I do not mean to be long; you may influence it; & let me conclude, with adding, that the said influence is with out limit, as well, as to the object, as to the effect _ I do & ever shall wish to

testify myself by my conduct, & by ever feeling most delicate & most affectionate
to be

Your gratefull & dutifull Son

&^c &c &

Douglas & Clydesdale

Gros^r: Place

Nov^r y^e 22^d= 1806

Lord Howick to Charles Stuart, dated London, 25 November 1806 (NA, FO 342/5, p.285)

Nº. 10.

Downing Street November 25: 1806..

Sir,

This letter will be delivered to you by The Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, whom His Majesty has been please to appoint His Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary at the Court of His Imperial Majesty _ and I am to desire that you will afford His Excellency every information & Assistance in your power upon all matters connected with the Object of his Mission, _ In desiring you to deliver to The Marquis of Douglas all the Cyphers & Official Correspondence in your possession, I have great satisfaction in repeating to you on the occasion, His Majesty's entire Approbation of your Conduct. _

I am with great Truth & Regard,

Sir, your most obedient

humble Servant,

Howick.

Charles Stuart Esqr

The Marquis of Douglas to William Beckford, dated 27 November 1806 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 20, ff.14-5)

The torments and preparitions previous to a long voyage have detained me in town my Dear Beckford another day _ I must send you three lines, altho I am lost in papers, & covered with letters, dispatches, & a very multitude of (I may say it to you) now useless ministerial appendages _ I go with a Heavy Heart _ I am leaving what is dear to me; & am going freezing under the Pole to see disasters __ I must not however _ will not be dismayed __

Let me begin by interceeding for poor Font-hill: I can not forget my old & favourite abode, altho' the religious magnificence of its neighbouring sanctuary envelops it in a mortifying inferiority __ No _ save poor Font-hill _ Consider it as the pilgrims resting-place to happier regions, as a preparative to the sublime bliss attending the faithfull _ You would not carry the profane immediately into the temple without previous ablution & preparation _ If there are economical reasons for partially destroying it; at least let the shell remain, & we will one day together wander over it, and enjoy the pleasing gratification of reverting to past times __

Do not forget to let me hear how the temple of Solomon is going on _ I shall regret those gothic lines, & the waving pines that surround them, when I am lost in eternal snows, & burned in the dismal [illegible word: ? wiles] of Siberia _ Recollect however I look forward to the day of my return with exaltation; I look forward to that moment when every wish that can warm & gratify the heart is to be satisfied, & that I am to be restored to the bosom of affection & friendship __

In a few hours I set off for Yarmouth _ The Ariadne waits my orders _ Recollect if I am detained there, I will send you thre[e] lines; if not, offer up your prayers, and interest S^t Antoine in my behalf _ Letters sent to the foreign office, or put into the post office here will equally find me at S^t Petersburg; & will give me the most sincere pleasure to hear from you __

Adieu de coeur et d'âme je vous embrasse __ pour livre

Votre Aff^{te} Amis

D : & C :

Nov^r y^e 27th: 1806__

The Marquis of Douglas to the 9th Duke of Hamilton, dated Stockholm, 26 December 1806 (HA, C4/531A and C4/534B)

My Dear Duke

Upon my arrival at Gottenburg I sent you a few lines to inform you of my being safely lodged in the British agent's House; I am to let you know at present that I am got as far as Stockholm; and altho' I have experienced much inconvenience, and have been exposed to some danger I am perfectly well, & equal to the difficulties that I still have to encounter before my arrival at S^t Petersburg – When I left London my health was by no means reestablished, but the journey has rather done me good than harm, for altho' I cannot say I am perfectly recovered, yet I am certainly much better than I was previous to my leaving Grosvenor Place _

That you may not be alarmed lest you should hear a dismal account of an accident that befel me, let me inform you that I was fortunate enough to meet with no injury whatever _ I going down a very steep hill the horses broke away threw the coachman off his box & ran down two precipices full speed _ There was nothing but a little boy to guide eight horses, & he being placed on the foremost of them urged the whole forwards to secure himself _ The carriage made two several turns & notwithstanding the rocks & stones in the road experienced no damage when suddenly the horses halted & allowed me to get out of the carriage without the least injury _ I immediately run back to find the poor coachman; he was in the middle of the road quite dead, the wheel of the carriage having passed over his breast _ You may easily conceive the uneasiness & trouble this misfortune occasioned in a strange country, & unable to explain myself excepting thro' the medium of an interpreter _ I should tell you that from Gottenburg instead of coming directly here I went by Malmo to see the King _ He received me with peculiar attention, as did likewise the Queen _ The roads tho' generally good were in sad order, for (what has not been known for years) there has been as yet no frost to fix them _ You travel thro' a fine wild country, beautifully varigated with wild broken rocks & larches bursting forth out of them, several lakes bathe the feet of these wild eminences & give a beautifull & picturesque appearance to the Country – The town of Stockholm itself is interspersed with these wild sceenes [sic], which gives it a strange but fine appearance, whilst upon a rising ground opposite the sea the Royal Palace appears in

great magnificence _ I have [mistake for was] treated here with very particular & marked civilities,- The name of Hamilton, however it may be neglected at home, I assure you meets with an attentive and flattering reception elsewhere; I saw two of our relations, they came over in the time of our internal quarrels at home & have established their families here from that period of time –

Tomorrow I mean to set off again upon my journey, & trust I shall be able to get to S^t Petersburg in about a fortnight – The passage of the gulf is terrible at this season of the year, but I am resolved having, committed myself, to do everything that is in my power to fulfill the intentions with which I offered myself to the publick – The weather as yet is tolerably favourable, but any change may expose me to great difficulties, & I cannot say that I feel disposed to make the tour by Torneo & visit the Laplanders in their huts surrounded by their herds of reindeer –

Upon my arrival at the seat of the Russian Empire you shall hear from me _ I say nothing on the subject of politics that my letter may be less exposed to the chance of being intercepted, not in fact that there is any news of importance _ The French are on the side of the Vistula, the Russians on the other, the bridge burnt down by the latter, & all means of support removed, as far as it was possible, from the country surrounding the french _ no general attack has yet taken place – This is everything, & on this depends almost everything _ I have many difficulties to encounter of every kind, I trust however I shall extricate myself without discredit to myself or to those immediately connected with me I hope your Grace will encourage me, by sometimes letting [531A ends here and 534B starts] me have a few lines from you _ They will give me courage, & animate my exertions; they will lead me to feel that I am upheld by those I most love & revere, & support me under every difficulty however distressing _ I cannot conclude this letter without thanking your Grace a thousand times for the many kindnesses you have heaped upon me, they will ever remain alive in my memory, & I shall ever feel grateful to you for the same _ With every sentiment of affectionate duty and regard allow me to assure you that I am

most truly & sincerely

Your grace's [illegible abbreviations]

& Son

Douglas & Clydesdale

Stockholm

Decer y^e 26th: 1806

P:S:

You will be kind enough either to send your letter to the foreign office to be forwarded to me or send it to the British Ambassador at S^t: Petersburg

adieu __

The Marquis of Douglas to the 9th Duke of Hamilton, dated St Petersburg, 4 February 1807 (HA, C4/534A and C4/531B)

My Dear Duke

I should not only be wanting in duty & affection, but I should ill consult my own feelings was I to allow the first Courier I sent to England to set off without charging him with a letter for your Grace __

Behold me safely arrived at this place, & (what is extraordinary to say) much better in health for the fatigues & inconveniences I have experienced _ It would be impossible to give you an account of my journey; t'would appear rather a romance than a narration established upon fact; occasionally I have sent a few lines to my sisters desiring them to communicate their purport to you, that you might be informed of my motions, my resolution, & my safety _ The crossing the gulph of Bothnia was terrible in itself not to enter upon the uneasiness that delays occasion when one is anxious to push forward _ I know not whether the breaking ice upon which I partly passed, or the crazy boats without sails or sailors were most to be dreaded _ If however I had every difficulty to encounter, no serious danger (if I may judge from the suite) approached me _ The scene [sic] was wonderfully fine & magnificent, & I assure you notwithstanding all my misfortunes frequently called forth my admiration – From Abo (the first habitable place on the Russian side of the Gulph) to Petersburg I had every comfort & convenience the Country could afford _ Not only the Russian government, but the Swedish, received me with *les honneurs de la diplomacie*; wherever I arrived the officers of the town met me, conducted me to apartments selected for my use, & only half killed me with a repetition of civil speeches when all I wanted was solitude & retirement _ The night before I arrived at this place we had 19 degrees of cold; having left my carriage (*par necessité*) upon one of those desolate Islands in crossing the gulph I was in an open Russian carriage or cubic; but let me tell you I was so ingeniously covered up with skins that I perceived no inconvenience from the rigour of the Season _ The Governor however at the place where I slept (Wibourg) would not allow me to proceed in consequence of the cold having increased in the night, & sent me on in his own carriage, so I made my *entree* here in a thorough Russian form _ I got here by moon light & was delighted with the appearance of the town; the magnificent buildings of which it is

composed, partly illuminated by lamps, & partly by the contending light of the moon & the snow produced a glorious effect; I forgot that it was cold, stopt my drunken Russian postilions, a[nd] gazed around me with admiration –

I can say little as yet of the town, still less of the inhabitants _ The Minister for Foreign affairs (contrary to what I had been told) treats me with great attention & apparent confidence; but with regard to the Emperor, I never was so pleased in my life; he kept me with him a full hour _ Upon my entrance, after having delivered my credentials he took me by the hand, said he was much pleased to see me, that he had expected my coming with impatience, that my character had been long established at Petersburg, & that he hoped I would like it as much as it liked me _ He then entered into a long political disquisition shewing much good sense and not less generosity and honor; & concluded by observing that I must not only thank H:B:M: for his professions of friendship, but for the selection he had made in sending them thro' me – How things may go on it is impossible to say, sometimes publick affairs destroy private good opinion, & derange the most favourable preventions; but at least you will allow that it is no small satisfaction to be able to commence in a way, so satisfactory to self, & so likely to favour publick business _ I am in the midst of every Species of confusion, as you may well imagine; a new house & a very large one not half furnished, with all the cargo of things I was obliged to send from England is sufficient to disturb, without [534A ends and 531B starts] considering the requisite attention to publick business which of course is particularly importunate to everyone at the first beginning __

I shall occasionally send you word how I am going on, I hope your Grace will occasionally send to the foreign office a few lines to let me know that you are well & not so low spirited _ It is I hope unnecessary before I conclude that I should repeat to your Grace how sensible I am of your goodness, & how desirous I am to deserve it; I will not enter upon anything that can create a frown; but I trust you will give me the satisfaction to hear that you feel towards me those sentiments of paternal regard & affection I am so desirous to maintain _ adieu believe me to be with every lively feeling of gratitude & duty my Dear Duke

Your dutiffull & af^m [for affectionate] Son

&c &c _

Douglas & Clydesdale

S^t: Petersburg

Feb^r: y^e 4th: 1807 __

The Marquis of Douglas to the 9th Duke of Hamilton, dated St Petersburg, 5 March 1807 (HA, C4/532)

S^t Petersburg

March y^e [blank] - 1807 _

Your letter, My Dear Duke, of the 11th of January gave me infinite pleasure; the anxiety you are good enough to manifest concerning me evinces the sentiments you still entertain for your son _ Any thing I could say in return to convey my gratitude would do little justice to my own feelings _

Long before this letter falls into your hands you will have heard of my safe arrival at this place; I am now to let you know, not only that I arrived in perfect health after the fatigues of a very romantic journey, but that ever since my establishment here I have been getting better & better, insomuch that I am now stronger & more healthy than I have been for a considerable time _ It is with pain that I hear you have been again under the necessity of having recourse to your crutches; but as you do not seem to express yourself as tho' you had a regular fit of the ghout, I will flatter myself that er'e this time every symptom will have disappeared _ Can I send you from hence any of the strange variety of skins that they make use of here to keep themselves warm? _ Perhaps they might produce a happy effect, & I should feel truly rejoiced in receiving a commission from you _

Allow me [to] thank you for the kind wishes you are good enough to offer in my behalf _ Whether the Country will derive advantage from my being here, my friends increase, or my private concerns improve, are all very problematical questions _ I shall endeavour to be usefull, & try all I can to moderate my expences so as to injure as little as possible my private concerns, for the expence of this place is incredible; my situation exacts much from me, & the means are by no means adequate to the demand _ Perhaps you may still feel sore upon my departure; I could not foresee all that has happened; and yet I must say, I feel a peculiar gratification in doing something _ I could do much more if a due degree of latitude was given me _ My situation here thus far is highly satisfactory; the Emperor & all the family are prejudiced in my favour and treat me with peculiar kindness; whilst the whole town shew every day a similar disposition _ I have taken a very large, and excellent house,

which I have not yet been able to open not having received all my things; but a number of my friends surround me and are more communicative with me than with most strangers _ Poor old Czernichew's son came to enquire after me directly, & all the family of the Strogonoff's are particularly kind & obliging _ There are several Scotch here, who are delighted to have a Countryman to represent their Sovereign _ They are very usefull to me _ I sent out a whole set of English horses which have turned out most dismally; some people however admire them so I hope I shall be able to get rid of them; my saddle horses arrived well, & I found them in good order, but George has behaved most shamefully _ He has brought out a woman here, & spent me upwards of sixty pounds; but I feel my whole English colony sooner or later will all return home again _

I am delighted with the beauty and magnificence of this town _ I could not have believed that so near the Pole I should have found all the elegance & Simitry of Italian architecture _ The river Neva is of a character with the enormous Empire that surrounds it _ A thousand parties are now amusing themselves upon it, whilst it appears an immense plain without inequality or interruption _ The luxury & expence that reigns here is incredible, & particularly in the article of eating; a good cook is master of the house, keeps his life in it, has horses to drive out, & in fact is quite the fine gentleman _ Almost all those people who do or can give dinners have made a point of asking me to fix a day, and have prepared most magnificent fêtes _ Every species of luxury appears, either brought from the hot house, or preserved in ice from the last summer _

I shall now conclude my Dear Duke with begging you occasionally to let me have three lines to say that you are tollerably well; you [illegible altered word] that you are not fond of writing, I do not wish to importune you by requesting long letters, but allow me to hope that I shall sometimes know that I am thought of _

I do not send you any news from hence as there is nothing of importance since I sent home the last accounts of the military successes of the Russians _ They behaved wonderfully well I hear from all quarters, & it is hoped will still distinguish themselves again _ It is not impossible but I may shortly become an eyewitness of their proceedings should the Emperor go to the army and yet I suspect another turn may take place _

I shall conclude with begging you to take care of yourself, & assuring you
that with every lively feeling of gratitude & affection I am

My Dear Duke

Your Dutifull & aff^[?] Son

&^c— &^c—

D: & C:

S^t: Petersburg _

March y^e 5th 1807 —

The Marquis of Douglas to the 9th Duke of Hamilton, dated St Petersburg, 2 July 1807 (HA, Bundle 4351)

Having met with an opportunity, My Dear Duke, of sending you a letter by private hands I have determined to avail myself of it _ Whether it will be delivered to you or not I cannot tell, but I have a pleasure in giving any proof, however trifling, of shewing towards you my feelings of gratitude & duty _

I am now released from the honor & responsibility I lately held here, & may give my time to my own thoughts & pursuits _ The method in which I was superseded, & the obliging observations that (I hear) accompanied the nomination of my successor, were not pleasing to me; you however will not have been surprized, & perhaps will have felt little inclined to sympathize with me, in consequence of my having accepted a situation that did not altogether satisfy you _ As for me, I shall say nothing; the most cruel combinations seem to be succeeding one another, as if designedly to make me regret the step I had taken: what has been doing in England I know not; but I can assure you, here nothing has happened, excepting what was personally highly flattering and pleasing to me; ever since my arrival at S^t Petersburg my situation has been most agreeable to me, having met with every mark of attention and kindness as well as from the Emperor as from the people of the Country, and in leaving Russia I have the satisfaction of knowing that I am regretted _ I can assure you I regret much that my stay has been so short; but whilst we are quarelling at home in the 19th century about political religion, is it to be wondered at that our foreign politics should be neglected? _

In a former letter I sent you word that being here, it was my intention instead of returning to England directly to make an excursion in the interior of this country; I entertain still the same idea, notwithstanding the weather appears to threaten _ I am so kindly treated by everybody, and have been induced by the Imperial family in so friendly a manner to undertake this journey that I have now resolved upon it _ The Empress mother has desired particularly that I would inform her previous to my departure that she may write letters herself to insure me every possible agreement _

If I was much grieved some time ago to hear that you had been again confined by the ghout, I am rejoiced to learn now that you are infinitely better and I

suppose already arrived in London _ May your health continue, & may you enjoy every blessing is the earnest prayer of one who can never forget your goodness _

The political hemisphere is now going to take a different character altogether _ Bonaparte has concluded a peace with the Emperor of Russia, & they appear reciprocally satisfied with one another if reports say true _ How our wise ministers will like this I cannot tell; I only hope they will have judgment enough to unite with Russia in a general peace, instead of going singlehanded with Lord Hawkesbury to Paris _ This opens a wide field & much may & ought to be done; What will be done is another question; but at this moment there is still sufficient opportunity to regulate concerns of great importance: if any wisdom is adopted we may look to some, perhaps many moments of respite and tranquillity; if S^t: Stephens continues to be the only Thermometor by which the heat of political vital life is to be preserved _ The Lord have mercy upon us __

But I will not trouble you with these speculations of mine _ Allow me to assure you of my dutyfull regard and affection, & believe me to be my dear Duke

Yours most truly

& dutifully

D: & C:

S^t: Petersburg

July y^e 2^d: 1807 _

List of items ordered by the Marquis of Douglas, undated (HA, Bundle 698)

Objets

Commandés par Son Excellence M^e le Marquis Duglas.

										<u>Roubles</u>	
1.	table	ronde								300.	
1.	glace	haut.	124	larg.	62	pouces	—			1875.	
1	—	—	73	—	45	—	—			237	50. cop.
1	—	—	73	—	45	—	—			237	50 —
1	—	—	31	—	45	—	—			62	67 —
1	—	—	31	—	45	—	—			62	67 —
										<hr/>	
										R.	cop.
										2775	— 34. —

reçu _____ Roub 500.

[...]

Alexander Young to the Marquis of Douglas, dated Edinburgh, 7 January 1809 (HA, Bundle 683)

Edinburgh 7th., January 1809.

My dear Lord,

If the Season were less severe and You could enjoy more Society at Hamilton Palace, I should not be sorry for your detention there, because you will thence acquire a better knowledge of your own affairs than can be obtained in any other manner, and you will be enabled by degrees, to perform a duty to yourself, in which you may be assisted by others, but which no person can perform, unless it be done under the Eye and by the direction of your Lordship. _ You cannot, however, stay long at Hamilton Palace just now, but if I had any influence with Your Lordship, and could impart to you the strong impressions which I have of the benefits likely to arise from your residing there a great part of the Year, I would prevail on you to return to it as soon as possible, and to spend all the ensuing Summer and autumn in your own house. _ The favorable effects of your residence there upon every branch of your affairs, and every, even the most important interests of your family, cannot easily be calculated. _

I will expect to hear from your Lordship a day or two before your arrival here, and I shall not till then trouble you with any particular business, excepting a few Remarks on your Acco^{nt}. with Mess^{rs}., Hoare. _ The period of receiving Remittances from your Factors is now not very distant, and I should like to begin a negociation with these Gentlemen, by sending them a Bill of Exchange for as great an amount as can possibly be spared, and this Remittance I would make at sight, in place of the long par of 43. days; I know that London Bankers lay great stress on such trifling matters. _ I know also that they are very averse from setting apart any Balances of their Clients Accounts, as a Loan;) I am sure they will greatly prefer a general Guarantee, and a Reduction of the debts by degrees, keeping the Accompt in its present form; perhaps your Lordship may have entered into explanations with them so far as to be satisfied that they will prefer or agree to another mode of settlement, but I am not clear that any other would be preferable for your Lordship. _ By what you write to me, I think you must allude to the awkwardness of continuing to draw from them what may be necessary for your own personal Expences, upon an

Accompt of which the Balance is already so greatly against you, but this in my Opinion may easily be avoided, by your Lordship's fixing on a certain Sum to which you think you can properly restrict your Expences, and having that Sum kept upon another Accompt, not with other Bankers, but with Mess^{rs} Hoares themselves, as it would not be just, as long as they Continue to behave towards your Lordship as they have done, that you should deal with any other House. _ All these matters may be easily explained and arranged, I only throw out a few hints of them at present for your Lordship's consideration. _

[...]

Memorandum by the Marquis of Douglas, dated 10 January 1809 (HA, M10/179)

Placed by me in the charterroom

Formerly three parcels of different letters upon business written in the years 1802 _3
_ 4 & _ 5 _

The Duke of Douglas's will belonging to Lord Arch^d Hamilton _

A sable muff belonging to Catherine II Empress of Russia

My full powers as Ambassador to the Court of Russia

Douglas & Clydesdale

Jan^{ry} y^e 10th

1809 ____

Richard Riga & Co [?] to the Marquis of Douglas, dated St Petersburg, 3 May 1811(HA, Bundle 698)

My Lord

It was from Gottenburg I ought to have waited on you, I defer'd doing so until I reach'd Stockholm, expecting to have had something to say respecting Your Lordships Commissions; Never was I more disapointed, the most untoward of Circumstances happen'd to me, such as ever to preclude all possibility of writing, much less of fulfilling your Lordships Wishes, I have not given up the hopes of doing so, but still ^{expect}~~hope~~ to succeed; My Journey hither, two. thirds of it, has I am convinced been as trying as possible, I arriv'd here very unwell a little repose, & the kindness I experience will I trust bring me about again,

Your Lordships Letters I have deliver'd as follows,

To M^{rs}. Gerebjoff _ whose Name is at present in the Papers, previous to her departure which I understand is fixed for the 15th of this Month. M^{rs}. G_s health is certainly much impair'd but whether it is her intention to leave the Continent, or not, I cannot say;

To Doctor Rogerson, who looks uncommonly well, & is going on in the Old Way; To Count Walitsky who writes by this occasion, forwarding a Packet. (I believe 2 Snuff boxes); to him I have made over Your Lordships Letter to Countess Potoskas, who is absent; I have never seen the Count look so well as he does at present;

To M^r Anderson with whom I was to dine in the Country this day, but am prevented by the rain;

M^r Guiranki is not here at present but expected very shortly;

Madame Kutusoff & de Litta I have still to deliver their Letters

M^r Czekalevsky I am come from this morning, all your Lordships Packages are now in perfect order, two sent to him from Lord Gower he is uneasy about, fearing they may contain something to be look'd after = The Tapestry Work (H:I:M Catharines Picture) I understand is quite ready & as the Bridge is now put up, I propose going over in the course of a day or two, something I am also told is to be paid thereon,

which I shall mention to Baron Rall at a more favorable Exchange 12 at 12½ pence the payment (if any thing is due) cannot well be made;

Thus much, My Lord, I have accounted for the Neue Letters, I took in Charge; I have as yet been out but little, consequently not seen many old friends; M^{rs}. Leursioff I am told is very well _ M^r & M^{rs} Adadouff travelling in France, Young Prince Kurakin employ'd in the Minister of Finance H:E: Gurieffs department, the Prince his father return'd to Pultava, General Lauriston arriv'd here, the Duke of Vicenza on the Eve of departure = This Country sustains a loss in the death of young General Suworeff, who was drown'd in crossing the Rinnisk, a river dividing Moldavia from Wallachia & from which His Father deriv'd his title of Suroroff Rimnitsky; He was a most promising Officer; I purpose waiting on Your Lordship again e'r long; In the meantime accepting of my most gratefull acknowledgements for all past favors, I remain with great respect & truth

My Lord,

Your Lordships

Ever devoted & oblig'd

Humble Servant[? s]

= Richard Riga [? & Cy]

S^t Petersburg

3. May 1811.

Bill for the tapestry of the Empress Catherine II from the Imperial Tapestry Manufactory, St Petersburg, dated 6 June 1811 (HA, Bundle 1006)

Pour le portrait de L'Imperatrice Catherine

II. En nautellise _____ 2000.^{R.}

Pour la Glasse _____ 1500 ^{R.}

L'Emballage _____ 200 ^{R.}

3700.^{R.}

Inspecteur de la Manufacture Toupilleff

1811. Juin le 6^e ____

Baron Rall to the Marquis of Douglas, dated St Petersburg, 30 June 1811 (HA, Bundle 1006)

Duplicate

S^t. Petersburg the 30th. June 1811.

My Lord,

Monsieur de Czecalewsky will no doubt have informed Your Lordship of his having received in June 1809, the 1000 R which on Your departure from hence you desired me to pay him, but I was unwilling to trouble you for this trifle, until I should have occasion to write to you upon some other subject. The 1000 R amount at the then existing Exchange of 22¼^d according to the note herewith to £ 105.14/_ which I request you will order to be paid to Mess^{rs}. Harman & C^o.

The tapestry manufactory now only have given me notice that the portrait, Your Lordship ordered is ready. You will observe by the note inclosed that the expence of the glass is 300 R more than you mentioned to me, but I conclude it is your wish that I should pay the whole sum of 3700 R claimed; to enable me to do which Your Lordship will have the Goodness to let me know in what manner I am to take my reimbursement: the most simple I could propose would be, by your giving orders to your Bankers to accept my drafts for the amount.

It was your Intention to treat directly with M^r Marin Torlonia of Rome for the three antique Cameos which your Lordship received of me when you left Petersburg, but M^r Torlonia informs me that he has never received any letter from You whatever & therefore claims of me the three thousand Ducats which Your Lordship agreed to pay, in case of not making any arrangement with M^r Torlonia. I should be obliged by your favoring me with a letter for him & your directions for my reimbursement, if it is your wish that M^r. Torlonia should be paid through me, which I should conceive the best method now that the communication with the Continent is so much interrupted.

I have the honor to subscribe myself

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient humble servant

A [?]. Rall

To the most noble Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale etc etc.

The Marquis of Douglas has annotated the top of the letter 'wrote to Mess^{rs} Hoares Nov y^e 8th 1811 to pay £105 to Mess^r Harman _'. The letter was subsequently used as a folder for other letters and Douglas has also annotated it 'all Duplicate' and, later, 'Valicky's business & other affairs in S^t. Petersburg Czecalewsky & things left there'.

The following note on the same coloured paper is enclosed with the letter and was probably sent to Douglas on 30 June 1811:

Note

R 1000 _ paid M^r. de Czecalewsky 18th. June

1809 at 22 $\frac{1}{4}$ ^d	£ 92. 14. 2
2 years interest at 5 p C ^t	, 9. 5. 6
Commission here & in London & Postage.....	3. 14. 4

£105. 14 _

Vine to the Marquis of Douglas, dated London, 4 November 1811 (HA, Bundle 698)

Mr. Vine has the honor to acquaint the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale that he will call himself on Lady Anne Hamilton for the £140 which shall be transfer'd immediately thro' his correspondents Mess^{rs} Nicholls & Plincke of S^t. Petersburg to the Count Valicky, he will also forward the Letter to the Count and any others the Marquis may commit to his care with safety. __

November 4^h. 1811

10 Sise Lane

Vine to the Marquis of Douglas, dated London, 12 November 1811 (HA, Bundle 1006)

M^r. Vine has received of the Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale by the hands of Lady Anne Hamilton One Hundred & forty Pounds which Sum he engages shall be paid through his correspondents in S^t. Petersburg to the Count Valicki _

London 12 Nov^r. 1811

Dr John Rogerson to the Marquis of Douglas, dated Edinburgh, 14 December 1811
(HA, Bundle 698)

My Lord

I had yesterday the Honour of receiving Your Lordship's letter of the 11th. Dec^r. Nothing but the very bad state of the weather during the whole of the month of October prevented me from paying my respects at Hamilton Palace; but I had flattered myself with having the Satisfaction of seeing your Lordship in Edinburgh on your way to London; having forgot ('till just now) the strong inducement you have to take Lancashire in your way _ I intend to be in London towards the end of January when viva voce we can discuss various things too delicate to be committed to paper.

I left St. Petersburg in the beginning of August. All our friends were then in their usual way. M^{rs}. Jereproff went in the beginning of June to Courland to see her Brother. She was then uncertain whether she would proceed farther or spend the Summer with the Prince and at the mineral Waters of Baldun. I afterwards learned that after a short stay she had proceeded to Berlin. Her desire was & I believe is to reach England _ She has had a good deal of uneasiness I believe of late from her Son whose Wife about 18. months ago left him and went to Vienna where it was said she purposed to remain with her Children All this passed quietly and without any visible cause _ other than the disgust of the Lady with the [? low lived] tournure of the Husband _ The Routonzoffs are well and all highly pleased by the Elevation of the General (who was thought to be laid aside) to the Chief Command of the Moldavian Army _ They had a great Mortification last Summer. Young Chitroff the Son in Law was convicted or I should rather say detected in a traiterous connexion with Colincourt to whom he procured and delivered ample lists of every distribution and provision of the Army, their numbers, destination &c. He disappeared & it was never known what is become of him _ The Princess Tarconta is well and desired many Compliments to Your Lordship. Madame Potacke left us last Winter on Acc^t. of the Contract at Kioff. She was I heard in the same situation with many others of great fortune unable to find Ducets to pay their debts _ so that every body was obliged to write their bills over again. _ This kind of distress is very general over all that Country

I shall not say a word to Your Lordship at present upon Politicks, only that things remain nearly in the State in which you left them _ and that there appears no reason for any indefinite length of time to expect a Change. M^r. Novosil[l/i, z/r]off has been at Vienne since May and Prince Adam with His Father at Pulava. Count Roumant[z/r]off remains in statu quo and will not disappear but with the System of which he is the Organ. But I will talk more amply of these things when I shall have the Honour of seeing your Lordship.

Valit[? es]ky wished me to take with me a beautifull and elegant Cabinet Clock montè en Malachite which he desires as a Cadeau for Your Lordship _ I regretted that it was not in my power to take charge of it

God grant that the time may soon come when men and things may be freely interchanged between the two Countries. At such a period it is not impossible that I an old fellow as I am may again have the pleasure of meeting Your Lordship in Russia.

I have the Honour ever to remain with the [u]tmost Esteem

My Lord

Your Lordship's faithfull

and obedient Servant

J. Rogerson

41.

Charlotte Square

Dec^r. 14. 1811.

John Booker to the Marquis of Douglas, dated London, 25 December 1811 (HA, Bundle 722)

My Lord

I have not paid my respects to Your Lordship for this long time from motives of shame, at not having been able to give you any account of the Commission, you favoured me with. At last I have received Letters from Russia & one of the 3^d Oct^r states “I was in hopes to send you the invoice of the Parquet, but I cannot do it yet, I calculate, that the whole will not even amount to [abbreviation for Roubles] 1000 with expences.” About £63 _ This day I have another Letter of the 3^d Nov^r mentioning.

“I accordingly purchased a Parquet & sent it to Cronstadt, but altho’ I have written repeatedly to S.^[*] & have commissioned a friend to speak to him, I have to this day got no answer, whether the Ship in which it was to go received it or not”

These Extracts will I trust convince Your Lordship, that I have not been inattentive, tho’ I must own I cannot boast of the exertions of my friends on the other side. My principal reason for addressing you is to know, whether Your Lordship wishes to have the amount insured, which I dare say cannot be done at present under 40 [financial abbreviations, possibly for Sterling]. In case it is your wish, Your Lordship will favour me with your orders by a Line to Batsons.

I sincerely wish Your Lordship many, very many happy returns of the Season, & with every sentiment of attachment & esteem beg leave to subscribe myself

My Lord

Your Lordships

Most obedient humble Servant

John Booker

London 25 December 1811

[*] Probably John Simpson.

Matthew Anderson to the Marquis of Douglas, probably from St Petersburg or the surrounding area, undated but written in 1811 or 1812 (HA, Bundle 1129)

I have to return many thanks for the most obliging letter of the 14th Decem^r which I have just received, I am very sensible of the friendly interest which it expresses for my welfare, and I retain a lively impression of the great kindness I have ever experienced from your L^y _

I have been fortunate in such distracted times not only in having kept clear of losses of any consequence, but ever to have been able to turn the few means that are still within our power to some advantage

The Letter that accompanied mine I had the honor to deliver and I have the pleasure to inclose a reply which the Lady has just brought me herself, and which contains every thing relating to her that you can have a satisfaction in becoming acquainted with _ we have talked of the day when your plans can be realized either on the neva, the [? F]ontascka or the moika, with all the delight which such a hope gives rise to _ we find many of opinion that our wishes will not be long protracted: knowing the satisfaction that your friends desire from hearing of you, I have made a point of speaking on this subject, and they eagerly anticipate the pleasure your presence will give to their Society _ Comte Alex^r. Solticoff imparticular desires me to assure you of the distinguished regard which he shall ever retain The Duke has removed into the House you inhabited, Count S^t: [? Ja Pica] having quitted it for that last inhabited by L^d Gower Countess Pototskoy inhabits that which he lived in before; on your return you will find us great walkers, the Emperor sets us this good example; no weather prevents him from walking every day; the good effects of this are visible in him, for he never looked better or enjoyd better health _ we have a great many young married people Galitzins Gagarins and others who introduce their Ladies into this new training: I am told they form a very pleasant Society, and have little operas [illegible word] in an Evening in a very good stile _

Sig^f Quaringhi, who is at Bergamo left a Vol: of his works with me to be forwarded to your L^y, which will be done when an opportunity offers without you think I had better keep it for you here _ you will be surprised to hear that our Society is still so numerous that our Chapel is hardly Sufficent to contain us; we are infinitely indebted to our respectable Clergyman D^r. Pitt who stands very high in the

estimation of this Government for the great indulgence which we have found in every thing relating to our Church affairs, and our indigent, or unfortunate Countryman.

I find the Post the most certain Channel of correspondence, it enjoins some circumspection and the omission of every thing that may give an ostensible importance to a letter; this must be my excuse for the stile and rude appearance of this, which I hope will be a safe Passport for its journey My Family enjoy perfect health and beg their profound respects to which I beg leave to add the devotion with which I am ever my [Lord presumably omitted]

Your most Obedient
most humble Servant
Matthew Anderson

John Booker to the Marquis of Douglas, dated London, 6 January 1812 (HA, Bundle 722)

My Lord

Since the last Letters I had the honor of addressing to Your Lordship I have received the following information from my nephew^[*]. “I have not room enough left to send you an invoice of the Parquet, it amounts however to [abbreviation for Roubles] 725..94”. Not quite £49 @ 15^d pr ruble. “It is put into a Warehouse at Cronstadt, & must now wait till next year. This affair has given me much uneasiness, as in the first place, the one I ordered I did not get, & then, after looking round the whole town, & only finding a few, one of which I chose, it is hard to have it at last remain behind.”

Amidst the disappointments I have experienced it gives me some satisfaction to be able to exculpate my friends in Your Lordships eyes of an unpardonable peice of neglect given & even to congratulate you that the Parquet remains, as the losses among the Ships, which sailed from Russia this autumn, are unprecedented.

I shall embrace an early opportunity of paying my respects to Your Lordship & beg leave to acknowledge myself

My Lord

Your Lordships

Most obedient humble Servant

John Booker

London 6 January 1812

The letter is annotated twice, in the Marquis of Douglas/10th Duke of Hamilton's handwriting: ‘M^r Bookers letter / December 1811 / to say that I shall / have a parquet / from Russia’ and ‘Old letters on / diff^t subjects put / together in / Oct y^e 12 – 1820’.

[*] Probably John Simpson.

William Allan to the Marquis of Douglas, dated St Petersburg, 16 January 1812 (HA, Bundle 698)

S^t Petersburg 16th Januy 1812

My Lord

I am extremely sorry I had not an opportunity of sending the picture before this time, but M^r Morgan merchant in this place, going to London has taken it in charge and is to deliver it carefully to your Lordship. If it meets your aprobation and worthy of a place in the exhibition _ _ _ _ But your Lordship best knows, your friendship to me has been such that I cannot find language adequate to express my feelings for your uncommon interest in my welfare, therefore I can only offer you the plain language of my heart, my sincerest thanks. Since your Lordships departure from Toulczin, I have travell'd a great deal, in the Crimia and round the sea of Azoff along the Covban, as far as Sircassia, I have made a few sketches but not so many a[s] I could have wish'd our journey in the Crimia was very interesting and agreeable, I regreted your Lordship was not of the party as I am confident the journey would have afforded you much pleasure, We were six days on horse back in passing the south side of the Crimia, the Countess withstood it astonishingly but the scenery repaid our fatigue t'was beyond all description we were in number not less than fifty including they Tartars and Greeks that went along with us. The Countess intends building a town on the south side at a place call'd Yealta and the new town is to be call'd Sophiopolis, each house will cost eight thousand roubles. Her Ladyship has already a great number of subscribers that intend to build according to the plan__

The Countess has been much employed lately in rebuilding three towns that were burnt last year. Toulczen Nemiroff and Humaine, In Toulczen four hundred and fifty houses and one woman were consum'd. Nemiroff not a house left a great number of Jews that went into their cellars to be out of danger were suffocated, Humain about sixty houses were reduced to ashes, Almost every town in this part of the World has sufferd by fire, Kioff one thousand houses and thirteen Churches when I passed through it was burning in three different places, supposd to be done on purpose, numbers have been taken up for it and sent to S^t Petersburg The Countess has been ill this same time with a bad cold and fever what with her journey from Toulczen and the bad weather, but its expected will soon be reestablish'd in good health. The

Children send their complements to you, and in the mean time I am with the greatest regard

My Lord

Your faithful humble servant

W^m Allan

If the picture meets with any success I beg your Lordship will let me know.

The letter is addressed to 'The most noble the / Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale / N° 10 Grovenour Place / London'.

Vine to the Marquis of Douglas, dated London, 20 July 1812 (HA, Bundle 1006)

M^r. Vine has the honor to enclose the Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale Two Letters from S^t. Petersburg in answer to those committed to the care of his correspondent M^r. Plinckē

10 Sise Lane

20 July 1812

Baron Rall to the Marquis of Douglas, dated St Petersburg, 16 August 1812 (HA, Bundle 1006)

Duplicate

S^t. Petersburg the 16th. August 1812

My Lord,

Mess^{rs}. Harman & C^o. have communicated to me the letter which your Lordship wrote them on the 15th. of last month on the subject of your engagement with Count Walicky & I must confess that its contents have surprised me to an high degree & in a very disagreeable manner.

My name being inserted in the bond, is a clear proof that it was not a secret for me & surely since I was to receive the funds, I was fully authorized tho think it as good a security as could be, for the advances which Count Walicky requested upon it, trusting as I did to the honor of your Lordship & to the sacredness of your word & signature. My advances to Count Walicky on this bond being considerable & lying heavy on me, I very naturally wished to receive the interests which your Lordship had engaged to remit annually & if possible a part of the Capital. The latter I know I cannot demand but the interests which are due & which ought to be remitted either to Count Walicky or to me, I had a right to consider as money which must come in at a moments warning. Your Lordship surely could not expect me to take a voyage to England merely for the purpose of settling this affair & I committed no indiscretion whatever in entrusting it to Mess^{rs}. Harman, whose integrity, honor & altogether unexceptionable character are sure warrants of their keeping it a secret for the whole world if you desire it. The affair, therefore, cannot by any means, be said to have been made public, and, in no point of view, whatsoever, can you, My Lord, have a right to disclaim your bond, because it has gone through the regular course of business, & I cannot conceive any reason that could justify your retracting a positive engagement with your signature; especially when your Lordship considers that my high opinion of your honor & punctuality has enduced me to advance upon it a sum of fifty eight thousand Rubles, which makes much more than the Capital at the present course of exchange. I trust that a moments reflection will have brought your Lordship to a more equitable determination & that you will have paid at least the interests already due to Mess^{rs}. Harman & C^o. for my account.

I cannot let this opportunity escape without putting your Lordship in mind of an other affair, which has given me a great deal of vexation & uneasiness: I mean the three antique Cameos of M^r. Torlonia with whom I have had a most disagreeable correspondance on this subject. as he insisted upon my paying him their value, saying that I had no right to put them into your hands & that your Lordship never wrote him a word about them. I entreat you My Lord to let him have his Cameos, or the price of them as soon as possible, in order that this tedious affair may be at length terminated.

The most Noble, most Honorable the Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale, London

Baron Rall to the Marquis of Douglas, dated St Petersburg, 20 August 1812 (HA, Bundle 1006)

My Lord,

I have the honor to send to your Lordship a copy of my letter of the 16th. inst^t., to which I again request your attention.

I must now again put your Lordship in mind of the claim of our Manufacture for tapestry on you, for the 3700 R cost of the portrait of Catherine II with the Glass & paking, of which I sent you the account so long ago as the 30th. June of last year & about which I am plagued with constant applications from the Manufactory, being in some measure engaged to make good the payment. I entreat your Lordship to take speedy measures for the termination of this affair, which is exceedingly disagreeable to me__

I am very respectfully

My Lord

your Lordships

most obedient

very humble servant

A. [?]. Rall

S^t. Petersburg, 20th. August 1812

To the most Noble Most Honorable The Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale etc, etc,
etc,

Matthew Anderson to the Marquis of Douglas, dated St Petersburg, 3/15 October 1812 (HA, Bundle 1129)

St Petersburg

My Lord

3 Octob^r. 12
15

M^r Politica who is going to Spain as Secretary of Legation to the Russian Mission having made the offer of taking any thing I might have to send to England I embrace the opportunity of waiting on your Lordship, after the interruption to all correspondence, with particular pleasure

I have deliverd to M^r Politica's care a Book containing the works of the Chevalier Quarenghi in this Country _ it is more than a year ago that he committed it to my care to present it to your Lordship with his profound respects, requesting you would do him the honor to accept the same as a token of his respect & high consideration: a favorable opportunity did not offer sooner of sending it _ it was my wish to given it in charge to Mad^m Gerebzooff but as I was living in the Country at the time she left this place, I was not able to get it ready _ I found her set off before I was aware of her near departure _ this Lady having left us shortly will have satisfied your Lordship on all the points respecting which information could be desirable _ many sinister events have taken place since her departure they are of a public nature and will have come to the knowledge of your Lordship thro the public Papers _ we are at this moment waiting with the utmost anxiety the event of a Battle which will decide our Stay in this Country and perhaps the fate of Europe; whatever may be the decission of [? Resistance], the noble and unanimous devotion of the Russian Nation to the cause of their Country will claim the admiration of future times _ every preparation is making by the Government to quit this place when the exigency of the times may require it = we are every moment threatend with seeing our establishments broken up, and our comforts in this Country distroyd _ several familys have quitted this place, others are preparing to follow their example; this throws a gloom around us, and increases our anxiety to see our lot decided _

Lord Cathcart has not a pleasant Task _ things do not go on favorably, and I have little hopes of his succeeding in establishing an Alliance between Russia & England on the Basis of reciprocal interest.

Hoping that more favorable times may give me an opportunity of seeing your
Lordship in this Country I am

Your Lordships

Most obedient Hum^e Serv^t

Matt^w Anderson

C. Zecalewsky to the Marquis of Douglas, dated St Petersburg, 15/28 October 1812
(HA, Bundle 698)

S^t Petersburg ce ¹⁵/₂₈. d'octobre 1812,

Monsieur le Marquis,

Je m'empresse d'accuser à Votre Excellence la reception de la lettre qu'Elle m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 7. de septembre et de L'informer, que par la representation de S.E. M^r: le Comte de Romanzoff, Sa Majesté L'Empereur a ordonné de faire passer a la Douane sans percer les droits et sans la moindre difficulté tous les effets que Votre Excellence a laissé ches moi. En consequence de quoi, je me suis adressé d'après sa lettre à M^r Rederson, qui veut bien se charger de les lui envoyer avec le premier navire qui partira pour l'Angleterre.

Ces effets consistent, comme Votre Excellence le sait bien Elle même, en quatre caisses avec les miroirs, deux caisses qu'Elle m'avoit envoyé en même tems, mais j'ignore ce qu'elles renferment et deux caisses avec les Bustes de Bronze de Pierre I. et de Catherine II. Quant au Portrait de Catherine II, que Vous avez commandé Monsieur le Marquis à la Fabrique de la tapisserie avec la glace qui doit le couvrir, je ne l'ai pas eu entre mes mains, vû que M^r le Baron Rall qui étoit chargé par Votre Excellence d'en acquitter le payement ne l'a pas encore fait et il se trouve apresent que ce Portrait a été envoyé par precaution, il y a un mois, avant que j'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir sa lettre, avec toutes les choses precieuses de la Fabrique dans un endroit sûr, en cas de quelque accident malheureux; Ainsi ce Portrait restera ici jusqu 'au Printems prochain quand on pourra l'envoyer.

J'ai pris la liberté d'envoyer à cette occasion à l'adresse de Votre Excellence une caisse avec la statue Antique qui m'appartient et qu'Elle a vû ches moi. C'est la Diane d'Effesse, ouvrage grec, dont le marbre de Paros à gros grain fait foi tous les connoisseurs et Artistes ont admiré cet Antique, dont la tete est bien conservé. La Princesse Radzivell et après le feu comte de Strogonoff vouloient l'avoir, mais alors je n'ai pas voulû m'en defaire, et actuellement j'ai prié Madame de Gerebzooff de vouloir bien trouver quelque Amateur pour en faire l'acquisition. Je suplie Votre Excellence d'avoir la bonté de Vous interesser aussi à cet effet.

Votre Excellence est sans doute informée des succès de nos ennemis communs. Mais tout ce que je puis dire, qu' ils se sont embourbés de maniere qu' ils auront de la peine à s'en debarasser. Il est reservé peut être à la Russie en faisant quelque sacrifice de delivrer à jamais l'Europe entiere du fleau destructeur qui l'accable pendant tant d'annees.

Daignés Monsieur le Marquis agréer ici l'assurance de la Consideration la plus distinguée avec laquelle j'ai l'honneur d'être.

Monsieur le Marquis
de Votre Excellence
le très-humble et très-obeissant
Serviteur
C Zecalewsky

P: S: Je prens la liberté de prier Votre Excellence de faire parvenir la lettre ci-jointe à Madame de Gerebzoff. Tous vos Amis ici Monsieur le Marquis sont sensibles à Votre souvenir et m'ont chargé de Vous faire ses compliments. Entres autres Madame la Comtesse Strogonoff, dont le Mari commande un Corps à l'Armée. Elle m'a chargé de dire à Votre Excellence qu' elle auroit désiré que Vous vinssiés vous même chercher vos effets ici.

[...]

Matthew Anderson to the Marquis of Douglas, dated St Petersburg, 16/28 October 1812 (HA, Bundle 1129)

My Lord

This will be delivered by Count Alex:^r de Balmain who has the goodness to take charge of a Packet for your Lordship which was given me to be forwarded to you by M^r. Tehicoleffskoy: this Gentleman has informed me of the effects he has to send to England and I have taken steps for having them loaded in one of the first Ships that is ready for London: so soon as I know in what vessel they will be sent I will advise your Lordship by Post _

Count de Balmain is attached to the Russian Mission; by his ancestry he is a Countryman of your Lordship's; he is the Brother of a much lamented and distinguished officer who I had the honor to [illegible word] amongst my friends: if these recommendations can give him any interest with your Lordship I shall be extremely happy to have obtained him this advantage, & I trust your Lordship may derive some amusement from the conversation of a Young Nobleman who has been employd in different Courts, and is lately come from Vienna _

I hope my Lord you will not think I am taking too great a liberty in requesting your Lordship to recall me to the remembrance of Mad^m: Gerebzoﬀ, besides other obligations I cannot forget that [I] owe to her the honor of being known to your Lordship

With the most profound respect I am

My Lord

Your Lordships

most obedient

humble servant

Matthew Anderson

St: Petersburg

Oct^r. 16 1812

28

Matthew Anderson to the Marquis of Douglas, dated St Petersburg, 24 October [1812] (HA, Bundle 1129)

My Lord

I had the honor to inform your Lordship that the Cases M^r. Tehscolovskoy entrusted to my care had been sent to Cronstadt: I have now the pleasure to say that they got down safe, and that they are loaded in the Ship Nancy Captain Tho^s Brooks. _ I hope to hear that this Ship will Sail the first fair wind _ so soon as I get the Bills of Lading I will forward them through my Partner M^r. Moberly, who will be glad to receive your instructions respecting the Cases if he can be of any Service _

This will be deliverd to your Lordship by M^r. Sass secretary of Legation to the Russian Mission; a Gentleman who stands high in the opinion of people of rank and consequence in the Ministry of this Country : much instruction and great information acquired in his travels in most of the States of Europe make his company very interesting _ I do not hesitate to mention him to your Lordship, who can find in him information not otherwise to be obtained of the State of the continent: he has had the goodness to take charge of a small quantity of Turkish Tobacco _ remembering that your Lordship had sought for some formerly to send to England, I hope this may find your Lordship inclined to turn it to some use & that you will do me the honor to accept it _

We are now going on well, and I hope that next Summer we may be in such a state of tranquitay as may hold out a temptation to your Lordship to return to a place where there are so many that would be gratified with such a Visit _

I am with the utmost respect

My Lord

Your Lordships

Most obedient

humble Servant

Matthew Anderson

St^t: Petersburg

Octob^r. 24th.

C. Zecalewsky to the Marquis of Douglas, dated St Petersburg, 24 October / 5 November 1812 (HA, Bundle 698)

S^t Petersburg ce 24. octobre 1812.

5. Novembre

Monsieur le Marquis,

Votre Excellence a vû par la lettre que j'ai eû l'honneur de Lui écrire le ¹⁵/₂₈. octobre, que par la representation de M^r: le Comte de Rumianzoff, S: M: L'Empereur a ordonné de faire passer à la Douane sans visiter et sans le moindre delais tous les effets de Votre Excellence qui se trouvoient ches moi. Enconsequence dequoi j'ai remis à M^r: Anderson pour être envoyé en Angleterre 4 caisses avec des miroirs, 2 caisses avec vos effets, 2 caisses avec les bustes de Bronze et une petit caisse avec la figure Antique representante Diane d'Effesse qui m'appartient et dont j'ai eû l'honneur de prevenir Votre Excellence dans ma precedente lettre. Persuadé de vos Bontés Monsieur le Marquis j'ai pris la liberté de Vous prier de vouloir bien vous interesser à me procurer l'occasion de m'en defaire au juste prix. Il y a des Antiquaires à Londres et des connoisseurs eclairés en fait des Arts, dont Votre Excellence est du nombre, qui sauront apprecier cet ouvrage à Sa juste valeur. Je La supplie de vouloir m'en faire dire un mot par Madame de Gerebzoff et de lui faire remettre la lettre ci-jointe.

Daignés Monsieur le Marquis d'agrée à cette occasion l'assurance de la Consideration la plus distinguee avec laquelle J'ai l'honneur d'etre,

Monsieur le Marquis,
de Votre Excellence
le très-humble et le très obeissant
Serviteur

C Zecalewsky

Dans ce moment ci nous avous reçu la nouvelle d'une victoire remportée sur Bonaparte, à Malojarslavetz à 113 verstes de moscou. Il a été repoussé avec perte de plusieurs canons. On ne sait pas encore tous les details.

Matthew Anderson to the Marquis of Douglas, dated St Petersburg, 22 January 1813
(HA, Bundle 1129)

My Lord

I had the honor to forward to your Lordship by the means of Count Balmain a Packet of Letters relating to 9 Cases of your effects, which were shipped in the Autumn: I make no doubt but they have been safely delivered _ my Partner M^r. Moberly informs me that he had sent the Bills of Lading for these Cases to your Lordship _ I await myself of the departure of Sir Rob Porter to inform your Lordship of the fate of the above Cases. _ they were found so large and inconvenient that after they were already sent to different Ships the Masters refused to take them; at last 8 Cases were Shipped in the Nancy Cap^t Brooks the ninth Case was found too large to go down the Hatches it was therefore put on board of the Nelly Cap^t Hag[o or e]n _ this Ship has been frozen up in Cronstadt, and the former is wintering in a Port in Sweden: I hope they will both of them arrive safe in the Spring _ The Season was rather too far advanced when they were Shipped _

I hope, my Lord that you are satisfied with the Conduct of this brave Nation, and her heroic Army _ to feel the whole merit of their actions it was necessary to have been on the Spot, and to have been a Witness of all the difficulties they had to encounter: I have no language to express the devotion of the Country the bravery of the Troops and the firmness of the Emperor Surrounded by those who would have rejoiced to see him follow the pusillanimous example of the German Sovereigns _ the nation [two illegible words] will too loudly, and was [illegible word] too cordially by an Army full of honor & of Courage to allow any advice but her own to be heard _ the nation has conquerd and you may expect everything that is friendly to the good cause from the Nation _

The political situation is very far from what it ought to be: here the will of the nation is less imperious, and we have chosen the weak ground, when we might have occupied the Strong, we have isolated our Selves on a quick:sand, when we might have built on a rock; we have driven all help from us when we might have Surrounded ourselves with friends _ it is [illegible words] from any [illegible words] of any [illegible word] that we can look for an advantageous change: imperious circumstances alone can bring about that [? connexion] which is necessary for the

prosperity and Strength of England & of Russia = but fortune is shy of offering her favors to those who do not know how to profit by them: _ most deeply do I regret my Lord that we were deprived of your Lordships knowledge & experience and ability at so momentous an occasion _ but there is so much to regret, and so little to hope that I turn from the subject

Is there any means my Lord of tempting you to pay us a Visit in this Country; you will find us in the greatest tranquility and a fine City full of those who will be renderd very happy by an opportunity of renewing their former relations with your Lordship, I have the honor to be my Lord

Your Lordships

Most Obedient

humble Servant

Matthew Anderson

St Petersburg

Januy 22^d.

1813

John Booker Junior to the Marquis of Douglas, dated London, 4 March 1813 (HA, Bundle 722)

London 4 March 1813

Batsons Coffee House

My Lord

Inclosed I have the honor to send you the Invoice of the shipment of flooring which I hope has met with your approbation. I have likewise inclosed a draft at ten days date which I should be happy if you could favor with your acceptance & return to me.

It is my intention to leave this country with the first fleet for Russia which will sail about the middle of next month when I should be happy to be the bearer of any of your letters or commissions

I have the honor to be

My Lord

Your most Ob^t Ser^t

John Booker Jun^r

John Booker Junior to the Marquis of Douglas, dated London, 6 March 1813 (HA, Bundle 722)

Batsons Coffee House

6 March 1813

My Lord

I yesterday had the pleasure of receiving your letter mentioning your apprehensions of my having charged £75 instead of £49 in the Invoice of the flooring; I hope the following explanation will be found to remove all doubts you might have as to the justice of the charge.

I inclose the Invoice of my Cousin John Simpson the shipper of the flooring at Petersburg which you will find amounts to [abbreviation for Roubles] 753 which at 24^d per ruble (the exchange when the goods arrived) amounts to £75.6; 24^d is 6^d below the ordinary rate or par of exchange. When my Father left London he merely told me to let you know whenever the flooring arrived & to make out the account according to the inclosed Invoice which instructions I have strictly adhered to.

The Insurance in my Invoice (3.13.6) is not that from Petersburg to London but that from London to Glasgow; I certainly did it without consulting you upon the subject & since it has been done contrary to your wishes ought certainly to be deducted from the sum total I did it to the best of my judgement seeing the premium so low & thinking that it would be a pity to run the risk of losing the value of the goods after having brought them from Petersburg From My Father's mentioning £49 I conceive he meant the First Cost [abbreviation for Roubles] 586.66 without any charges added to it as you will see in the inclosed Invoice. Having thus laid the particulars of the whole affair before you, you will be able to judge whether the charge of £75:6. be just or not & whatever may be your Lordship's determination, it has given me the highest satisfaction than [presumably a mistake for that] an opportunity has been thus afforded me of removing your doubts or at least of showing to you the grounds upon which I have made the charge, which if it had not been the case doubts might have existed in your mind as to the justice of the transaction.

I have the honor to be

My Lord

Your most Ob^t Ser^t

John Booker Jun^r

[Abbreviation for Roubles] 753 @ 24^d the exchange which I have charged = 75.6

[Abbreviation for Roubles] 753 @ 30^d the par of exchange = 94.2.6

Matthew Anderson to the Marquis of Douglas, dated St Petersburg, 16/28 May 1813
(HA, Bundle 1129)

St. Petersburg May 16 13
28

My Lord

I have received your Lordships Letter of the 28 Feb^y: which has been an unreasonably long time on the road, and as that one which you did me the honor to write to me from Scotland (referred to by your Lordship) has never reached me, I hasten to wait on you that there may be the least possible appearance of delay, and this I do before I am able to advise that the Picture is shipped –

Immediately on the receipt of your Lordships Letter I applied to Baron Rall, who instantly took the necessary steps for obtaining the Portrait from the Tapestry Fabric, it is just come from thence, and is now with M^r. Czecalecosky to be packed up, and he has made the necessary application to get it shipped _ the moment this is obtained I shall take charge of it, and I have already given orders to take room for it in one of the Ships that will be first ready to sail for London _ I am well aware of the Character of the Kind of Men, your Lordship will have to deal with when it arrives, and I am therefore the more anxious that not a moment should be lost in getting it away; and as the wintering Ships have not been sailed long I hope it, may arrive in time to satisfy the Tax=gatherers who from the earliest Ages have been of ill repute

—

I take the liberty to inclose a small note which I have received whilst writing this: I do this rather than mention what it contains, because it is from one who is truly devoted to your Lordship, and you will see how he mentions the Portrait of the Empress Cathrine and be better able to judge whether it [? would] be desirable to make the purchase. I am not sorry that [illegible words] of that interest which is taken in what relates to your Lordship – Sig^r. Dilecati has given me a very pretty little Canone which he composed on the Cancandate for 3 voices w^h: I am desired to send to your Lordship by the opportunity of a Traveller _

Your Lordship will have heard of the irreparable loss which we have sustained by the Death of D^r. Pitt _ all the Imperial family continue to take the liveliest interest in the situation of his widow.

I have to beg that your Lordship would believe me most sensible of, and truly grateful for the most obliging and friendly disposition your Lordship has always evinced towards me I am ever my Lord your Lordships most obedient most humble
Servant

Matthew Anderson

Delivery note relating to 'Pictures' sent from St Petersburg, dated 23 September 1813 (HA, Bundle 680)

To the Steward or House
Keeper of the Marquis
of Douglas & Clydesdale.

Please to receive for
his Lordship a Chest
marked
MD - containing Pictures.

. . . Sussmann & C

Church Row, fenchurch Street.
Septe^r 23^d., 1813.

Ca[? y : ? abbreviation for carry or carriage] from the City
[? R[e or c]'d : i.e. Received]

Tho^s Green £ 7. 0

Invoice for Case of Pictures sent from St Petersburg, dated London, 25 September 1813 (HA, Bundle 680)

London Sep^t. 25th. 1813

Account of Charges of one Case of Pictures, received p^r Edward, Collier, from S^t., Petersburg.

Freight	£4 „ _ „ _ „
Lighterage &c.....	„ _ „ 8 „ 6.
Sight Sufferance &c.....	„ 1. 15 „ _ „
Duty on 2. ^{feet} . 4 ^{ln} .. frames, value £6,, 6,, _	
£4. 6. each. £37 p ^r C ^t [? also] £58,, 6,, 8,, _ war Duty .	„ 17 „ 4. _
clearing.....	„ _ „ 10. _ „
Examining Officer.....	„ _ „ 12. 6.
Russia Dues & Scavage.....	„ _ „ 8. 6.
Landing & housing.....	„ _ „ 5. 6
Wharfage & loading.....	„ _ „ 4. 6,,
Cartage & booking.....	„ _ „ 5,, 6.
	<u>£ 25 „ 14 „ _ „</u>

E. E.

Sussmann &c

W. Chappell of Thomas Edward Brown to the Marquis of Douglas, dated London, 16 October 1813 (HA, Bundle 680)

The Right Honorable

The Marquis of
Douglas & Clydesdale

London 16 October 1813

Sir

I had the honor to receive your Lordships note of the 11 instant
Covering your dft on Mess^{rs}. Hoare & C^o for £10.13.4 for freight p [i.e. per] the Nelly
Hagen @ S^t Petersburg for which be pleased to accept my best thanks.

I have the honor to be

Your Lordship's

Most ob Serv^t.

for Tho^s Edw Brown

W Chappell

Matthew Anderson to the Marquis of Douglas, dated St Petersburg, 22 April/4 May 1814 (HA, Bundle 706)

S^t. Petersburg April 22. 14
May 4.

My Lord

The arrival yesterday of 22 mails out of 29 that were due has put me in possession of your Lordship's favor of the 26 December: _ a form now which is referred to, has not reached me _

It is with great concern that I learn the fate of the effects forwarded from [? misspelling of here]; in conformity with your Lordships feeling on this head I have employd my self in endeavouring to find where the blame ought to attach _ at all events that those who have had any management in the business should be obliged to participate in such feelings as the complete frustration of the object must awaken _ an Historical detail will best serve for forming a judgement of the [illegible word] of blame that any of the parties may have incurred _ my interest began by applying for the effects _ they were found at Mons^r. Felixcolowskoys packd and ready to be embarked _

I had them loaded under proper care in a large Cutter and sent to Cronstad^t, where they arrived the same day; a towing vessel was [illegible word] that they might not be detain'd or exposed to hoisting in and out, as with a large Gale[? o]t _ at Cronstadt they were put in charge of M^r. Booker with the fullest instructions and information respecting them; by him they were put on board a Ship, after much search to find one with a Hatch=way sufficiently large to admit them _ the want of a communication with Cronstadt on account of the floating ice in the Gulf, prevents my obtaining from him information regarding them during the time they were under his care _ I will apply for it hereafter, and inform him of the cause which implies neglect in some quarter _

I have acquainted Mons^r. Felixocolowskey with what has taken place _ he informs me that the Cases were packd at the Glass Fabrick _ he desires permission to explain himself to your Lordship direct, and I keep this Letter open for a day or two that I may inclose his

This is what I have to state of the facts _ the observation that presents itself to me is _ that the people of the Glass fabrick may, and probably did, pack the glasses with care, in the way they are accustomed to do, which is sufficiently safe for transporting in open Barks, on a smooth River, but not sufficiently so for being urgently handled by Sailors accustomed to subdue all obstacles by force, and for being exposed to a stormy Sea _ the cases were large and unmanageable, and few Ships arrived last year that were well calculated to take them _ I fear much of the evil lay in that _ for my share of the blame I am doing penance by a real sorrow for the loss and disappointment it has occasioned your Lordship _ the latter end of february my Son visited Hamilton Palace, by the obliging permission of the Marchioness, your Lordship having been absent _ he writes to me of the many beautiful things (including some from Russia) which he saw there _ it increases my regret (as an old and steady friend of Russia) that those superb Glasses were not there _

The war is at an end, but Peace is yet to be made _ may it be founded in a spirit of moderation and justice and without containing the seeds of new jealousy and new wares [i.e. misspelling of wars] _ and may Providence direct the choice of the Prince to a person to represent our great Nation in this Country, who has the talents to conciliate with the character to be firm _ an implicit submissiveness and fear to give umbrage in treating affairs that have a Basis in truth and justice, is as prejudicial in a good Cause as impetuosity and presumption _ the latter injures the individual more than the Cause, the former the Cause more than the individual _ were it in my powers to chuse the talents required in our delicate situation I should not long have to regret your Lordships absence _

[. . .]

John Norris to the Marquis of Douglas, dated Gothenburg, 1 October 1817, with copy of invoice for October 1808 (HA, Bundle 680)

Gothenburg 1st., October 1817

My Lord

In winding up the Affairs of my late Uncle M^r. John Smith / late His Majestys Consul / I find your Lordship stands a Debtor for £69. 16. 7^d St^g [i.e. Sterling] according to the inclosed Account, and as I am confident it will be found correct, I have this day taken the liberty to value for the same at Ten Days Sight to the order of M^r. James Wilks which I trust will be duly honoured _

I take this opportunity of recalling myself to your Lordships recollection and

I have the Honor to be

Your Lordships

Most Obedient

Humble Servant

John Norris

To

The Most Noble

The Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale

&c

&c

&c

[Copy of Invoice]

The Most Noble the Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale D^r, [i.e. Debtor]

To the late John Smith

1808.

Oct ^r .	8	To Cash	[Abbreviation for Roubles]	100	„	„
„	„	Paid Balance of Olof Brodersons expences	}			
		bringing your Luggage from Stockholm	}	33	16	„
„	„	„ Labourage receiving the same.....	„	„	16	„
„	„	„ for sundry Provisions.....	„	26	25	,
„	„	„ „ vegetables.....	„	2	1	4
„	„	„ Customhouse officers fees.....	„	2	32	„
„	„	„ Bloms 2 Accounts.....	„	86	5	4
12	„	„ Boatage of your Carriage on board.....	„	13	16	„
„	„	6 Dozen of Wine at [Abbreviation for	„	48	„	„
		Roubles] 8.....				
„	„	a Hamper of Porter.....	„	11	„	„
		[Abbreviation for Roubles]		323	15	8
8		By Cash.....		12	„	„
		B ^{co} „ [Abbreviation for Roubles]		311	15	8
		at the Exchange of [Abbreviation for Roubles]	£	69	16	7

4.22^s isGothenburg 30th.. Dec^r.. 1808.

John Norris

Appendix 6: The Marquis of Douglas's Ambassadorial Service and his involvement with Rundell, Bridge and Rundell

The main 'Dinner Service' of the Dukes of Hamilton, which was based on the 10th Duke of Hamilton's ambassadorial service of 1806, was included in the 1919 Hamilton Palace sales, when it was described as 'partly fluted, and with gadrooned shell and foliage borders, the handles supported by lions' masks' (Christie, Manson and Woods, *Fine English & Foreign Silver Plate, The Property of the Trustees of His Grace the late Duke of Hamilton*, London, 4 November 1919, lot 31). Although it was stated to have been by 'Paul Storr, 1806' (i.e. the ambassadorial service of 1806), the service contained many additions, as the weight is given as 9,527 ounces – considerably more than the 5,893 ounces of white silver issued by the Jewel House in 1807 – and many items in the original ambassadorial service, such as the '8 Pair of Candlesticks & Branches', were excluded.

Lot 31 consisted of 4 soup tureens, covers and stands, an oval venison dish 26 inches long, 14 oval dishes 15-23 inches long, 14 circular dishes 12-15 inches diameter, 5 circular covers, 4 fish strainers 14-18 inches long, 6 sauce tureens, covers and liners, 144 dinner plates, 36 soup plates, 8 circular plated dish covers, with silver handles, 24 oval ditto, 10 oval plated dish heaters, 4 oblong entrée dish heaters and four circular ditto, all in five oak chests.

Some other white silver items by 'Paul Storr, 1806' (viz. the 14 skewers and bread basket, lots 3 and 32, weighing 79 oz 5 dwt and 73 oz 15 dwt) and the six candelabra acquired by Douglas in 1812 (see chapter 3, note 6) were sold separately.

The sale also included six silver-gilt ice pails and liners by 'Paul Storr, 1807' weighing 948 ounces (lot 71). They were two more and considerably heavier than the four ice pails, weighing 400 ounces, supplied by the Jewel House. The other items of silver-gilt in the original ambassadorial service were not included in the sale.

Other '1806' pieces associated with the service were sold by the Dukes of Hamilton at later sales. A pair of waiters weighing 51 ounces 17 dwt, 4 oblong entrée dishes and covers weighing 276 ounces, and 10 oval meat dishes 13-19 inches long, weighing 569 ounces 18 dwt., were auctioned by Christie, Manson and Woods in the

sale of *Fine English & Foreign Silver, The Property of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, K.T.*, London, 1 July 1931, as lots 72, 82 and 83.

Rundell, Bridge and Rundell's bill to the Royal Jewel House for the ambassadorial service made or completed for the Marquis of Douglas, dated 10 June 1806 (NA, LC 9/350, ff.148 verso and 149 recto)

For His Excellency The Most Noble The Marquiss of Douglas, His Majesty's Ambassador to S^t. Petersburg, White Silver Plate

	oz	
30 oval Dishes	1600	
8 Shaped d ^o ., and Covers	250	
8 Comport d ^o .,	304	_
8 dozen gad- ^d .. Plates	1606	
3 dozen Soup _ d ^o	550	
2 Chased Tureens & Covers	270	
8 Sauce D ^o	220	
8 Salts	75	
8 Pair of Candlesticks & Branches	405	
10 Dozen Table Knives	123	
8 Dozen Spoon Forks	240	
8 Dozen Table Spoons	<u>250</u>	
	5893,,@9/11, oz _	2921,,18,,11

[...]

Gilt Silver Plate

	oz	
2 large Gilt Salvers	220	
2 Smaller D ^o	80	
4 Ice Pails	400	
1 Centre Ornament	250	
2 Smaller D ^o	<u>116</u>	
	Oz 1066 a 11/5, oz	608,,10,, 2
Engraving His Majestys Arms supporters Crown & motto	24	___
2 Wainscot Cases to Contain D ^o	10 G ^s	<u>21</u>
		£ <u>3941,,11,, 2</u>

Receipt of delivery of the ambassadorial service issued by the Royal Jewel House to the Marquis of Douglas, dated 1 January 1807 (NA, LC 5/207, p.46)

Delivered to the Marquis of Douglas
and Clydesdale Ambassador to Petersburg

oz

White plate __5893

Gilt plate __1066.

January 1st., 1807 The above to be return'd on Demand.

Received by me, the above for his Lordship

Tho^s: Bidwell Jun^r

Attorney.

Invoice from Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to the Marquis of Douglas for 1809-10
(HA, F2/1030)

The Most Noble The Marquis of Douglas

Bo^t, of Rundell, Bridge Rundell,
GOLDSMITHS & JEWELLERS,

-----To Their Majesties, -----

Their Royal Highnesses the Prince of Wales,
Duke of York, & Royal Family.
LUDGATE HILL, LONDON.

1809

12 July	A remarkably fine Brazilian Topaz	£31,,10,, _
	A rose Diamond in a Sapphire Ring	_,, 2,, _
15 Sept.	A very fine Pearl Necklace 55 pearls, 12 grs ea 14 Gs ea.	808,,10,, _
1810	A Brilliant Snap to d ^o	15,,15,, _
14 Mar	{A remarkably fine Brilliant Comb	2,409 _ _
1811 S	{A large Brilliant Drop to play over the Centre of d ^o . . .	400,,_,, _
	{A pair of very curious India Cut drops to play on each	
	{side of d ^o	1155,,_,, _
returned X	A remarkably fine Emerald 22 Grs	<u>150,,_,, _</u>
		4969..17,, _

1809

C^r.

15 Sept.	By a Topaz returned	<u>30,,_,, _</u>
		£ 4,939,,17. _

X The Emerald returned likewise

D&C

S The comb &^c & in 1811 – mistake 1810

Note: Additions to the invoice are printed in bold type.

‘Inventory of a rich shell & gadroon’d Service of Plate, made for The Most Noble The Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale, by Rundell, Bridge & Rundell, June 1806’, dated 30 May 1810 (HA, M12/31)

Note: The following inventory has been slightly edited and standardised. It was annotated during the 10th Duke’s lifetime. These additions have been indicated by numbers in square brackets and are set out at the end of the list.

2 oval Silver Tureens, with Covers & Stands

2 smaller d^o., d^o., with d^o., d^o.,

10 d^o., Sauce Tureens & Covers

12 oval gadroond & shell Salts

12 dozⁿ: Table Plates ^[1]

3 dozⁿ., Soup d^o.,

4 circular deep Cassarole dishes, with high dome Covers

4 Pincushion d^o., with d^o.,

4 octagon deep dishes & Covers

4 triangular . . d^o., & d^o.,

2 deep Vegetable d^o., & d^o.,

2 large oval flat dishes, 23 Inches

2 oval dishes to suit, 20 In^s.,

4 d^o., d^o., . . d^o., . . 17 In^s.,

8 d^o., d^o., . . d^o., . . 15 In^s.,

2 round Silver dishes, 14 Inches

2 oval d^o., . . d^o., 19 In^s.,

4 d^o., d^o., d^o., 15 In^s.,

8 d^o., . . d^o., d^o., 13 In^s.,

4 deep Pincushion dishes

4 d^o., triangular . . d^o.,

4 flat round . . . d^o., 11 In^s.,

2 pierc’d Fish plates to the 23 In: dishes

1 d^o., . . d^o., d^o., to the 19 In: d^o.,

1 d^o,, . . d^o,, d^o,, to the 17 In: d^o,,
 2 plated high dome Covers to the 2 ~ 23 Inch dishes
 2 d^o,, d^o,, to the . . 20 In: d^o,,
 2 d^o,, d^o,, to the 14 In: round d^o,,
 2 d^o,, d^o,, to the 17 In dishes
 8 d^o,, d^o,, to the 15 In: d^o,,
 2 d^o,, d^o,, to the 19 In: d^o,,
 2 d^o,, d^o,, to the 13 In: round d^o,,
 8 plated Covers to the 13 Inch oval dishes
 4 d^o,, . d^o,, to the 11 In: round d^o,,
 2 plated dish Warmers sunk to receive the 2 – 17 Inch dishes
 8 d^o,, d^o,, to the 15 In: d^o,,
 4 d^o,, d^o,, to the octagon dishes
 4 d^o,, d^o,, to the triangular d^o,,
 4 d^o,, d^o,, to the Cassarole d^o,,
 4 d^o,, d^o,, to the triangular d^o.
 6 fluted Silver Ice Pails
 4 small round Silver hand Waiters
 2 Silver Cruet Frames, 4 glasses ea:
 2 d^o,, Soy . . d^o,, . . 6 d^o,, ea:
 1 french plated 7 part Plateau,
 & 4 end pieces to d^o.
 1 gilt porringer wth Cover (second hand) ^[2]
 A very magnificent Candelabrum in plated, in Form of a Corinthian pillar supporting
 12 Branches &c ^[3]
 4 round Silver dishes, 12 Inches
 2 d^o,, d^o,, . . d^o,, ‘deeper’ 12 In^s,,
 4 plated Monteiths.
 4 smaller d^o,,
 6 Silver hand Candlesticks, complete ^[4]
 2 d^o,, Snuffer Stands
 2 d^o,, Dishes . . 17 Inches

18 d^o,, Bottle Tickets

1 d^o,, Venison Dish

2 d^o,, round flat dishes, 13 Inches

2 d^o,, oblong Bread Baskets

4 triangular Silver Salts, gilt inside

4 octagon . . d^o,, d^o,, to suit.

4 oblong . . d^o,, d^o,, with divisions.

3 pair large richly chased Silver Candlesticks, with chased triangular Branches to d^o,,
[5]

1 pair d^o,, d^o,, Candlesticks & Branches, with a third light in Centre [6]

NB. the above 12 Salts, Candlesticks, & Branches, are making but not yet completed.

30th: May 1810.

The annotations on the above inventory are as follows:

[1] II Doz. and 6. Six not retourne

[2] & plate

at Hamilton Palace [i.e. all three items at Hamilton Palace]

[3] Left at Hamilton

[4] Left at Hamilton

[5] from this 3. Pair. two Left at Hamilton

[6] retourned

Invoice from Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to '[The] Most Noble The Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale', with final entries dated 25 November 1811 (HA, M12/5/18)

[The] Most Noble The Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale

Bo^t. of Rundell, Bridge, Rundell,
JEWELLERS and GOLDSMITHS,
To their Majesties
& THE ROYAL FAMILY,
N^o., 32, Ludgate Hill, London.

1808	}			
23 Nov.	}	4 Triangular Salts fluted with shell Border, and chased	}	
8	z	Feet, gilt inside _____ oz 38 „ 2 fa & gildg 5 G. Ea.	}	35.15.3
	z	4 Octagon d ^o to suit _____ 43.14 fa & gildg 6 [£] _____		40.19 „
	z	4 Oblong d ^o with divisions _ 50 14 fa & gildg 6½ Gs. Ea.		46.18.11
1809	z	Engraving Crest & Coronet on d ^o _____		„ 12 „
4:dec ^r .		3 Pair of very richly chased large size silver	}	
		Candlesticks with chased triangular Branches to d ^o .	}	995 „ 19 „ 4
		oz 1138 „ 5 f. 10/6 oz.	}	
1810	}	Engraving Crest & Coronet on d ^o _____		2.11 „
26 Mar	}	a Pair of richly chased Candlesticks & Branches, with	}	
	✕	3 lights in Centre 307.5 fas 10/6 P [£] . oz.	}	276.10. 6
		Engraving Crest & Coronet _____		„ 15 „
18 June		New handle to Cover of Stewing dish 3.5 fa 34/		2.18.5
23 „		Porterage of Plate Chest 7/. _ Coach here _ 4/. _____		„ 11 „
2 July		Paid the Workman for doing up 32 dishes, 9 dozen	}	
		Plates, 4 Fish Plates, 1 Bread Basket & 6 Ice Pails,	}	
		& boiling & burnish ^g the handles of 57 Covers _____	}	18 „ „ „
13 Aug	⊕	A second hand silver Table & 3 legs 346.15 @ 8/6. _		147 „ 7 „ 4
		A d ^o . Chinese Tea Pot _ _ 18 „ 5. @ 12/: _____		10.19 „

20 „	New partitioning a Wainscot Chest N ^o . 8 _____	3.13..6
24 Sep.	4 silver linings to Tureens & Eng ^g 14/. 100 „ 12. fa 3/6	58,,11_ „
25 „	Repairing & Cleaning 9 Plate Chests _ 3 new Padlocks	„ 18_ „
1811	32 Plate Bags _____ 4/6. _	7,, 4_ „
15 Feb.	2 Wainscot Chests for Candelabra _____	21 „ 5_ „
	Green Baize Bags for d ^o . _____	4,,10_ „
7 Mar.	Cartage of 3 Chests _____	„ 6_ „
27 June	a silver gadrooned Inkstand ___ 48.7 fa 13 Gs.	33_ „ _ „
1 July	2 Pair of shell pattern silver Snuffers 8.10 fa: 2 G ^s . P ^r .	7,,12_ „
23 „	Cartage &c of Chests _____	„ 12_ „
16 Sep:	Repairing a large chased Crest & boiling & burnishing it _	„ 6_ „

C^r „

1717,,14,, 3

1811 }

1st. July } By 2 Pair of old Snuffers _____ 6.6 @ 7/-

2,, 4_ „

£ 1715,,10,, 3

£. s. d.

Amount of Bill delivered for various articles of

1810. }	Jewellery to the 14 th . March 1810. X	4939. 17_ „
18 June }	A new set of Arches to brilliant Comb, and difference of the old d ^o .	89,,11_ „
13 Aug.	A fine Ceylon Amethyst _____	36,,15_ „
	Re-cutting d ^o _____	„ 15_ „
24 Sep.	Altering a Pearl & diamond Ring into a Broach ___	„ 11_ „
1811 * }		
14 Mar. }	A very fine Emerald _____	630_ „ _ „
17 May	Setting your Lordships Emerald in a Ring to open, }	
	with Brilliants round, and at the Sides, with diamond }	47_ „ _ „
	shank as the pattern _____ }	
	A very curious opal Brilliant _____	63_ „ _ „

	Setting d ^o in plain gold for a Ring _____	1,,18_,,
25 Nov.	a Crystal handle to gold Rim _____	3,, 3 _,,
	Remounting a Carumgorum Seal _____	,, 8 _,,
	Repairing a Trinchinopoli Chain and new spring to Clasp.	,, 8. 6
	Repairing gold mount of Bottle. _____	,, 4. 6
	d ^o . a Pair of chain Bracelets & coloring _____	,, 5. 6
	d ^o . a small Stand to mocha Vase & gilding it all over }	
	in 2 Colors _____}	2,,6 _,,
		<hr/>
		£ 5816,, 2,, 6

[The 10th Duke of Hamilton has added the following two entries:]

X Former bill several articles in 1811

* Emerald delivered in 1812

& car^d seperate _ _ _ 1715:10:3

£ 7531 12.9

The 10th Duke has annotated the reverse of the first of the two pages:

* Candlesticks returned _
D & C

⊕ Silver-table _ if only three legs there must be some mistake, & unless the
thing is perfect the Marquess wishes not to take it ____ D & C

8 In former account for saltcellars £111 _ 15 _ 8 these were returned and ought
not that sum to be deducted on these articles

‘Inventory of Plate belonging to The Most Noble The Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, remaining at Rundell Bridge & Rundells’, 20 February 1812 (HA, M12/32)

Inventory of Plate belonging to The Most Noble The Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale, remaining at Rundell Bridge & Rundells, – 20th: Feb^y 1812 _ Viz^l.

- „ 10 flat oval Dishes,
- „ 4 d^o „ round d^o „
- „ 2 deep Triangular d^o „
- „ 1 Vegetable Dish & Cover,
- „ 2 Sauce Boats & Covers,
- „ 48 Table Plates, 42 Six not retourne
- „ 12 Soup d^o „
- „ 1 Bread Basket,
- „ 4 hand Waiters,
- „ 1 Cruet Frame,
- „ 1 Soy d^o „

-
- „ 4 plated Dish Covers, with Silver handles,

Alexander Young to the Marquis of Douglas, dated Edinburgh, 26 October 1813
(HA, Bundle 1602)

[...]

The Letter which your Lordship has inclosed to me is from Mess^{rs}. Rundell and Bridge entreating a remittance from your Lordship in very Polite terms._ I waited upon them the day after I had the pleasure of seeing you in London in the end of July, they are pleased to antedate my visit and say it was paid last Spring; they laid before me your Lordships Account and commented upon the hardship which attended their advance, entreating even a few hundred pounds, in terms of so much urgency and civility that if I could have Commanded the money, I would gladly have complied with their request, but all I could promise was that every exertion should be used for making them a remittance about the Ensuing term of Martinmas, I did not however hold out to them any prospect of their receiving a large payment, on the Contrary I led them to expect a very Small one, I now send their letter inclosed to your Lordship, and I hope you will be able to spare them a partial payment which can be forwarded by M^r. Brown at his first Convenience._ Their Bill is among the bundle of Accounts which your Lordship delivered to me on your leaving London, it was my purpose, when I waited on you at Hamilton Palace, to have brought that bundle of Accounts with me to be examined along with the other bundles which your Lordship carried with you and to have classed and arranged the whole under different heads in the manner I formerly did with your Russian expences, but as I am not able to perform this service for your Lordship at present, I have put up the bundle of accounts including Mess^{rs}. Rundell and Bridges, in a parcel to be forwarded to your Lordship by the first Mail Coach, and I am Confident the business of Examining and Classing the whole of these accounts under proper heads will be very accurately and Satisfactorily performed by M^r. Brown._ [...]

Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Robert Brown, dated Ludgate Hill, 5 April 1814
(HA, Bundle 1613)

Ludgate Hill 5 April 1814

Sir

We are favored by your letter of the 2^d April intimating that an early remittance of 1500 or £2000 might be made to us in liquidation of the Account of Marquis Douglas and proposing that the Balance should be put into a Bond payable by annual Installments of £1000 each _

It is we hope unnecessary for us to assure you how sincere a desire we have always felt to return the Civilities we have experienced, by every accomodation in our power, and the date of the balance will be the best proof of what we state to you.

We should feel much obliged by the Marquis of Douglas favoring us with an Arrangement, but we venture to express a hope that the Terms may be more favorable to us than what you have proposed. We do not wish to press any thing unreasonable, but considering the date of the Debit and our very heavy demands for Money in consequence of the large Sums we have locked up we really think that we may very fairly solicit a payment of £2000, and a Bond payable by annual Install[ments] of £2000 each.

[The] Settlement to which you allude, as having been witness to, was the best that could be obtained in that Affair; & you must be sensible how unfortunate it would be for us were so disadvantageous a Mode of arrangement to operate as a precedent upon other Occassions.

We remain Sir

with great Respect

your obedient Servants

Rundell Bridge & Rundell

Robert Brown Esq^{re}

Hamilton

NB

under Cover to Marquis Douglas

Note: In the last paragraph, the settlement to which Brown had alluded was almost certainly that relating to Lord Clanranald's service. Brown was a trustee of Clanranald's affairs and knew about the correspondence with Rundell, Bridge and Rundell about the Clanranald service. According to letters in the Hamilton archive, Rundell's wanted £13,856.7.10, 'independant of interest', for the service that had been provided to Clanranald three years previously, and 'two years Interest after giving a years Credit' of £1,395.12.2: a total of £15,252. See the copy of Rundell, Bridge and Rundell's letter to Macdonald Buchanan, dated 4 December 1812, and Buchanan's letter to Robert Brown, dated 15 December 1812, in Bundle 1585. There is more on this service in Bundle 1593.

Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Robert Brown, dated London, 5 December 1814
(HA, Bundle 1629)

1814		£ s d
16 May	To Balance of Account at this date	7085..19..4
29 Sep.	To additional Interest to this day.	<u>112.. 5..3</u>
		£ 7198 .. 4..7

London 5 Dec^r 1814

Sir

As we are engaged upon the revision of our Books up to Michaelmas last we have the pleasure of transmitting to you the above Statement of the Balance due to us at that Period from the Marquis of Douglas.

We beg to add that we shall feel much accomodated and obliged by the payment of another Installment as we are [illegible word: now or most?] severely distressed for money.

We remain Sir
with much respect
your obedient Servants
Rundell Bridge & Rundell

Robert Brown Esq^{re}
under Cover
to the Marquis of Douglas
Hamilton Palace NB.

Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Robert Brown, dated London, 17 May 1815 (HA, Bundle 1638)

London 17 May 1815

Sir

We beg leave to observe to you that the Period is arrived at which agreeably to your original arrangement we might expect another Installment of one thousand Pounds on account of the Marquis of Douglas.

We hope it will be convenient for you to remit us very soon, for owing to the great Scarcity of Money & to a variety of serious disappointments we scarce know where to turn for Cash to supply our current Outgoings which at this Season of the year are always very considerable.

We therefore trust it will not be long before we are favored with the desired Remittance.

We remain Sir
with sincere respect
Your obedient Servants
Rundell Bridge & Rundell

Robert Brown Esq^{re}
Hamilton

N.B.

Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Robert Brown, dated London, 21 November 1815
(HA, Bundle 1649)

London 21 Nov. 1815

Sir

We are duly favored by your letter of the 15th proposing that we should credit the Marquis of Douglas' large Onyx and the Emerald we sold to his Lordship together at the rate of £1500. This proposal we are from a variety of considerations obliged to decline and we beg to assure you that could we have acted otherwise it would have given us particular pleasure from the desire we always feel to oblige the Marquis of Douglas.

We have heard our M^r Edmond Rundell (who is now in Paris) speak of the Onyx as a remarkable Stone _ We have not seen it; but we should entirely despair of selling it for any thing like the Sum you mention. The Times are particularly adverse & were they more propitious generally, it is to be observed that the genuine admirers of such rare & curious Things are really few.

We have ourselves had two remarkably large & fine Onyxes exposed to Sale for some time both very beautifully engraved with the Badge of the Garter by a Roman Artist of great Eminence; yet no purchase has occurred. It thus happens that in respect to Onyxes as well as to fine colored Stones we are at present better stocked than the State of the times seems to call for. We shall take the liberty of adding how much we shall feel obliged by the Marquis of Douglas indulging us with what Assistance he can spare us, for we are really in a State of considerable distress from the long [damage to letter] we are subject to and the daily disappointments we meet with & from many Quarters little to be expected.

We have the honor to be
with great respect
your very obedient Servants
Rundell Bridge & Rundell

Robert Brown Esq^{re}
Hamilton Palace

Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Robert Brown, dated London, 12 December 1815
(HA, Bundle 1650)

London _ 12 Dec^r _ 1815

Sir

We beg leave to state to you that one of our friends is now applying to us for a very fine Emerald, and we think it possible that if we had it in our Power to shew him the Stone we sold the Marquis of Douglas, we might dispose of it, the Marquis having the goodness to name to us his very lowest price, which we hope he will do under the Impression that the Market for such things is not so propitious as it was some years ago. Should the Emerald be put in our hands for the above Purpose, we will return it in failure of the Sale.

We beg to remain Sir,

Your respectful & obedient Servants

Rundell Bridge & Rundell

Robert Brown Esq^{re}

Hamilton

Scotland

Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Robert Brown, dated Ludgate Hill, 2 January 1816
(HA, Bundle 1652)

Ludgate Hill 2. January 1816

Sir

It would really give us much satisfaction to be able to meet the Marquis of Douglas' Views with respect to the Disposal of his Emerald. But at the Price he proposes to return it to us, it is quite out of our Power. The Enquiry after such a Stone was made by a Gentleman who has unexpectedly left England before the arrival of your Letter, and we do not expect to hear from him again upon the Subject.

We remain Sir

very truly yours

Rundell Bridge & Rundell

Robert Brown Esq^{re}

Hamilton Palace

NB

Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Robert Brown, dated London, 7 August 1816 (HA, Bundle 1666)

London 7 Aug. 1816

Sir

We hope you will not deem it intrusive, if, after having had the pleasure of seeing you here this Season & of receiving your Assurances respecting the Balance due to us from the Marquis of Douglas we nevertheless address you upon the same Subject. In the Multiplicity of Business we know that intended remembrances sometimes escape & we are aware it sometimes happens that the more importunate suitor will obtain what was destined to other Quarters. We therefore take the liberty of keeping ourselves in your Recollection; and we express a sincere Hope that you will soon favor us with a Remittance which we assure you never could reach us at a moment of greater Embarrassment. We remain

with great Respect Sir!

Your very obedient Servants

Rundell Bridge & Rundell

Robert Brown Esq^{re}

Hamilton Palace

NB.

Copy of letter from Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Alexander Young, dated 28 September 1816 (HA, Bundle 1670)

Mess^{rs}. Rundell Bridge & Rundell

to M^r. Young _ 28 Sept: 1816.

Sir,

We should not so soon address you again did not a most urgent necessity supersede every other consideration. _ We can hardly express to you how deeply we are becoming involved in difficulties in consequence of our multiplied disappointments and the impossibility of borrowing money except upon the most extravagant terms, to supply the want of Capital caused by our long credits; we shall esteem it a favor if you will communicate to us at your earliest convenience what you can do for our relief at this critical moment, as next to the advantage of receiving money is the assurance that certain sums will be paid without fail at specified periods

—

The absence of the Marquis of Douglas on the Continent we trust will not in any way operate against the accomplishment of our wishes _ We remain Sir with great respect your obedient servants [flourish]

Alexander Young to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh 16 October 1816 (HA, Bundle 1670)

Note: This letter encloses and refers to the copy of Rundell, Bridge and Rundell's letter to Alexander Young, dated 28 September 1816.

[...]

I omitted in writing to you lately to mention that Rundell Bridge and Rundell have wrote me a pressing Letter about their Balance which they addressed to Hamilton Palace and which Lord Archibald put into my hands when he came to Harburn, it is inclosed for your perusal & that you may either answer it yourself or enable me to do so, if it be possible they ought to have a few hundred pounds to keep them quiet.

[...]

Alexander Young to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 23 November 1816 (HA, Bundle 1673)

[...]

I have another Letter from Mess^{rs} Rundell & Bridge, but I suppose an answer is unnecessary, as I wrote to them lately that you purposed to send them a remittance of £500. which was all that you could spare at present. _

[...]

Alexander Young to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 19 March 1817, with a copy of the letter from Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Young, dated 13 March 1817, on the second fold (HA, Bundle 1682)

[...]

Before I went to Harburn, I remitted the half years annuities to Lord Archibald and his two Sisters, and made different payments on behalf of the Marquis; I have since been dunned by other persons, particularly by Mess^{rs} Rundell & Bridge, whose Letter received by me at Harburn I send inclosed _

[...]

Letter – Mess^{rs} Rundell Bridge & Rundell to M^r Young.

Ludgate Hill 13th March 1817

Sir,

We have been very anxiously looking many weeks for a remittance on account of the Marquis of Douglas. It is now nearly two years since we received a shilling; and we are so much in arrears in many other quarters, that we are really reduced to a state of complete stagnation from want of capital to carry on the current operations of our trade. Under this excessive pressure, we entreat you to favor us with an early communication. We remain &^c _

[...]

Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Robert Brown, dated Ludgate Hill, 24 March 1817
(HA, Bundle 1683)

Ludgate Hill 24 March 1817

Sir

We have waited with very great anxiety for a long promised payment on account of the Marquis of Douglas; and we are now so much pressed for Cash to satisfy the current demands of our Business that it is become of the utmost consequence to us that we should avail of the Marquis's early assistance. You are aware that a very large Sum of Interest attaches to his Lordships account. We wrote to M^r Alexander Young early in Nov^r last to mention our expectations that whatever payment should be made on the Marquis's account, should first go to the liquidation of Interest. Not having troubled his Lordship to give us a Bond, (which it is almost an invariable usage to ask for when very large accounts exceed the usual Credit of twelve months,) we do not doubt we shall be considered equally entitled to the regular payment of Interest, as if an Obligation had been actually given us.

We beg to be favored with an early answer and we remain Sir

Your respectful humble Servants

Rundell Bridge & Rundell

Robert Brown Esq^{re}

Hamilton

NB

Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Robert Brown, dated London, 28 July 1817 (HA, Bundle 1691)

London 28th July 1817

Sir

We are duly favored by your letter enclosing one from the Marquis of Douglas to us in which his Lordship states “without either acquiescing in, or objecting to the Bond you propose, the Subject shall forthwith be referred to my Men of Business, & M^r Brown will write to you on the Subject & make no doubt settle the Affair to the satisfaction of all Parties. I need hardly say that I am ready to enter into any reasonable agreement that may appear more secure or more satisfactory to you. The Interest shall be regularly attended to untill the debt is paid off, which shall be done as soon as Circumstances will admit of it ~”

We are most exceedingly obliged by his Lordships early attention to our letter and disposition to concur in the general Object of our Wishes. And as we repose and always have reposed unlimited Confidence in the Word of so highly honourable a Nobleman we should remain content without any more precise Settlement, were it not for the peculiar Circumstances of our Partnership expiring in Sep^r next when a new arrangement of our Affairs and a Division of a certain portion of our Property will be effected. For this reason we are now engaged in reducing all our longstanding Accounts of any Magnitude into Bonds, and the lesser ones into Bills, which a Person of your Experience in Business will admit to be the most satisfactory course that can be pursued under the various Contingencies to which business Affairs are liable.

With respect to Time we wish the Marquis to be persuaded that it never would be our wish to urge him inconveniently for payment of the Principal relying upon his readiness to indulge us whenever it was in his Power. We therefore hope that no objection will arise from the Bond sent to his Lordship being drawn at the usual date of 12 M^{os}, _ Payment of the Interest & of a Portion of the Princ^l by regular Installments would be entirely satisfactory to us were the account put into the form we have ventured to request.

Waiting the favor of your communication

We remain Sir

with great respect

Your obedient Servants

Rundell Bridge & Rundell

Robert Brown Esq^{re}

Hamilton NB

Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Robert Brown, dated Ludgate Hill, 27 December 1817 (HA, Bundle 1701)

Ludgate Hill 27 Dec^r 1817

Sir

We have before us the Marquis of Douglas' letter to us of the 24th,, June last from Rome & yours of the 21 July in which it was transmitted to us. We are much disappointed at not having received any further Communication in consequence of the letter we addressed to you in reply to your favor. We beg to refer you to the Contents of that Letter. Our Partnership is now expired and we are at present much employed upon the arrangements which are necessarily consequent upon that Event. We request to hear from you at an early Opportunity and beg to Know where the Marquis at present is. We remain Sir

Your very respectful Servants

Rundell Bridge & Rundell

Robert Hamilton Esq

Hamilton

Note: 'Robert Hamilton' is an error for Robert Brown. The back fold of the letter is addressed to 'Robert Brown Esq^{re} / Hamilton / N.B.'

Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to the Marquis of Douglas, dated London, 1 January 1818 (HA, Bundle 1702)

London 1. January 1818 _

My Lord

We have the honor of informing your Lordship that we received in July your Lordships favor dated Rome June 24th ~ in which your Lordship acknowledged the Receipt of the Bond which we sent for your Signature, & expressed your readiness to enter into any reasonable agreement that may appear more secure and satisfactory to us than the reference you gave us to M^r Brown whom you had instructed to attend to the Interest regularly untill the Debt was paid off which your Lordship assured us should be done as soon as Circumstances will admit of it.

We are extremely sensible of your Lordship's just and honorable Dispositions, and as your Lordship must be persuaded that it is our sincere wish that whatever arrangement you may enter into with us, may be attended with convenience to you, we trust you will on this assurance consent to execute the Bond. For this favor we shall be truly obliged in the present State of our Affairs, our Partnership having expired, and the many new arrangements consequent thereon rendering it most particularly desirable for us to put all our Debts of Magnitude and of an early Date into the Form of Obligations.

We have not hear from M^r Brown since 21 July when he enclosed your Lordships Letter to us, nor have we received from him any payment on your Lordship's Account.

We have the Honor to be

My Lord

with Sentiments of most sincere Respect

Your Lordship's much obliged Servants

Rundell Bridge & Rundell

To The Most Noble

The Marquis of Douglas

&c &c &c

Rome

Copy of letter from Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to Robert Brown, dated London, 28 February 1818 (HA, M12/5/19)

The following letter is on the back of an invoice from the royal goldsmiths to the Marquis of Douglas, with the final entry dated 1 March 1818.

Copy

London 28 february 1818

Sir

We send you a copy of the State^t of the accompt due to us from the Marquis of Douglas which you will find to be correct, We are very happy to find that we are to receive a payment from you early in the ensuing month which agreeably to the tenor of his Lordships Letter to us we shall carry to the amount of Interest _

We remain Sir &^c

Your most ob Servants

(signed) Rundell Bridge & Rundell

To Robert Brown }

Esq^r ____ }

Copy of letter from Alexander Young to Lord Archibald Hamilton, dated Edinburgh, 28 February 1818 (HA, Bundle 1706)

Edin 28 Feb^y 1818

My Dear Lord

I have this moment got yours of 25th. and with regard to the disposal of the £1000 I do not at present know of any mode of applying it on your Brother's Account, that I can particularly recommend _ [...]

Rundell and Bridge have always behaved with great civility and attention to the Marquis, but I am not prepared to say that they ought to receive so large a payment just now, and I would rather, for different reasons, make a clearance with them by degrees _

[...]

Note: The (unpaginated) Hamilton Palace general ledger for 1813-22, in Hamilton Town House Library, records two payments totalling £1,040 to Rundell's the following month:

March 24 By Rundell Bridge & Rundell in part of Debt due them 640 „ „

April 1 By Remitted D^o farther 400 „ „

The debt was further reduced by the following five payments over the next three years. All five are recorded in the general ledger for 1813-22:

June 25 [1819] Paid Rundell & Bridge London 502 18 „

Augt 20 [1819] By Bill sent Rundell & Bridges 1008 6 8

Feby 10 [1820] By M^r Roxburghs Dft on London sent to retire
His Graces Bill to Mess^{rs} Rundell & Bridges
due 1 March next 1033 6 8

Sept 1 [1820] By M^r Roxburghs Dft. on London sent
Mess^{rs} Hoares & C^{oy} to retire Bill due
Rundell & Bridges 1058 6 8

Feby 23 [1821] By Bill on London remitted Mess^{rs} Hoares
to answer His Graces Bill due Rundell &
Bridges 1 March 1083. 6. 8.

The last two payments are confirmed in the Duke's notebook of his account with Hoare's bank between 1819 and 1828, under 4 September 1820 and 3 March 1821 (HA, F2/1046, unpaginated pp.16 and 22). No other obvious payments are recorded to Rundell's in the notebook, but it is not a complete record of the account.

The outstanding balance due Rundell's of £5,953 18s 7d (including interest of £149 6s 6d) in March 1818 (see Rundell's bill, HA, M12/5/19, which is transcribed directly after this note) reveals that – deducting the above payments, which come to £5,726 4s 8d – the Duke and/or his agents should have paid Rundell's at least a further £227 13s 11d in the late 1810s or 1820s.

Copy of invoice from Rundell, Bridge and Rundell to the Marquis of Douglas, last entry dated 1 March 1818 (HA, M12/5/19)

(Copy) The Most Noble The Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale

To Rundell Bridge & Rundell

32 Ludgate Hill London

1808

Nov 23	4 Triangular Salts fluted with Shell Border & chased feet gilt inside Oz 38.2 fash ⁿ & Gilding 5 G ^s each _	£ 35 15 3
	4 Octagon D ^o to suit Oz 43.14 fash ⁿ & Gilding £6. ea	40 19 „
	4 Oblong D ^o with Divisions Oz 50.14 fash ⁿ & Gilding at 6½ G ^s each	46 18 11
1809	Engraving Crest & Coronet on D ^o	„ 12 „
July 12	A Remarkably fine Brazilian Topaze	31 10 „
	A Rose Diamond in a Sapphire Ring	„ 2 „
Sept ^r 15	A very fine Pearl Necklace 55 Pearls 12 Grains each 14 Guineas each	808 10 „
	A Brilliant Snap to D ^o	15 15 „
Dec ^r 4	3 pair of very richly chased large sized Silver Candlesticks with chased Triangular Branches to D ^o Oz. 1138.5 fash ⁿ 10/6 p oz	995 19 4
1810	Engraving Crest & Coronet on D ^o	2 11 „
March 14	A remarkably fine Brilliant Comb	2409 „ _
	A large Brilliant Drop to play over Centre of Comb	400 „ _
	A pair of very curious India cut drops to play on each side of D ^o	1155 „ _
	A remarkably fine Emerald 22 Grains	150 „ _
26	A pair of richly chased Candlesticks & Branches w ^t . 3 lights in Centre Oz 307.5 fash ⁿ 10/6 p oz	276 10 6
	Engraving Crest & Coronet on D ^o	„ 15 „
June 8	A new Sett of Arches to Brilliant Comb & difference of old D ^o	89 11 _

	Coach here	„ 4 _
23	Porterage of Plate Chest	„ 7 _
July 2	To paid Workman for doing up 32 Dishes, 9 Dozen, Plates, 4 Fish plates 1 Bread Basket & 6 Ice Pails & boiling & burnishing the handles of 57 Covers	18 „ _
18	New handle to Cover of Stewing Dish Oz 3.5 fash ⁿ @ 34/	2 18 5
Aug ^t 13	A Second hand Silver Table and 3 Silver legs Oz 346.15. @ 8/6	147 7 4
	A Second hand Chinese Tea Pot Oz 18.5 @ 12/	10 19 _
	A fine Ceylon Amethyst	36 15 _
	Recutting D ^o	„ 15 _
20	New partitioning Wainscott Chest N ^o 8 for sundry Plate	3 13 6
Sept ^r 24	4 Silver Linings to his Lordships Tureens Oz 100.12 fash ⁿ 3/6 Engraving Crest 14/	58 11 _
	Altering Pearl & Diamond Ring into Broach	„ 11 _
25	Repairing & Cleaning 9 Plate Chests and 3 New Padlocks to D ^o	„ 18 _
	16 Plate Bags @ 4/6 ea	3 12 _
1811	16 do do @ 4/6 „	3 12 _
Feby 15	2 Wainscot Chests for Candelabria Green Baize Bags for do	21 5 _ 4 10 _
March 7	Cartage of 3 Chests	„ 6 _
14	A very fine Emerald	630 „ _
May 17	Setting his Lordships Emerald in a ring to open with Brilliants round & at the sides, diamond shank as pattern	47 „ _
	Carry for ^d £	7450 13 3
1811	Bro ^t forward	£
May 17	A very curious Opal Brilliant £63 Setting D ^o in plain gold for Ring £1.18/=	64 18 „
June 27	A Silver gadroon Inkstand Oz 48.7 fash ⁿ 13 G ^s .	33 „ _

July 1	2 pair Shell pattern Silver Snuffers Oz 8. 10 fash ⁿ 2 G ^s pr	7 12 _
23	Cartage of Chests	„ 12 _
Sept ^r 16	Repairing a large Chased Crest boiling and burnishing D ^o	„ 6 _
Nov. 25	A Chrystal handle to Gold Rim	3 3 _
	Remounting a Cairemgorum Seal	„ 8 _
	Repairing a Trinchinopoli Chain and new Spring to Clasp	„ 8 6
	Repairing gold Mount of Bottle	„ 4 6
	D ^o a pair of Chain Bracelets & coloring	„ 5 6
	D ^o a small Stand to Mocha Vase and gilding all over in 2 Colors	2 6 _
1812		
Feby 22	Adding gold Snap to Ladys Chain	„ 10 6
March 6	Capping 2 Solid Diamond Drops with Diamonds and repairing 1 arch of D ^o	10 16 „
	A strong Clasp to Trinchinopoli Chain	„ 12 _
7	Repairing boiling & burnishing a very large Chased Table Candlestick	„ 13 _
1810		
Feby 11	2 Double threaded fiddle Table Spoons oz 5.8 fash ⁿ . 8/6	2 17 6
	2 Do. Forks Oz 5.7 fash ⁿ . 9/6	2 19 2
	Engraving Cyphers	„ 2 _
	2 Cases for do @ 7/	„ 14 _
March 30	A Cornelian Essence Bottle	3 18 _
April 9	A fine do do in colored gold border crystal on one side for hair	6 6 _
May 28	Repairing an Enamell'd french Watch Gregson	„ 9 _
June 4	D ^o the Snap of a Chain	„ 3 6
	Mounting a Miniature in gold for Locket Cantill gold borders Glass behind & strong Serpent ring	12 12 _
8	Resetting a fine large Pearl in a Ring with Rose Diamonds	10 10 _
	Setting large Pearl in gold for Ring w ^t Diamonds Cage pattern	29 7 6

Aug ^t 13	A Velvet Case for Pearl Ring	„ 12 _
1812		
May 5	Restranging a Pearl Necklace of 47 Pieces and the Brilliant Snap	„ 2 _
July 11	Cartage &c of Chest	„ 11 _
13	2 large Dish Brushes & 4 smaller	1 _ _
	1 [illegible] plate powder	„ 16 _
	2 Leathers	„ 7 _
15	Baize Bags for 4 Doz Table plates & 1 Doz Soup do	1 12 _
	D ^o for 18 Dishes various Sizes	1 1 _
	D ^o for hand Waiters	„ 5 _
17	A gold Alliance Ring	1 10 _
	An Enamelled foot of a very richly chased gold	
	Custodia Oz 38.8 @ 12/6	241 18 6
Aug ^t 8	A gold Alliance Ring	1 10 _

Carried forward £ 7897 11 5

1813	Bro ^t forward	£ 7897 11 5
May 22	1 [illegible] plate powder	„ 16 _
	Coach hire	„ 3 _
June 21	To loan of 3 part Plateen	2 2 _
July 24	Porterage of D ^o	„ 6 _
1815		
June 12	Repairing Diamond Arch of Comb	„ 2 _
1816		
July 11	Paid Coach hire	„ 4 _
1817		
May 21	Paid for a Bond Stamp	12 12 _
		7913 16 5

Cr [i.e. Credit to the Marquis of Douglas]

1809			
Sept ^r 15	By a Topaz returned	£ 30 „ _	
1811			
July 1	„ 2 pair of old Snuffers oz 6.6 @ 7/	2 4 _	
1812			
Feby 15	„ A large long square Emerald	130 „ _	
March 6	„ A pair of Candlesticks & Branches returned	£276.10.6 }	
	less loss on d ^o 20. „ . „ }	256 10 6	
Sept ^r 21	„ Bill 17 Sept ^r a 2 months on Mess ^{rs} Hoares & C ^{oy}	500 „ _	
1814			
May 16	„ Dft. Herries & C ^{oy} 300 „ _		
	„ Bill Hoares 10 May at 5 days p R Brown Esq ^r on a/c £700 „ „	1000 „ _	
1815			
March 23	„ Bill William Hamilton Esq ^r 20 March @ 50 days on Glynn & C ^{oy} p R Brown Esq ^r on a/c	1000 „ _	
July 1	„ Bank of Scotland 28 June @ 40 days on Coutts & C ^{oy} p Alex ^r Young Esq ^r on a/c	1000 „ _	
		<hr/>	3918 14 6
			<hr/>
			3995. 1.11
	To Interest after 12 Months Credit to 1 June 1817	<hr/>	1809 10 2
			<hr/>
			£ 5804 12 1
	To Interest on principal to 1 March 1818	<hr/>	149 6 6
			<hr/>
			£ 5953 18 7

The 'St Petersburg Service' recorded in the 'Inventory of Plate belonging to His Grace The Duke of Hamilton and Brandon Taken at Hamilton Palace The 13th December 1831 and 9th. December 1833 _ Par Victor Le Blond' (HA, M12/5/17, unpaginated)

New Service, called S^t. Petersbourg

	Quantities sent
	To London
10 Sauce boats, with covers	4
„ { 4 square	
12 Salt Cellars { 4 Octagones	8
„ { 4 Triangles	
18 Wines labbels	6
144 Common plates	84
36 Soup plates	18
4 Soup Tourines (2 small and 2 Large ones	2 small
4 Compottes dishes and covers	
4 Triangle dishes, covers and heaters	
4 Casseroles dishes, covers and heaters	
4 Octagones dishes, covers and heaters	4 covers and heaters
4 Pincushion dishes, covers and heaters	
2 Vegetables dishes, covers and heaters	1
32 Ovals dishes, Various size	10
4 Triangles dishes	
6 Candelabre	3
6 Wines coolers	
2 Breadbaskets	1
4 Fish plates	
2 Platenu[? c or x] [pencil addition: in 6 pieces]	
8 Montieths	
8 Ovals heaters	
14 Round dishes	4 and covers heaters

24 Ovals covers, various size	8	
8 Rounds covers	4	
4 Rounds waiters		
1 Venison dish		
132 Table knives silver handles		
120 Table spoons	48	
120 Table Forks	96	
48 Desert knives, Silver handles, Steel Blades		
48 Desert knives, do , Silver Blades		
48 Desert Spoons		
48 Desert Forks		
12 Salt Spoons	8	
2 Mustard Spoons	2	
4 Soup Laddles	2 Small	
2 Fish knives	2	
4 Ice Spades		
8 Sauce Laddles	4	
24 Skewer various sizes	8	
11 Carving knives silver handles	6	
11 Carving forks silver handles	6	
10 Greavy Spoons	6	
2 Greavy spoons with strainers		
1 Pair grap[e] scissors		
48 Tea spoons	24	
4 Pair sugar Tongs	2	
2 Butter knives		
2 Large Cruet stands, 4 cristal bottles silver mounted	One to London	
2 Small D°. D°. 6 cristal bottles, silver brim	One to London	
3 Pair bedroom Candlesticks		
4 Pair drawingroom Candlesticks	To London 2 Pair	
2 Pair snuffers and trays	2 to London	
2 Large round tea trays		

1 Hand tray, added in January 1832

1 Cheese toasted dish, with two silver doubles added in Nov^r. 1832

4 Pair bedroom Candlesticks, with plated on steel snuffers, added

Added the 22^d October 1833, From Birmingham

1 Lamp stand for coffee, added in 1832. From Glasgow

Note: Le Blond's English is eccentric to say the least. 'Desert' should read 'Dessert'. 'Platenu[? c or x]' are plateaus – large display platforms for decorating the centres of tables – while 'Montieths' are monteiths: traditionally punch-bowl-like bowls with shaped rims used for rinsing and refreshing wine glasses.

The list was subsequently annotated in pencil to record the movement of items, but these annotations are not of obvious significance, and only one has been transcribed here. It is worth noting, however, that, in the penultimate entry, 'Pair' has been crossed out.

List of the 10th Duke of Hamilton's Ambassadorial Service in 1847 (HA, Bundle 1000)

A List of Plate, Sent to Hamilton Palace in Dec^r, 1847, from Portman Square By M^cCarroll, in Care of James Mathews

-
- 2 Soup Tureens, Linings & Covers
 - 14 Oval Dishes, Various Sizes
 - 4 Stands for D^o _ Plated
 - 14 Covers for D^o _ D^o
 - 2 Fish Strainers D^o _ D^o _
 - 4 Square Entree Dishes, Covers & heaters
 - 4 Octagon D^o__ D^o,, D^o D^o
 - 4 Casseroles D^o D^o. D^o _
 - 4 Round D^o D^o _ D^o _
 - 4 Triangular Dishes
 - 2 Vegetable Dishes, Covers & Linings
 - 8 Skewers, 6 small & 2 Large
 - 2 Soup Ladles
 - 2 Fish Knives
 - 6 Sauce Boats & Covers
 - 6 Sauce Ladles
 - 6 Gravy Spoons, (4 small 2 Large)
 - 1 Bread Basket
 - 12 Saltcellars & 12 Salt Spoons
 - 4 Carving Knives & forks
 - 8 Wine Labels, Shell Pattern
 - 6 Ice Pails
 - 30 Soup Plates
 - 120 Dinner Plates
 - 96 Table Knives

120 Table Forks

72 Table Spoons

1 Candelabre with 3 Branches

1 D°_ with 12 Branches

The Gilt Dessert Service

24 Knives, with Steel Blades

24 Do_ with Silver Gilt Blades

24 Dessert Spoons

24 Dessert Forks

12 Compote Spoons

2 Pierced Sugar Ladles

24 Coffee Spoons

1 Pair of Sugar Tongs

[Two illegible, unidentified initials]

‘Inventory of Plate belonging to His Grace The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon taken at Hamilton Palace, _ 9th February 1852’, included in the main 1852-53 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, Volume 1228, (incorrect) pencil-numbered pages 109-12)

Inventory of Plate belonging to His
Grace The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon
taken at Hamilton Palace, _ 9th
February 1852.

New Silver Plate, called S^t., Petersburg

10 Sauce Boats with covers & handles	350 Oz ^s .,
12 Salt Cellars _ different shapes	120 „
18 Wine Labbels	15 „
144 Common Plates 20 oz:	2880 „
36 Soup Plates 24 oz:	864 „
4 Soup Turreens	1120 „
4 Compotte Dishes and Covers	220 „
4 Triangle Dishes Covers and Heaters	200 „
4 Octagon Dishes Covers and Heaters	224 „
4 Pincushion dishes and Heaters	112 „
4 Casserolle dishes covers and Heaters	224 „

Note. There were no Covers for the
Pincushion Dishes although in the
Inventory of 1831, it is stated that
there are Covers _ M^r Le Blond
however says that the covers for the
Compotte dishes are used for the
Pincushion _ the dishes being of
the same shape and size. _

2 Vegetable dishes covers and partitions	240 „
--	-------

There were no heaters got for the

above as mentioned in the old

Inventory

32 Oval Dishes various sizes	1336 „
------------------------------	--------

There is an addition here of two
dishes over the old Inventory.

4 Triangle dishes	90 „
-------------------	------

6 Candlesticks and Branches	840 „
-----------------------------	-------

S^t Petersburg Plate Continued

6 Wine Coolers	936 Oz:
----------------	---------

2 Bread Baskets	<u>120 „</u>
-----------------	--------------

Number of Ounces on page 1

of Inventory	<u>9891</u>
--------------	-------------

4 Fish Plates	190 „
---------------	-------

In the old Inventory there are 7 Fish
Plates stated _ 3 being now wanting.

2 Plateaus (painted on wood, of no value).

8 Monteiths _ Plated	£10
----------------------	-----

10 Oval Heaters	£10
-----------------	-----

There is an addition here of two heaters
8 being stated in the old Inventory.

24 Oval Covers	£40
----------------	-----

There is an addition here of 1 Cover

8 Round Covers	£10
----------------	-----

4 Round Waiters	80 „
-----------------	------

1 Venison Dish	180 „
----------------	-------

132 Table Knives, Silver handles	£20
----------------------------------	-----

120 Table Spoons	440 „
------------------	-------

120 Table Forks	430 „
-----------------	-------

48 Desert Knives, Silver handles, steel blades	£6
--	----

47 Desert Knives, Silver handles, Silver blades }
£15 }

There is one wanting above the num=
= ber being 48 in the old Inventory

48 Desert Spoons	90 „
48 Desert Forks	90 „
12 Salt Spoons	8 „
2 Mustard Spoons	1 „
4 Soup Laddles	45 „
2 Fish Knives	12 „
4 Tee Spades	26 „
8 Sauce Ladles	24 „
24 Scewer of Various sizes	<u>90 „</u>

Number of Ounces on page 3 1706

S^t., Petersburg Plate Continued

8 Carving Knives silver handles £3

There are three awanting, 11 being
stated in old Inventory

8 Carving Forks, silver handles £2

There are three awanting, 11
being stated in old Inventory

10 Gravy Spoons 55 Oz:

2 Gravy Spoons with Strainer 12 „

1 Pair of Grape Scissors 2 „

48 Tea Spoons 45 „

There is an addition here of 18_30
being the number in the Inventory
of 1831.

4 Pairs of Sugar Tongs 8 „

One pair of Sugar Tongs in addition

3 pair being only stated in the old Inventory.	
2 Butter Knives	4 „
2 Large Cruet Stands, each with 4 Crystal Bottles, silver mounted	200 „
2 Small Cruet Stands each with 6 Bottles, Silver brim	114 „
3 Pair Bed room Candlesticks (said to be at 12 Portman Square)	=====
Number of Ounces on Page 5_	
126 & 314	<u>440</u>

Added in November 1832

1 Cheese Toaster with 2 Silver Doublures	66 „
1 Lamp Stand for Coffee added in 1832	

Added the 22 ^d . October 1833	30 „
4 Bed room Candlesticks, complete plated, with steel snuffers from Birmingham 30/	

S^t Petersburg Plate Continued

Additional

14 Large round dishes of various sizes	640 Oz:
1 Casserolle Lining made in Glasgow	24 „
1 Sauce Bowl Lining made in Glasgow	<u>5 „</u>
Number of Ounces on page 7	<u>765 „</u>
4 Pair of Drawing Room Candlesticks - (said to be at 12 Portman Square	
2 Pairs of Snuffers and Trays	26 „
2 Large round Tea Trays	350 „
1 Ham Tray (Janvier 1832 _ Plated) 25/	

Gilt Plate

24 Desert Spoons				
24 Desert Forks				
24 Desert Knives, Mother o'Pearl				
handles. Silver blades	£10			
24 Desert Knives _ Steel blades	£4			
2 Sugar Spoons				6 „
3 Old Spoons _ said to be taken by the Duchess				
8 Drawing room Candlesticks (Bronzed) (M ^r				
Grant)				
2 Bourgeoires (Candlestick one)				20 „
1 here and the one with the Duchess				
1 Inkstand				22 „
1 Gold Cup (said to be in the possession of				
the Duchess)				
1 Gold Cup (Marquis of Douglas) _ said to be				
in the possession of D ^o . -				
1 Plate				
1 Gold Sugar Basin (13 Carat Gold) (The Marquis)				
1 Small Vase and Cover _ silver gilt				<u>8 „</u>
Number of Ounces on page 9				<u>499</u>

Appendix 7: Letters from Lord Archibald Hamilton to the Marquis of Douglas relating to the three cameos owned by the Roman banker Torlonia that Douglas received from Baron Rall in St Petersburg and took to Scotland in 1808

Lord Archibald Hamilton to the Marquis of Douglas, dated Florence, 1 November [1815] (HA, Bundle 935)

[...] I shall write to you as soon as I see Torlonia about your own Concern with him
_ I mean the precious Gems I am either to buy or return to his hands _ [...]

Lord Archibald Hamilton to the Marquis of Douglas, dated Naples, 12 December [1815] (HA, Bundle 2088)

[...] I hope you will have received my former letter, desiring to have another hundred pounds of Herries's Notes sent to me to the Care of Donat Orsi at Florence _ and also my two last letters, telling you that Torlonia will take 2500 Sequins for the three Cameos, instead of 3000, as he before asked – but in either Case He expects to receive interest _ 'tis a troublesome business, and He a disagreeable Negotiator pray, send me word how much I may pay him altogether, including interest, for permission to bring you back the Cameos – tho' in my opinion, you had better pay him 200 for interest & so end the matter, than 1200 £ and get the Cameos _ While I write this, I apprehend your answer to this letter, can scarce reach me before I shall have left Rome again, on my return – but if I am got as far as Florence, (which I mean to be early in Feb^y) I may still be able to negotiate for you by means of some travelling Friend.

Lord Archibald Hamilton to the Marquis of Douglas, dated Naples, 26 December [1815] (HA, Bundle 935)

[...] I have written you all this of my plans before and also that I expect to have £100 of Herries's Circular Notes in Donat Orsi's hands at Florence the end of Jan^y _ I have also told you that Torlonia will now take 2500 Sequins for the three Cameos, instead of 3000 as He first asked _ but He expects interest of 2½ per Cent, as you offered, whether you buy them or not _ I hope to receive positive & Clear directions what I am to do _ how much I am to give for Price & Interest _ but I fear it will be imposs: for me to receive any answer to this in time to act upon it – but if I hear from you, before I have left Florence, I shall be able to execute your orders somehow or other _ as there are constant travellers between Rome & Florence _ [...]

Lord Archibald Hamilton to the Marquis of Douglas, dated Florence, 26 January 1815 but actually written on 26 January 1816 (HA, Bundle 935)

Florence _ Jan^y: 26 _
1815.

My Dear Douglas,

The enclosed pages to Susan, you will read & forward to her; if you have received my last letter by Post, from Rome (which I much doubt _ for the Plague has stopt every thing, but me) you will not be surprised at my abrupt departure from thence, or at my difficulties in getting here _ I am safe, & well, and on the whole satisfied, tho' I have lost ten days of valuable time _ And I now write to you in great hurry in hopes my letter may go by the English Courier, who is to set off tonight. One thing only has turn'd out ill, in our Correspondence _ Your letter of the 18th Dec^{br} reached Rome the day after I left it _ so that I have had no opportunity, (nor shall have now,) of explaining your wishes to Torlonia viva voce, about the Cameos _ I trust, however, I shall be able to execute your instructions accurately _ and shall endeavour to pay him the £ 200 of Interest, out of my Credit with him _ and if if He takes the 400 £ more for the Augustus Fragment, I shall draw on you, (or Hoares possibly in my own name & on my own account) at two months date _ but whatever I do, shall be under the joint consideration of myself & Donat Orsi here, and shall be notified to you, as soon as done __ Luckily Torlonia found an English Gen^l coming here, who had not been to Naples, to transmit your letter by the very day he received it, so that all that business _ (a most troublesome one it has been) will end well__

The 150 £ of Herries Notes had arrived here too, before me _ I am to thank you for this additional kindness _ and in return, do allow my Draft on Hoares for the Cameos, (to whatever extent of the 600 I may think proper to draw for, on my own account) to remain un-refunded by you, 'till I reach England _ this may be a Convenience to you, and can be no inconvenience to me _

[...]

Lord Archibald Hamilton to the Marquis of Douglas, dated Florence, 5 February 1816 (HA, Bundle 935)

[...]

I have not yet terminated your Business with Torlonia I fear _ tho' I have done my utmost _ He demands, now, 225£ for Interest alone _ and 500 £ more for Augustus's head _ You desire me to pay 600 £ only (instead of 725) for a quittance of Interest and the Head – I have sent him my Draft for 225 £ (on Hoares, upon my letter of Credit with him) for the Interest _ and have told him my Instructions from you only authorised me to give him £400 more for the Augustus's Head Fragment—

Lord Archibald Hamilton to the Marquis of Douglas, undated but probably written in mid February 1816 (HA, Bundle 935)

This Business has plagued me much _ And if you had Calculated the interest you offer'd _ and the Price you offer'd for Augustus Head you wou'd have Ascertained my embarrassment under your last Instructions of giving no more than 600 £ for the Head and the intire Interest _ the Interest on 3000 Sequins at 2½ per cent for six years is £ 225 – the Price you offer'd for the Head is

_ _ _ _ 500 – making together what Torlonia will take

– 725 – – Again your offer of 2½ per C^t: for six years

on the smaller Sum of 2200 Sequins _ is _ £165 –

which joined to what you offer for the head _ 500 –

makes in all _ _ £665

but your last instructions desire me only to give £600 for all Interest and the Head _ and thus Torlonia Says you “retracter” from your own offer _ the difference between 725 £ _ what He asks, and lost Commission of _

600 _ is considerable, and amounts to

£125 _ but then the difference between what Torlonia asks _ £725 _

and your offer of 500 £ for the Head joined to the Sum 665

of 165 for Interest with smaller Sum is 60 £ only _

665

If if therefore He again says you “retracter” I shall offer to make good your original words by giving him £440 for the Head besides the £225 I have sent him _ both together 165 for Interest, and

for the Head _ 500 _ making

the Sum of _ 665 _ tho' I shall have paid it in different divisions _ having given him £ 225 for Interest, I will only add 440 £ for the Head _ In this I hope I shall act agreeably to your wishes _ tho' I hope He will keep his interest of £225 - and that you will keep your 440 in your Pocket _ 'Tis getting nothing, as you say, but [? barren expensive] _ but I am not sure but you want a little of that [? barren expensive]. For the payment of this £225, will shew you how much of annual Interest, as well as Sunk or rather dead Capital, you pay for your Collection of precious Stones, miniatures & manuscripts _ I dont mean you ought not to pay it, or may not chuse to

pay it _ but this 225 is a sort of memento of the Fact. I beg you to abstain from refunding this £225 to Hoares on my account, 'till I return _ but no longer _ as I shall want it then, and not before. If I get the Head at £440 I will draw the Bill at two months after date, and apprise you of it immediately __

Lord Archibald Hamilton to the Marquis of Douglas, dated Florence, 20 February 1816 (HA, Bundle 935)

Florence Feb^y 20 – 1816 _

My Dear B,

I received yesterday your letter of the 22^d Jan^y: enclosing me one from Susanne _ and expressing alarm at your former ones not having reached me _ This alarm is unfounded, I can detect no chasm in our Correspondence, and I feel myself fully possessed of your Sentiments as to the Cameos, and as to Cicognara's publication __ I have given Torlonia my draft for £225 _ for the interest due to him _ and I have offer^d 440 £ for the Augustus Fragment, to which offer I am in daily expectation of his reply __ I wrote you a full detail of this Business, a few days ago (by Courier) and therefore will now only repeat what is requisite __ The £225 I have paid him (out of my Credit with him) I wish you not to repay me 'till I return _ but, if He takes the £440 for the head, I shall give him a Draft on you (payable at Hoare's in London,) for that Sum, two months after date. [...]

Lord Archibald Hamilton to the Marquis of Douglas, dated Florence, 29 February 1816 (HA, Bundle 935)

Florence Feb^y 29. 1816.

My Dear B,

After all I have written about Torlonia, I presume you are nearly as sick of the Subject as myself _ My last & final offers have been accepted _ He takes £440 for the Augustus Head, in addition to the £225 I have paid him for Interest. I have accordingly given him a Bill dated March 1st drawn on you, but payable at Hoares, for £440, at two months after date _ and I have written by the same Bag, which takes this to Mess^{rs} Hoares to apprize them of the Circumstance, & referring them to you for directions _ but desiring my letter to them may be consider'd as authority for them to pay the money __ I wish you wou'd let them understand that this £440 is for your Business and not mine __ The 225 £ which I have drawn on them, on my own account, I dont wish you to notice at all to them, (unless you like it) 'till my return _ when I shall want the Money _ I am not without fears that you may feel some regrets, now the Price of the Cameo is to be paid, at the Success of my negotiation _ if you do, I shall be very very sorry _ because I have done no more than execute, as accurately as I cou'd, your directions __ £500 for the Cameo has all along been the Sum you offerd to give _ and which, in fact, I have given at last _ for, of the £225 I had paid, I only regard 165 as Interest _ which I shall explain to you most fully, when we meet _ [...]

Appendix 8: Letters relating to Sir Henry Raeburn's Portrait of Alexander, 10th Duke of Hamilton, with notes on David's freedom of action over *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries* and the payment for David's work

Henry Raeburn to Alexander Young, dated Edinburgh, 8 September 1812 (from Young's 'Memorabilia', published in *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 31, 1962, p.173)

EDINR. 8th Sept. 1812.

DEAR SIR,

I have this day been favoured with your letter. My portrait of the Marquisses Horse is not yet finished. As I somehow understood that the Marquis himself was to have been painted either on him or standing beside him. There was a portrait of Coll. Lothian on the Marquisses Horse which appeared in the last Edinr. Exhn. painted by Mr. Howe.¹

With respect to the Marchioness fame has not been silent on her beauty and great accomplishments and it would certainly give me very great pleasure to paint a portrait of her and her son but as my time is completely filled up – having more to do than I can well undertake – I cannot go from home without sustaining considerable loss and soon after I began business I found it necessary to make a rule to which I have invariable adhered never to leave my own house without a reasonable consideration for loss of time, etc. Therefore however desirous I may be to paint the Marchioness I would not go to Hamilton to do it unless that were attended to, for if I broke thro my rule in this instances I must also do it in others or give offence. It would make a difference probably of 30 guineas, not more. I have 100 guis. at present for a full length and intend very soon to raise it 20 or 30 more.

If the Marquis should wish me to go to Hamilton I do not think it would be in my power to go sooner than the 25th of this month but it would suit me much better to delay it till the 2nd of Octr.

I beg you will accept of my best thanks for the manner in which you express yourself of my little acquirements in my profession and believe with great Esteme,

My Dear Sir,

Your most Obed. Servt,

(sgd) HENRY RAEBURN.

¹ James Howe (1780-1836) is best known as an animal painter.

Alexander Young to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 19 November 1816 (HA, Bundle 1673)

[...]

M^r. Raeburn the Painter has been urging me frequently for payment of 45. Guineas as the price of Lord Angus' Portrait and a much larger sum for that of the Marquis and his Spanish Horse, I could have wished to parry him at this time, but as he seemed to be in despair and unable to get a shilling from any of his Customers I this day give him the 45. Guineas for the young Lord's Portrait, leaving the Marquis's to be settled at a more convenient opportunity. _

I remain Dear Sir

Yours Faithfully

Alex Young

Robert Brown Esq^r.

William Young Herries to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 11 October 1823 (HA, C4/52)

[...]

His Grace's Picture was fortunately very nearly completed before the death of Sir Henry Raeburn, and I shall therefore pack up and return you the Saddle &^e by whatever conveyance you think best, as there is no farther occasion for it here. _ Sir Henry's Ex^{ts} appointed a promising artist here (M^r Syme)^[*] to complete any of the unfinished Portraits, which I believe he has done well; and he has requested of me to beg from the Duke the favor of being allowed to take a Copy of Sir Henry's Portrait of His Grace, of which he has had the care (along with all the others) since Sir H^y.. Raeburn died. _

[...]

[*] John Syme (1795-1861). Syme had attended the Trustees' Academy in Edinburgh. He began his career as a flower-painter with his uncle Patrick Syme (whose book *Practical Directions for learning Flower Drawing* was published in Edinburgh in 1810), but had moved over to portrait-painting by 1815.

H.D. Dickie to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Edinburgh, 28 October 1823 (HA, M4/55)

Edinburgh 28th. Oct. 1823

My Lord Duke

I had the honor of your Grace's Letter of 23^d. respecting the Portrait of your Grace by the late Sir Henry Raeburn; which I am glad to find was finished by Sir Henry, with the exception of the Buttons, on the Coat, for which your instructions were required: and which will now be executed agreeably to the Directions you may be pleased to give.

With regard to the Price, I beg leave to explain that no Sum is filled up in Sir Henry's Books _ But his regular charge for a full length & horse was 250 Gui^s. The Portrait of Your Grace however is of an unusually large Size, such as he Seldom did, and on this Ground the Charge of 350 Guineas was made. ____

I am however instructed by M^r. Raeburn to say that as the Portrait is out of the usual Course, he is willing to withdraw the Charge which has been made, and if agreeable to your Grace to allow Sir Thomas Lawrence to fix what the Price should be. ____

I have the honor to be
most respectfully

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's

Most Obed. Servant

H.D.Dickie

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon }

&^c &. }

Note: The 10th Duke has annotated the letter: M^r Dickie about / Raeburn's picture / of me 2^d letter 8^{bre} 28 / offering to refer the / price to S^r: Th^{os} Lawrence ____

Henry Raeburn Junior to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated St Bernards by Edinburgh, 2 December 1823, and the Duke's draft reply dated 6 December (HA, M4/55)

S^t Bernards by Edin^r 2^d of Dec^r 1823

My Lord Duke

Some of the most distinguished individuals of this City having expressed their earnest desire to have an Exhibition of the latter works of my lamented Father _ I feel very anxious to gratify their wishes; & in preparing to do so, your Graces splendid Portrait, with the beautiful Arabian Horse, at once occurred to me, as one of the most desirable, not only on acc^t of the distinguished original, but because it is one of the very happiest of my Fathers productions _ It was esteemed as such by himself, & is universally admired by all who have seen it as a most exquisite painting ____ I therefore take the liberty of requesting your Graces permission to retain ~~to retain~~ the Portrait & to place it in the Gallery during the approaching Exhibition _

If I might venture one further request, I would solicit your Grace to allow the Portrait of the Marquis of Douglas to be sent in for the purpose of being included in the Exhibition, it being one on which my Father set a high value _

Should your Grace grant me that favour I would send a proper person to pack & bring in the Picture, & would be answerable for its being safely returned to the Palace ____ I have the honour to be _ My Lord Duke

Your Graces most Obed Humble Servant

Henry Raeburn

To

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

&c &c_

Sir

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, desiring permission to place the portrait your distinguished father painted of me in the proposed exhibition ____ ~~should be am am feel too ready testify ing~~ I ~~should always be happy~~ ^ to ~~show any mark of res~~ the high estimation in which I held S^r H Raeburn's talents, ~~& the regard I personally felt~~ any that is thought honorable ~~towards him~~ to make any objection to your request proposal, at the same time to his reputation to either or to withhold it in regard I am so situated as not to be able ^ to give any consent ^

to placing the picture alluded in the exhibition have
The picture S^r H: R: painted for me was to ~~cost~~ been paid £200 _ I understood at his death
It was not finished, ^ & I desired that no body should venture to touch it that [illegible word] I was persuaded suffer by being under the idea of finishing what their own inferiority would only injure _ [[?] ~~at~~]
touched _ When I received a letter from M^{rs} Dickie claiming £350 _ instead of at present £200 _ I objected to this demand & therefore it is that I cannot ^ assume any whatever right ^ over the picture _

I am sorry not to be able to ~~allow~~ send you the portrait of my son to be exhibited with the other works of S^r H Raeburn ^ but The Duchess is not to be persuaded to let it go out of room _ I am
CH & B

Dec^r y^e 6th

Note: The Duke has annotated the letter: Dec[?]^r 2^d 1823 / M^r Raeburn's letter to / me concerning my picture / & the exhibition and my / answer ____

Henry Raeburn Junior to Robert Brown, dated St Bernards, 16 January 1824 (HA, M4/55)

S^t Bernards 16 of Jan^y 1824

Sir

I have this day received your letter of 1[?4]., from which I am sorry to see the explanations already given to the Duke of Hamilton respecting his Graces Portrait, have not proved satisfactory _ on referring to Mr Dickies letter of 28 Oct & mine of 8th Dec^r. I feel at a loss how to reply to your letter, without recapitulating what is already before his Grace _

There is a question put however which demands a pointed answer _ you say “He now puts the question whiether you really Consider it fair to encrease the price beyond the original agreement merely because it was not finished, as it should have been, 9 or 10 years ago” _ To this I reply, that were this the Ground, on which the demand for the encreased price, rests, it would be idle indeed for me to make it, & certainly would not have deserved an answer from his Grace _ I do Certainly Consider the demand I have made perfectly fair, otherwise I should not have made it, but it is not made on the Ground stated in the question _

That the Portrait was not finished 9 or 10 years ago, was not owing to my Father, he did not touch it for many years in expectation of his Grace sitting again, but seeing no likelihood of that, he at length determined to finish it, & accordingly, as already mentioned, in the Course of last Spring, brought it to its present state, with the trifling exception explained of 8th ult^a _ _

I understand there is not now time to get a suitable Frame made, so that however much it is to be regretted, that such a Portrait should not appear in the Exhibition, there is now I fear no help for it _ this is a disappointment which will be felt not be [sic] me only, but by all who value the art _

I shall now be glad to be favoured with his Graces determination respecting the pay^t of the price, & I remain

Sir

Your mo ob Sert

Henry Raeburne

Robert Brown Esq
Hamilton

Note: The 10th Duke has annotated the letter: Jan^{ry} 15-1824 – M^r / Raeburnes letters
about / my picture to M^r / Brown ____

David's Freedom and Control over the Portrait of *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries*

The freedom that Douglas gave David and David's willingness to take charge of the subject-matter and treatment are indicated in the artist's first letter to his patron, dated 20 September 1811 (HA, Bundle 768):

Mr Bonnemaïson has handed me a letter from your Lordship in which I learn you have graciously condescended to choose my brush to put on canvas the features of the Great Man and to portray him in one of the events that have immortalised him.

I am infinitely flattered to have been chosen by someone like you, therefore I have no hesitation, Lord Marquis, in putting this commission to the forefront of all those I have received from abroad, without underestimating the difficulty of the task however.

This painting, I reflect, will occupy the apartments of a man of taste, it will be seen by the élite of an enlightened nation, it must represent a man whose true being one always underestimates in one's perception. So, Lord Marquis, the fusion of all these reasons makes me undertake the project and I intend to place my happiness and all my glory to respond to the propitious idea that a great Lord and lover of the arts has conceived of my talents.

Payment for David's Portrait of *The Emperor Napoleon in his Study at the Tuileries*

Writing to Douglas on 15 August 1812 (HA, Bundle 768), David had asked Douglas to ensure that he received 'one thousand guineas, that is twenty-five thousand francs, without any deductions for, My Lord, as a justly acknowledged friend of the arts, you will not find it extraordinary that, in my capacity as an artist, I should be a total stranger to the differences of exchange rate that can exist between one country and another.'

David wrote to Douglas again on 20 October 1812 (HA, Bundle 768) to explain that he had gone to the Parisian bankers Perregaux, Lafitte and Company a few days earlier to receive £1,050 but had only been given 18,650 francs: 'On seeing the enormous difference from the 25,000 francs I counted on as the real value of the one thousand guineas for my painting, I would not accept it, but Messrs. Perregaux Lafitte & Co. observed that the longer I delayed receiving the sum, the worse it would be for Your Lordship, as the exchange rate was going towards a stronger decline. I thought, in accepting it, to avoid you a greater loss and I hope, Lord Marquis, you will approve of the motive that influenced me to receive the above-mentioned sum of 18650 francs and I do not doubt for a moment that Your Lordship will give orders to complete the sum of 25,000 francs agreed on, without deductions for the difference in exchange rate and the intrinsic value of 1000 guineas, as I had the honour of explaining once more to Your Lordship in my last letter of 15th August.'

In his draft letter (HA, Bundle 1129), Douglas remarked: 'I cannot finish this letter without noting an observation I found in your last letter about the price of your picture. It would upset me that an observation of my pen should displease you or allow to deprecate the value of a work [masterpiece crossed out] _ the merit of which is recognised but forgive me if I tell you that in agreeing to the thousand guineas, price fixed by yourself, I thought I was acting with a generosity worthy of the talent I was about to employ [...].'

Appendix 9: Furniture and Silver, including shipments from Italy and Paris, dealings with Robert Hume, the 6th Duke of Devonshire's opinion of the 10th Duke of Hamilton's expertise and assistance, Wanstead and Fonthill sales in 1822 and 1823, stone furniture in the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory, Garnaud bill for the Napoleon tea service in 1830, 1831 Marchetti sale catalogue entries, silver candelabrum-centrepiece presented to the Duke in 1849, and important furniture listed in the 1853 Hamilton Palace inventory

List of items sent from Rome to Scotland in January 1819 (HA, F2/1069/6)

The list is not in the Marquis of Douglas/10th Duke of Hamilton's handwriting but has been annotated by him with the heading 'Lista dei marmi mandati & nella scozia da Roma nel Gennajo 1819' over the large letters C or G followed by P. It records:

- Nº 1 Tre Tavole di Marmo.
- 2 Due Tavole di Porfido.
- 3 } Quattro Vasi di Porcellana di Roma.
- 4 }
- 5 Un Paravento inver[m or ni]ciato di Roma
- 6 Un Busto di Marmo Moderno.
- 7 Due Tavole di Granito.
- 8 Due Tavole di Bianco e Nero, e dentro
- 9 }
- 10 } Tre Zampe di marmo per il Tavolone
- 11 }
- 12 Un Tavolone di Marmo grande.

The sheet has been folded in half and on the reverse are two short lists, written by Douglas in brown ink. The list on the left-hand side has been written quickly and reads:

Da prendere
due colonne porfido verde
due vasi porfido
D° Alabastro _
3 zampe [? 2] marmo [? e] alabastro

The list on the right has been written with greater care and refers to:

Due tavolini di porfido
due Lumahelli
Due giallo antico
Due granito bigio orientale
Uno pietre di Firenze diaspro
uno d'ebano pietre di firenze
Uno bianco e nero
uno D° bordiera di verde antico
Due tavolini di fior di persico
Un quadrante pietre di Firenze

Memorandum written by the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated 17 January 1820 (HA, F2/1048/7)

Note

Jan^y 17th 1820

Given to Hume besides my florence broken table from Rome _ & lumachello and Ebony with florence medallions _ & moreover 3 pieces of Fa[? l]entine [probably a mistake for Florentine] pietra dura ___ [addition by 10th Duke: & fourth mended at Florence by Tidi]

—

Besides

my silver table & 3 legs _

my small mala[? k]ite table

Bottom of the Indian trunk _ with lacquer upon it

Franchi's old cabbasse vase to sell _

an Ebony table from Rome with mosa[? ci]ks _

The jasper table with mosaics

—

florentine P

mosaics ^ bought of Hume _ pietra dura

Clock Pietra dura _

[Addition in pencil by the 10th Duke:]

Ebony table with flower work

Tular [i.e. Tula] steel [? cabinet] doo[r or rs]

List of items sent from Rome to England, dated 18 April 1821 (HA, F2/1069/8)

The list is actually made up of two lists and annotations. It starts with a list of nine crates and their contents which is not in the 10th Duke's handwriting. Then comes a list in brown ink which was written by the Duke, beginning 'Palazzo Braschi' and ending with the date and the Duke's initials. In the same brown ink, the Duke has added 'Scarpellino Viti _' as a heading, above the first list. He has also added 'nel palazzo' twice, 'di casa Colonna / nel palazzo', and a final note at 90°, all in grey ink. In darker ink, he has subsequently annotated the top right-hand corner 'list of things sent to England from Rome'.

To facilitate correlation with the bill of lading M12/27, which follows, numbers in square brackets have been added before each entry.

- | | | |
|-------|--|------------------------|
| | | list of things sent to |
| | 'Scarpellino Viti _ | England from Rome |
| [1-4] | n° 1 quattro Casse con li Sgabeloni di Fernese _ _ _ _ _ | |
| [5] | n° 5 una cassa con li vasi di Alabastro [with the addition: nel palazzo] | |
| [6] | n° 6 una Cassa con le strise di verde antico e Giallo Antico _ _ | |
| [7] | n° 7 una Cassa con due Tavolini di Porfido [i.e. Porfido] _ _ _ _ | |
| [8] | n° 8 una Cassa con due Tavolini di Fior di Perzico _ _ _ _ _ | |
| [9] | n° 9 una Cassa con due Gimere una di alabastro e una di marmo | |
| <hr/> | | |
| | Palazzo Braschi | |
| [10] | Due colonne d Astracan | |
| [11] | una di granito nero } | |
| | [with the addition: nel palazzo] | |
| [12] | Un busto di Diana } | |
| [13] | Una casse con cinque quadri _ _ | |
| <hr/> | | |

Da casa mia

[14] una cassa con tavolini di marmo

[15] Due con piedistalli dorati [with the addition: di casa Colonna nel palazzo]

[16] Una con quatro vasi di porcellana

_____ Aprile y^e 18 _ 1821 ____ CH:&B:

The Duke has added the following note to the right of his list, at 90° to the entries:

Un tavolino d'alabastro fiorito che non si é trovato _____

Notes

The second line of the addition 'di casa Colonna / nel palazzo' could refer to either the 'piedistalli' or the vases.

The references 'nel Palazzo' mean that these items were in the Palazzo Pallavicini-Rospignoli, where the Duke rented an apartment.

On the reverse is a list of 'Cases arrived from Rome in 1828'. The dates of 18 April 1821 on the above list and 1828 on the other list are clear and correct.

Bill of lading recording that Giuseppe Guerri has received seventeen crates for transportation from Rome to Livorno, dated Rome, 24 April 1821 (HA, M12/27)

The numbers in square brackets added to F2/1069/8 have been placed after the entries to show the correlation.

1	Lumi	}			
2	Vasi di Porcellana	}			[16]
3	Pie[? et]istalli di Legno	}	Palazzo Pallavicini	4	[15]
4	Tavolini	}			[14]
5	Due Vase di Alabastro	}			[5]
6	Zampe di Tavole	}			[1-4]
7	dette	}			[1-4]
8	dette	}			[1-4]
9	dette	}	Scarpellino all' Arco		[1-4]
10	Strisce di Gialle e Neri	}	Pontano	9	[6]
11	Tavole di Porfido	}			[7]
12	Tavole di Fior di Persico	}			[8]
13	Due [? Sfinge]	}			[9]
14	Due collonne di Astracane	}			[10]
15	Un Mocehio di granito Nero	}	Palazzo Braschi	4	[11]
16	Un Busto	}			[12]
17	Una Cassa Quadri	}			[13]

N° 17 intutte

Two Marblemaniacs: The 6th Duke of Devonshire's critical comments on the 10th Duke of Hamilton's expertise and assistance

The 6th Duke of Devonshire notes that the 'Five slabs of Oriental granite, with rough edges, ill suited for tables', that were laid in the East Lobby at Chatsworth, with five slabs of Aberdeen granite, 'were almost my earliest purchase at Rome, in 1819. The Duke of Hamilton would have me buy them, and I gave twice their value, for which poor Gaspare Gabrielli, the worthy painter who executed most honestly all my subsequent commissions, never ceased to rebuke me' (*Handbook of Chatsworth and Hardwick* (privately printed, 1845), p.10).

Devonshire had a low opinion of the 10th Duke's 'expertise'. He was annoyed by the 10th Duke's conduct during a visit 'to see Monsieur Bonnemaisons pictures' in Paris three years later – 'That most tiresome of men the D surpassed himself, in giving empty foolish offers of services, and advice respecting the arts' (Chatsworth, diary of the 6th Duke of Devonshire for 1822, under 24 November 1822) – and was probably distinctly underwhelmed to receive a long letter from the 10th Duke, dated 28 April 1823, drawing his attention to possible acquisitions of marble and porphyry (Chatsworth, Devonshire Manuscripts, 6th Duke's Group, 796):

'My Dear Duke

Some time ago, when we were at Rome together, you expressed great anxiety to have two or three of some marble tables I was about to purchase _ I have never been able to terminate that transaction; but I have accidentally met with some magnificent tables here that I am endeavouring to procure; and there are other things of the same nature that I think might be objects of importance to you __ If you wish to acquire any of them, & you think you can confide in my judgment I am ready to act for you _ The objects in question I will now state at the bottom of my letter, & if you feel disposed to purchase, I will send you the prices, & you will then determine for yourself _ The only difficulty will be, whether you like to trust to my judgment in

regard to the quality of the marbles _ I can only say, that I will give you the little experience I possess __

I was quite disappointed in not seeing you when you passed thro' this place _ I hope I shall be in London before your departure so that we may meet _ I need not say that I am always happy in any opportunity of assuring you of those sentiments of regard & esteem with which I have the honor to be

My Dear Duke

Your very sincere and

attached &c

&c &ccc__

Hamilton & Brandon

[...]

Four or five tables of oriental solid porphyry _ round from 3 feet and $\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 feet and $\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter _ Two oblong tables (I believe) of the same material about 5 feet $\frac{1}{2}$ by two feet $\frac{1}{2}$ _ these are fineered, but done formerly when the surface was applied about $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch in thickness __

Two most extraordinary solid round lumachella tables I should think more than six feet in the diameter __

a vase of antique bianco e nero about [? 2 changed to 1] foot and $\frac{1}{2}$ in diameter _

Four fine large black marble slabs about the size of the red granite ones you wanted at Rome; They are the nero antico & sometimes pass for what is called the pietra di paragone, but I am not yet clear that they are of that quality __

There are some columns & inferior marbles __

If you wish for any of these things you will let me know it _'.

Bill for items bought at the Wanstead House sale by Robert Hume (HA, F2/1048/2)

1822

Mr Hume

BOUGHT at the SALE BY AUCTION,
by MR. ROBINS, at
WANSTEAD HOUSE.

No.	Lot		£.	s.	d.	
17	126	19/6	26	15	6	Box
25	58		}	21	9	Carpet
		Duke of H ^m				
	63		}	4	16	Rods
33	53			4	5	Agate
47	9			3	12	China
	11			2	12	China
	77			1	8	D ^o Hume
	101			1	11	D ^o Hume
				66	8	6
		Cash paid		53.	7.	6
				13.	1.	—
Del ^d		Cartage		7		
		[illegible signature]				

The reverse is annotated:

May 1822
Sale at
Wanstead House
Carpets
His Gr^e D. Hamilton
21_9.0
4.16.0
7.0
£26.,12.0

Exp^s 2. —
£ 28.12.,0'

Notes

The 'Box' (No.17, lot 126) is definitely the most interesting of the items. It is described in the Wanstead House sale catalogue as:

'126 A BEAUTIFUL EBONY CABINET, INLAID WITH BRASS MOULDINGS, THE PANELS ENRICHED WITH BRANCHES OF FRUIT, OF FINE EMBOSSSED WORKMANSHIP, IN AMETHYSTS, CORNELIANS, AGATES, AND OTHER PRECIOUS GEMS'

(Robins, *Catalogue of the Wanstead House Sale*, 10 June -23 July 1822, p.107).

The photocopy of an annotated copy of the catalogue in the National Art Library in the Victoria and Albert Museum notes that 'Hume' bought this lot for £26 15s.

The 'Agate' (No. 33, lot 53) is described in the sale catalogue as:

'53 A curious fine old oriental Mococo Cup' (*ibid.*, p.189).

The remaining four lots are described in the catalogue as:

'9 Six beautiful egg-shell green and gold India Image Cups and five Saucers, two others, and four Saucers, three powder blue Coffee Cans, and a ditto Sugar Bason [...]

11 Seven highly enamelled egg-shell Image Cups and Saucers, richly gilt, a Tea Pot and cover, a Tea Jar, and nine ditto Cups and Saucers, various [...]

77 Two curious japan blue and brown Punch Bowls, and two yellow-ground Ditto, with enamelled flowers [...]

101 Two Ditto [rich pale blue-ground Dishes], with scarlet and blue scroll ground, and white medallions, with gold flowers, flat scalloped edges, &c. 11 inches over' (*ibid.*, pp.250 and 254-5).

The photocopy of the sale catalogue in the National Art Library confirms that 'Hume' bought all four lots and also the cup at the prices stated on the bill.

The 10th Duke of Hamilton's acquisitions from the 1823 Fonthill Sale

The acquisitions for the 10th Duke at the Fonthill sale are recorded in letters from Hume to the Duke and in two lists of lot numbers with prices in bundle 602 in the Hamilton archive. The entries on Hume's bill for the Fonthill sale, dated 23 September (the first day of the sale), can be correlated with Phillips's catalogue of *The Unique and Splendid Effects of Fonthill Abbey* to produce the following list of nineteen purchases. The basic details provided by Hume are set out first, catalogue descriptions have been added in square brackets, and the entries conclude with the prices on Hume's bill. The order of Hume's bill, which goes from 911, 912, 1266, 1361 and 1362, to 239, 249, 1573 and the candlesticks, has been altered to the actual sequence in the sale. Prices mentioned in the correspondence are noted in parentheses.

[Eleventh day, 23 September, 'China, Japan, and Miscellaneous Elegancies'
from the 'Porcelane Room']

2	12 Plates [Twelve burnt-in dishes in compartments, flowered]	1 16 0
4	16 D° [Sixteen ditto, enamelled with insects and birds]	2 „ „
29	9 D° [Nine enamelled plates]	1 13 „
48	12 D° [Twelve burnt-in plates]	1 10 „
111	12 D° [Twelve burnt-in China plates]	2 11 „

[Twelfth day, 24 September]

143	12 D° [Ten beautiful and rich small Japan plates, handsomely shaped]	3 5 „
-----	---	-------

[Note: Lot 143 is listed as coming from the 'Porcelane Room'.]

[Thirteenth day, 25 September, under 'China, &c.']

251	13 D° [Thirteen burnt-in and enamelled plates]	1 16 „
-----	--	--------

[Fifteenth day, 27 September, 'Porcelane, and Miscellaneous Elegancies']

- 483 15 D° [Fifteen burnt-in and enamelled *soup* plates] 2 14 „
 496 18 D° [Eighteen ditto [i.e. burnt-in plates], richly coloured] 3 „ „
 576 Japan Chest [A SUPERB COFFER OF RAISED JAPAN, presumed the largest specimen known of this *superior quality*; the LID, without and within, as also the FRONT and SIDES, are covered with representations of *buildings and landscapes* of the finest *raised and spangled Japan*, and with animals of SOLID *gold and silver*
This unique specimen of Japanese art was formerly the property of
 CARDINAL MAZARIN, and belonged, subsequently, to the DUC de
 BOUILLON] 131 5 „ (126 Gs)

[Eighteenth day, 2 October]

- 911} [Two sets of rich CRIMSON DAMASK WINDOW CURTAINS, with brass rods, &c. as arranged over the window and the recess (not the rods)]
 912 } Curtains [Ditto over doors (not the rods)] 29 „ „

[Twenty-sixth day, 14 October, the third day of the sale of pictures]

- 239 Leo. Vincii [L. da Vinci
The highly famed LAUGHING BOY, with a Toy in his hand: half figure: a beautiful bit of nature exhibiting, with happiest effect, the truth and sweetness which distinguish the works of this great Master
 It was bequeathed to the late SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON by LADY ELIZABETH GERMAINE; and formerly adorned the so justly celebrated *Arundel Collection*. – In No. 23.] 1034 5 „ (985 Gs)

- 249 Lu° Carracci [Lod. Caracci
 SIBYLLA LYBICA. The Sibyl is seated before a Tablet, and surrounded by A Group of Boys, who are busily employed in collecting and recording her predictions – In No.23.

The figure of the Female is in broad and simple style; those of the Boys who are in action, display the finest anatomical design.

This Picture was formerly of *high celebrity* at *Ferrara*, and held subsequently a distinguished station in the Collection of LORD LANSDOWNE, and ever esteemed a chef d'oeuvre of this master]

378 ,, ,, (360 Gs)

[Thirtieth day, 18 October, under 'St. Michaels's Gallery']

- 1266 Japan Idol [A FIGURE of the JAPANESE IDOL AMIDA, standing on the water, and supported on a base of rock-work, with marine plants and reptiles. This figure is of the most exquisite Japan lacquer, on wood of an olive colour, the drapery bordered with arabesques, very freely and delicately pencilled in gold] 34 13 0 (33 Gs)

[Thirty-first day, 21 October, 12th day of the sale of furniture]

- 1361}[A SPLENDID BUHL ARMOIRE with figures and ornaments, chased and gilt. *From the collection of the Duc d'Aumont.* This costly and superb piece of furniture was designed by the celebrated Le Brun. 10 feet high by 5 feet wide]

- 1362}Buhl Armoires [A DITTO] 509 5 ,, (485 Gs)

[Thirty-second day, 22 October, 13th day of the sale of furniture]

- 1573 2 Great Jars [A pair of MAGNIFICENT JARS, of EXTRAORDINARY SIZE, embellished with landscapes, buildings and figures, descriptive of the various processes in the *manufacture of porcelain*, of the most exquisite enamel These grand and unique pieces of Porcelain were formerly the property of a DISTINGUISHED PERSONAGE OF RANK IN PORTUGAL] 136 ,, ,,

- 6 Candlesticks 27 6 ,,

All this came to £2,300 9 shillings. Hume charged 5 per cent commission, of £115, and £13 5s for 'Repairing Cleaning & Polishing the Armoires & all the Gilt Ornaments' and £2 5s for 'Repairing the Picture Frame of the Carracci'. The grand total, with packing and transportation, was £2,513 17s 5½d. Hume records that he had received £200 from Hoare's bank on 6 October and a further £1,500 on 6 November, and had an outstanding balance of £813 17s 5½d 'Due with Interest' from 30 November 1823.

The six candlesticks may include the two pairs that Hume informed the Duke he had acquired, in his letter dated 27 October 1823. On 14 February 1824 Hume apologised for delaying writing 'until I could state that the Candlesticks were finish^d I have Sent six by order of Mr Franchi they have been made perfect and I hope will give you satisfaction the Cost with the Repairs will be ab^t 26. Guineas' .

The Duke noted, in a draft at the bottom of a letter from Hume dated 16 December 1824, that he had authorised Hoare's to pay Hume the outstanding balance. Hume complained to the Duke on 16 January 1825 that the order did not include interest, but the correspondence peters out at this point. All the letters referred to are in Bundle 602.

Marble, Porphyry and Stone Items recorded on the 1825 Hamilton Palace Inventory (HA, M4/70, pp.1-3, 5, 7-8, 14, 25-37, 110-11, 116 and 119)

The 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory records the following pieces of marble, porphyry and *pietre dure* valued at over ten pounds. Items currently associated with the 10th Duke on documented or partly documented grounds are printed in italics.

[Long] Gallery	[£]
6 Gilt Eagles with Marble Tops	84
<i>6 Marble Tables with Marble Tops Black and Eagles under them</i>	<i>60</i>
A Large White Marble Vase	50
<i>4 Malachite Candle Stands ornamented with gilt</i>	<i>150</i>
Atlas carrying a Bason Bronze & Grey Granite	20
2 Gilt Tables root of Emerald	300
2 Gilt Tables root of Amethyst	200
 Billiard Room	
A Marble Pidestal with an antic head on it	15
 The Duchess' Drawing Room	
A Small Cabinet with precious Stones & china curiosities	300
 Breakfast Room	
2 Marble Tables with Gilt frames half round	10 10
<i>A Large Gilt Elegant Table with Porphyry Top all Carved in the first stile</i>	<i>1000</i>
 The Drawing Room	

<i>A Green Malachite Table with a gilt frame</i>	200
<i>2 Plinths of Lapeslazule with two bronze figures</i>	80
<i>A Marble Basin of Root of Emerald</i>	200
<i>2 Japan Cabinets with marble Tops most neatly done metal gilt companions made by Williams</i>	400
<i>A Large gilt Table with a Porphyry Top all carved in the finest stile</i>	1000
<i>[addition to the above entry: and a porphyry vase below it]</i>	
<i>2 Ornamental figures richly burnished with different colours covered with 2 Globes of Jade Bloodstone Rubes [i.e. Rubies]</i>	300
<i>A Coffe richly ornamented with all sorts of fruits & flowers florentine work</i>	1000
<i>French Commode ornamented with flat mosaic Florence work & gilt Metal</i>	100
<i>A vase made of the root of Emerald</i>	200
<i>A Jade Oval Cup with rubes [i.e. rubies]</i>	50
<i>Do Oval Cup agate</i>	25
<i>A Florentine Commode</i>	800
 State Bed Room	
<i>A Wood and Japan Cabinet with a marble Top of Verde antique</i>	50
<i>An Ornamental Cup Standing on rich figures with a Glass Globe on it, of Lapeslazule</i>	70
<i>A Table with verde antique Slab</i>	50
<i>A Rich ornamental onyx Vase with a Glass Globe over it</i>	1500
<i>A Mosaic Cabinet, with a marble top flat Florentine Work</i>	100
<i>2 Porphyry Vases with 2 Blocks to stand on</i>	200
<i>A rich french Commode of black & Gold japan ornamented with bronze, a bureau to match the Commode</i>	600
<i>A Yellow Jasper Jarr Scalloped Basin &c</i>	100
 First Dressing Room	
<i>An Antic Pidestal with a Trippod Stand and Bason on it of Giallo antico</i>	40
<i>A small Box Bouhl Cabinet with a Black marble top</i>	50
<i>A Red Jasper ornamental vase mounted in Gold</i>	200

Second Dressing Room

<i>2 Crystal Jarrs upon a Sculptured wood stand</i>	30
<i>A Yellow Scalloped Cup</i>	25
<i>A White Jasper Coffee Pot</i>	20
<i>A Jade Vase</i>	50
<i>An Alabaster Vase</i>	30
<i>A Green Jade Vase</i>	30

The Duke's Dressing Room

<i>A Head of the Niobe, of porphyry</i>	500
The Figure of Venus	1000
<i>A Bust of a Female Antique</i>	50
<i>2 Vases Oriental Alabaster</i>	60
<i>A Column of Egyptian Granite black</i>	80
<i>A marble bust of the Princess Borghose</i>	50

Dining Room

<i>2 Granite pedestals with bronze figures on each of Peter the great & Catherine</i>	150
---	-----

Room above Back Kitchen

<i>Inlaid Florentine Table in a Box</i>	50
---	----

The inventory also records, at the end (p.153), under 'Boxes of Marble':

8 Boxes in Coach House

12 Ditto in the Stable

List of Items for Shipment from Rome to Hamilton, dated Rome, 30 June 1827 (HA, F2/1069/7)

Roma 1827 Giugno 30 _

Ho comprato a Roma per spedire a Hamilton – quel che segue _

Colonne di granito Agizio nero _ 4

Colonn[? s or r]ee orientali rosse _ 4

Una testa d'Omero di nero Antico _

Una roccia di granito bigio orientale

di Braschi _

un piedistallo di porfido & _____

Tre tavole di granito Agizio Rosso lunghe palm 10 larghe 5 _ 3 _ _ Queste furono nel
maggiora larghezza cavate della grande colonna Coclide dell' Ipoteosi d'Antonino

Pio per ordine del Papa Pio Sisto Braschi sul suo nepote _ di Braschi

una colonna di alabastro di fiorito per spese tagliata, e forne due rocchj _ di Braschi _

La famosa tazza dal Cardinale F ____ &° &

Una testa d'Alabastro orientale (un leone)

Un tavolnio [sic] vecchio [crossing out and over-written im]pellicciato con le zampe
bellissime di legno dorato _

Un tavolino grande di giallo antico _ impellicciato

Un tavolino tondo di mostre di pietre per La Duchessa ____

‘Works & Goods belonging to His Grace the Duke of Hamilton in the hands of Hume & Son’ on 17 December 1827 (HA, Bundle 2089)

1827 Works & Goods belonging to His Grace the Duke of Hamilton
in the hands of Hume & Son

Dec^r. 17 2 Inlaid India Cab^{ts} & Tables unfinish^d

1 Large Carved Oak Commode D^o

6 Large State Chairs for Tapestry D^o

1 Large Mahogany Board

14 Pieces of Ebony

Sundry good[s] to Sell off

1 Wardrobe

1 Basket Flower Stand

1 Tin Maet Screen

1 Plate Warmer

1 Small deal Table

1 Old Plate Chest

Note about Items sent from Paris and at Hamilton Palace in 1827, written by the 10th Duke of Hamilton in 1827 (HA, M4/70, p.185)

In 1827 _ sent here by Quinet from Paris

4 candelabres gilt malakite stands

4 candelabres gilt bronze with bronz vases to support them & two bronze figures on either side

one lustre bronze guilt

one lustre rock Chrystal

a mahogany bed stand with two guilt figures in wood & the roof mahogany with bronze likewise

2 french guilt fenders, with wire work finely done _

2 common ones with brass & brass wire work

one writing table & porte papier both inlaid wood & guilt

one bureau of florentine stone work similar to my two others _

a whole set of plain white french China

Sent by me a little previous _ 1827 _

a bureau inlaid wood with ~~the~~ guilt bronze & the ornament of [cipher of two crossed Ls] belonging to Versailles _

one port-papier with guilt bronze

one bureau, with a tree & boys in bronze guilt in relief

3 other inlaid bureaus of wood _ inferior

Notes

Most of the items on this list are relatively easy to identify using bills, Chenue's shipping lists and Quinet's letters to the Duke.

The first four candelabra, with the malachite stands, were supplied by Dénière in 1827 and are discussed in chapter six. The second set of candelabra, with the vases and figures, are probably the five-light candelabra which became lots 658 and 659 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale. For more information on these and a pair of candelabra associated with Queen Marie-Antoinette, see the note on 'The Candelabra in the Library associated with Queen Marie-Antoinette' further on in this appendix.

Entries three and four appear to be the chandeliers from the Denon sale and Rolland. The latter is discussed in chapter six (Fig. 69).

The mahogany bed is now in a private collection in New York and is discussed separately immediately after this brief review.

The fenders are recorded in other documents but are difficult to envisage and identify.

The 'writing table & porte papier both inlaid wood & guilt' are the *bureau plat* and *cartonnier* made for the duc de Choiseul (Fig. 70), which are discussed at some length in chapter six.

'[O]ne bureau of florentine stone work similar to my two others' should be the cabinet now at Elton Hall (Fig. 131), as the Duke's first two *pietre dure* bureaux/cabinets are the cabinets now in the Getty Museum (Figs. 132 and 133).

The items sent by the Duke 'a little previous' include the commode by Cressent ('one bureau, with a tree & boys in bronze guilt in relief'), discussed in chapter six (Fig. 73).

The 'bureau inlaid wood with ~~the~~ guilt bronze & the ornament of [cipher of two crossed Ls] belonging to Versailles' appears to be the commode by Riesener now at Versailles (Fig. 135), which has crossed 'L's in the centre of the frieze. This is a 'new connection' and need to be checked out more thoroughly.

Finally, the 'inferior' 'bureaus' could conceivably include the rather boring commodes of the 1730s at Waddesdon and in Budapest.

The ‘mahogany bed stand with two guilt figures in wood & the roof mahogany with bronze likewise’ on the Note of Items sent from Paris and at Hamilton Palace in 1827 (HA, M4/70, p.185)

This bed is arguably the most interesting item on the list transcribed and discussed in the last two pages – especially as most of the other main pieces are now identified and understood in the context of the Duke’s collecting.

The bed itself was photographed at Hamilton Palace by *Country Life* prior to its inclusion in the 1919 Hamilton Palace sales (Fig. 143). It was described by Christie’s as ‘An Empire mahogany bedstead, with gilt winged figures at the corners, and bedding’,¹ and the photograph and description reveal that, by this time, it had ‘lost’ its tester.

The bed has been associated with Napoleon’s designer Charles Percier and it has been alleged that it was made for the 10th Duke’s father-in-law, William Beckford. In the early 1990s Didier Girard wrote:

Un peu avant 1820, Beckford se prit de passion pour un retour marqué à l’antique et pour les exemples les plus nobles du style Empire tout juste naissant. Percier, en effet, avait dessiné pour le voluptueux William un lit extraordinaire, aujourd’hui à New York, et d’autres cabinets.²

Letters and shipping lists prove that the bed has nothing to do with Beckford but was acquired by the 10th Duke in Paris, second-hand and probably around 1826-27.

¹ Christie, Manson and Woods, *The Remaining Contents of Hamilton Palace*, 14 November 1919, lot 499.

² *William Beckford: Terroriste au Palais de la Raison* (Paris, 1993), pp.176-7.

Nothing is currently known about the maker or provenance of the bed, which is clearly an exceptional commission – even in the context of Pierre-Benoît Marcion, *ébéniste* to Napoleon – and highly unusual in combining gilt wood figures and mahogany with ormolu mounts, and the skills of a very good carver as well as a first-rate designer and *ébéniste*.

What is clear is that the Duke arranged for Dénrière to restore the bed. Dénrière's bill of 1827 for the four candelabra with malachite stands and Egyptian figures and other lighting equipment concludes with charges of 230 francs for an *ébéniste* and 280 francs for Dénrière's own men to repair the bed. The bill is difficult to read and interpret but it seems to record that the *ébéniste* made a frame for the baldaquin, repaired and cleaned the edge of the bed, adjusted the plinth, and undertook some work on the figures, and that Dénrière's men supplied three friezes each five foot long for the baldaquin, renovated all the bronze parts and re-gilded the worn mounts.³

Chenue's shipping bill for 19 December 1826 to 26 April 1827 records the bed as part of a shipment under 26 April 1827, with 'un Bois de lit en acajou orné de bronzes doré' in crate 10 and '2 figures en bois doré qui de'pendent du lit' in crate 11.⁴

The Duke's own list quoted at the beginning of this note records that the bed, figures and 'roof' were in Hamilton Palace in 1827.⁵

Basically, there are three matters to resolve. First, the manufacture and initial ownership of the bed. The first requires archival evidence because the lack of the tester makes stylistic analysis a very risky and unreliable business; however the two figures of Victories point towards an important military commander. Secondly, was Percier involved with the acquisition of the bed? The style of the bed and Percier's involvement with the Duke in 1827 would seem to make this likely. At the moment, a

³ HA, Bundle 2089.

The passages are not easy to read or transcribe but may be provisionally rendered as:

'Payé a Le'beniste Pour un [Chassee or Chassis] en Baldaquin acajou avec astragale et Corniche et Devoussure avoir repare et nétoyé Les Bois du lit retaillé et ajusté la Strade fourni du Vitt[illegible] de la Romaine Pour la Remouler et reparer la dite qui etaient En Maurais Etat.....230 „ „
fourni 3 frises de Chacune 5 Pieds de Long Pour le Baldaquin

Renus a neuf tous les Bronzes du lit Et Redoré les Parties usées Le tout Ensemble280 „ „'.

⁴ HA, Bundle 731. Four candelabra supplied by Dénrière – presumably the candelabra with malachite stands and Egyptian figures – were in crate 9.

⁵ HA, M4/70, p.185.

sentence in a letter from Quinet to the Duke, dated 6 December 1826, indicates that the bed came from or through the Duke's agent Rouget. Quinet writes: 'J'ai jugé à propos de faire enlever le Lit, de Chez Mr Rouget, vue que je Craignais qu'il n'ait quelques Accidents.'⁶

If we can prove that the bed is linked to Percier, then it has considerable implications because it strengthens the bond between the Duke and Napoleon's architect and increases the likelihood that he played the key rôle in 'lining up' the acquisition of the Napoleon 'tea service' in 1830.

However, the third issue is no less important: why did the Duke place the bed in the Cove Bed Room, on the second floor of Hamilton Palace?⁷ This was above the Gallery and therefore in a good position, but was it one of the really important guest bedrooms? Furthermore, did the Duke or others believe or promote the idea that the bed had belonged to King Murat of Naples? An annotation to the 1853 inventory states that the bed had 'belonged to Murat'.⁸ The bed was still in the Cove Bed Room in 1876,⁹ but was in the 'Princess's Suite' in 1919.¹⁰

An interesting point to note is that there was some attempt in the early 1830s to complement the gilt wood figures and 'mahogany' of the bed. The gilt figures were complemented by '6 old Gilt arm chairs with feather cushions, covered with silk damask', valued at £12, while the mahogany parts were 'matched' with 'A Mahogany Wardrob[e]' valued at £12, 'A (Mahogany) I[n]dian Cabinet on the said chest of Drawers' valued at £50, 'A Double Wash hand stand of Mahogany', 'A Mahogany X Stool', 'A Cheval Glass of Mahogany with Drawer and brass Branches', 'A

⁶ HA, Bundle 1001, Quinet to Duke, 6 December 1826.

⁷ The 1835 Hamilton Palace inventories record the bed in the 'Cove Bed Room' as the first entry: 'A Mahogany Bed Stead with two Gilt figures in wood and the roof of Mahogany ornamented with Gilt Bronze Curtains of Damask and fringed [£]100 ,, ,,' (HA, Volume 1223, p.71). The inventory in Hamilton Town House Library has a comma after 'Bronze'.

⁸ The 1853 Hamilton Palace inventory (HA, Volume 1228, p. 69) places the bed in the Cove Bed Room 'over Gallery' and describes it as: 'a Mahogany french Bedstead with chased Or'molu ornaments large carved & gilt figures with Mahogany Cornice to match & crimson silk damask hangings lined with silk and D^o fringe complete'. Somebody has added 'belonged to Murat' after the word 'complete' and a semi-colon.

A bed apparently by Marcion, associated with Murat, was sold at the Hôtel Drouet, 24 January 1898, lot 1. However, the two beds do not seem to be obviously related: see Jean-Pierre Planchon, *Pierre-Benoît Marcion (1769-1840), ébéniste de Napoléon* (St-Remy-en-l'Eau, 2007), p.201.

⁹ The 1876 Hamilton Palace inventory (HTHL, p.161) records the bed as:

'A Mahogany French Bedstead, two carved & gilt full length figures of Angels, holding a wreath of Flowers in gilt Metal

A canopy for do with Chintz Furniture'.

¹⁰ See note 1.

Mahogany Dressing Table with 9 Drawers', 'A Mahogany Dressing Glass', 'A Mahogany Night Table' and 'A Papered Mahogany Stand Screen'.¹¹

It would be worth investigating where the full-length mirror with ormolu mounts now in the bedroom at Lennoxlove, next to the ceramics display room, was in Hamilton Palace and if it was either in the Cove Bed Room or part of a series of purchases of mahogany furniture between about 1826 and 1830? The cylinder writing desk in the Sitting Room at Lennoxlove also seems to make sense as an acquisition of this period.

List of 'Cases arrived from Rome in 1828' (HA, F2/1069/8)

Cases arrived from Rome in 1828

Card^l Fesch's _ chimney piece given to the Duchess

Il vaso di giallo antico del Cardinale con le zampe &^c & _
colonna di Fior di Persica

Due colonne d'Alabastro Fronchel _

Tavolino di Firenze di casa Doria

Ditto un altro

Ditto un altro

Colonna tronca di granito bigio

4 Colonne di granito rosso

4 Colonne di granito bigio _

Tavolino tondo della Duchessa di marmi intarziati _

D^o altro più piccolo di Toosey _

Lampadara di bronzo d'orato da Torlonia _

una cassa con un mio tavolino di mosaico _

_ altra cassa per il piedistallo più bello

D^o due altri tavolini di mosaici _ le loro zampe nel palazzo _

Tre casse con li tre tavoloni di granito rosso di casa Braschi _

una cassa (quà da molto tempo) con sei tavolini di differenti sorti _

¹¹ HTHL, 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory, p.87.

The 10th Duke of Hamilton's account with 'Robert Hume' for 1820-25 (HA, F2/1048/14), with additions up to 3 May 1829 (HA, F2/1048/15 and 19)

Duke of Hamilton to Rob^t.. Hume

London.

D^r..

Amount of account ending oct^r. 1820 _____ £623:10: 6

Amo^t.. of second acco^t.. ending at same time _____ 186: 8:11

[Addition in pencil: 809 19. 5_]

Amount of a third acco^t.. ending oct^r. 1824 _____ 809: 12: 2

Amo^t.. of sundry accounts paid by Hume p^r. List _____ 239: 16: 8

£1859: 8: 3

C^r..

1819

oct^r. 2 order _____ £250:

1820

Jan 16 Ditto _____ 200:

Dec^r. 16 Ditto _____ 100:

1821 Gold box _____ 20:

Dec^r..15 Order _____ 100:

1822

May 17 Ditto _____ 100:

Dec^r 5 Ditto _____ 100:

1823

Sep 16 Ditto _____ 100:

1825

May _ Ditto _____ 200: £1170

[Addition:

August 9th 1825 at one months date _ 300 _] £689 : 8: 3[Addition: 300 0 0389 - 8 - 3]

Notes

There are two other notes about the account with Hume in this period at F2/1048/15 and F2/1048/19. The pencil jottings on F2/1048/15 reveal that the 10th Duke made the following additional payments to Hume:

1823	oct 9	[order]	___	200
	1826	Feb _19	d ^o ___	200
1827	Jan 1	d ^o	___	200
1829	Feb 12	d ^o	___	100

and that by 12 February 1829 he had paid Hume at least £2,170.

The back of F2/1048/15 also records:

Fonthill Acco^t from

Hoare's Acc^t

Paid to Hume nov

5 1823 _____ £1500

D^o 27 Jan^y 1824 813 17 5

£2313:17.5

The back is annotated 'M^r Humes Acco^t 3 May 1829'.

F2/1048/15 has the charge of £623 10s 6d as for the period ending October 1819, while F2/1048/19 has it under December 1819, along with two payments of

£250 and £200.

Bill from Louis-Jacques Garnaud for the Napoleon Tea Service by Biennais, dated 17 May 1830 (HA, Bundle 660)

The bill has a very elaborate printed heading, two printed lines for filling in the date and customer's name, details of the charges, and two added records of payments.

GARNAUD

Joaillier [crowned arms of the Dauphin] Bijoutier

DE MONSIEUR LE DAUPHIN

Orfèvre de S.A.R. Monseig^r. Le Duc de Berry

Ci-devant Rue de Richelieu, N^o., 62

Rue Saint Honoré N^o. 346 pres la Place Vendôme

A PARIS

Le 17 Mai 1830

Vendu a M^{gneur} Le Duc d'Hamilton.

Un thé en vermeil.	19500 „
pour racco ^{ge} et dorure de deux Salierès.	65 „
deux passoires à thé.	<u>30 „</u>
Total. Fr.	<u>19595 „</u>

reçu 17 Mai 1830 la somme de dix mille francs

J Garnaud

reçu le 27 juin 1830 a compte la

Somme de cinq mille francs _____

J Garnaud.

Catalogue entries for the Secrétaire and Commode made by Jean-Henri Riesener for Marie-Antoinette (now in the Frick Collection, New York) and two ‘Boulle’ Commodes which were bought for the 10th Duke of Hamilton at the Maria de Marchetti Sale in Paris on 26 April 1831

All four entries are in the *Catalogue du Cabinet de feu M. M.-N.-J. Maria de Marchetti, Ancien Officier du Génie au Service de Sa Majesté le Roi d’Espagne*, Paris, 26-28 May 1831, pp.5-6.

The Marie-Antoinette secrétaire and commode are catalogued directly below the heading ‘MEUBLES RICHES EN MARQUETERIE / DE BOULE ET DE RIESNER.’ as:

1. — Un secrétaire à abattant en marqueterie de Riesner à dessin de lozanges, le haut est entouré d’une torsade en bronze doré, deux pendentifs à guirlande de rose haut et bas sur les coins; le milieu est décoré d[e] deux panneaux en marqueterie de couleur à dessin d’arabesques et fleurs; au milieu est un médaillon sujet de deux colombes posées sur des nuages.

2. — Une commode répondant entièrement au secrétaire par l’ajustement des bronzes dorés; même marqueterie, même richesse d’ornemens, et dans le milieu du panneau décoré d’arabesques est répété le médaillon à sujet de colombes; les tiroirs sont divisés en deux grands et trois petits, les variantes indispensables pour leur conformation et leur usage respectifs, ne détruisent rien de l’harmonie qui règne

dans ces deux magnifiques pièces regardées comme les chefs-d'oeuvre de Riesner pour la marqueterie et de Goutière pour les bronzes.

The commodes are described as:

7. — Deux commodes en marqueterie d'ancien boule, partie et contre partie, et portant une balustre sur les côtés d'où sortent deux rinceaux d'ornemens; elles sont à trois tiroirs principaux avec anses et mascarons; large moulure à feuille d'acanthé et ove. Les tablettes sont en marbr[e] partor de 18 lig. d'épaisseur

The Candelabra in the Library associated with Queen Marie-Antoinette

The candelabra in the Hamilton Library associated with Queen Marie-Antoinette are described in the 1835 Hamilton Palace inventory in the Hamilton archive as: '2 Bronze Gilt Candelaberes, on Bronze vases richly ornamented with figures Garlands &c &c for 6 Lights which belonged to the Queen of France [£]500'.¹² They are recorded in more detail in the 1853 inventory, still in the Library, as: '2 richly chased and gilt bronze Candelabras for 6 Lights each supported by coloured royal blue Vases and enriched with chased gilt metal Bases Figures and Garlands &c &c (belonged to the Queen of France 5 feet 2 inches high'; 'the Queen of France' has been scored out and 'Marie Antoinette' added.¹³

The Glasgow photographer Thomas Annan photographed a pair of candelabra on the chimneypiece in the Library (Fig. 144) and another pair in the Long Gallery (Fig. 145). The latter were one of two pairs of five-light candelabra with royal blue vases in the Gallery in 1853¹⁴ and these two pairs presumably became the two pairs of five-light candelabra, lots 658 and 659, in the 1882 sale, which sold to Edwards

¹² HA, Volume 1223, p.131. The exact spelling of 'Candelaberes' is not clear. There seems to be a first 'e', but this may be poor penmanship. The entry in the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library (p.151) is slightly different: '2 Bronze Gilt Candelabres, on Bronze Vases richly ornamented with figures Garlands &c. &c. for 6 Lights which belonged to the Queen of France [£]500'.

¹³ HA, Volume 1228, p.101.

¹⁴ '2 Bleu de Royal Vases with richly chased Bronze Figures on each side and supporting finely chased Or'molu Candelabra branches for 5 Lights each, the Vases enriched with chased festoons &c &c

2 other D° D° D° ensuite 4.9 high': HA, Volume 1228, p.135.

for £2,362 10s and £2,782 10s. One of the candelabra in lot 658 is illustrated in the sale catalogue and is definitely a five-light candelabrum.

It seems likely that these four candelabra were the ‘4 candelabres gilt bronze with bronz vases to support them & two bronze figures on either side’ on the list of items sent from Paris by Quinet in 1827 (see the list in this appendix). They were apparently in the Gallery and Old State Drawing Room, as two separate pairs, in 1835, but a revision to the entry on the pair in the Gallery in the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library, crossing out the ‘2’ and adding ‘4’, and a note that the pair in the Old State Drawing room had been ‘Removed’, indicates that they were all marshalled in the Gallery in the late 1830s or early 1840s.¹⁵

Nothing is currently known about the dispersal and whereabouts of the ‘Marie-Antoinette candelabra’ from the Library. They are recorded in the Library in the 1876 Hamilton Palace inventory as ‘2 Bronze Gilt Candelabra, on Bronze Vases richly ornamented with figures, garlands &c. Formerly belonged to Marie Antoinette Queen of France’.¹⁶ However, they do not appear to have been included in the 1882 or 1919 Hamilton Palace sales. Crosses in pencil have been added to the left of the entries on the Psyche and Cupid/Venus and Cupid clock by Lepine and the two candelabra that follow it on the 1876 inventory and a vertical pencil line has been struck through all five lines of the two entries. This suggests that it was decided not to include the clock and candelabra in the 1882 sale, and this is corroborated by comparable vertical pencil lines through larger groups of items in the 1876 inventory, which are also annotated with specific notes or instructions not to sell them.

¹⁵ The entry for the pair in the Gallery in the 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library reads ‘2 [2 crossed out and 4 written to the left] Candelabras of Gilt Bronze with Bronze Vases to support them and two Bronze figures on either side [£]100 „ „’. The pair in the Old State Drawing Room is listed as ‘2 Bronze Candelabres with Bronze base figures on either side of Bronze to match those in the Gallery with Branches for 5 Lights [£]100 „ „’ and ‘Removed.’ has been written to the left (HTHL, 1835 inventory, pp.129 and 161).

¹⁶ HTHL, 1876 Hamilton Palace Inventory, p.4.

The Unfinished State of the New State Rooms in 1835

The unfinished state of the New State Rooms and their use as storage areas in 1835 is conveyed by the entries in the 1835 inventory. The items in the ‘Drawing Room’ are described (HA, Volume 1223, p.164) as:

A Beautiful Chimney of Marble of Sienna	}	
Part of Louis XIV Bed in Tapestry	}	
A Large Sofa of Tapestry with Gilt Frame	}	
10 Arm Chairs to match the Bed and Sofa	}	£ 400 – –
6 Larger Arm Chairs covered with Red Tapestry and Gilt Frame	}	
4 Wood Sculptured Gilt Stands	}	
A Picture, The angel Michael and the Devil		By Ventura Solini £ 40 – –

The ‘Dressing Room’ housed all three black lacquer pieces from the George Watson Taylor sale – the secretaire and commode made by Riesener for Marie-Antoinette (now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York) and the secretaire attributed to Riesener (now in the Getty Museum) – the commode by Cressent (Waddesdon Manor) and what appears, from the annotation in the 1835 inventory in

Hamilton Town House Library, to have been the fall-front secretaire made by Riesener for Louis XVI's study in the Petit Trianon (Waddesdon Manor). There is no question of these items forming an 'arrangement' in a Dressing Room: they are clearly marshalled together awaiting the completion of interior decoration and placement in finished rooms.

The five pieces are described in the 1835 inventory (*ibid.*, p.165) as:

A Beautifully Japaned ebony Commode very richly ornamented with	}	
Carved and Gilt Bronze [monogram MA] no top	}	150 „ „
A magnificent Bureau Companion top of Black marble		
[monogram confused MA]		150 „ „
A very valuable Japaned Writing Desk richly ornamented with	}	
Carved Gilt Bronze, Flower Basket on the Lower foot	}	100 „ „
A Beautiful Mosaick Wood work Writing Table richly ornamented		
with Carved and Gilt Bronze		50 „ „
A French Commode inlaid wood ornamented with figure, Birds and		
Trees in Massive Gilt Bronze, top of red marble		80 „ „

The 1835 inventory in Hamilton Town House Library, which starts each room on a fresh page, confirms that these items were definitely in the 'Dressing Room' in the New State Apartments (see pages 181-201).

The Silver Centrepiece-Candelabrum presented to the 10th Duke of Hamilton in 1849
Copy of letter from William Leighton to Robert Hume, dated Hamilton, 3 July 1848
(Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1848-50, pp.8-10)

Robert Hume, Esquire
Berner Street Oxford Street
London

Hamilton 3^d., July 1848

Dear Sir,

The Duke of Hamilton has desired me to send you Copy of a letter, which he has received from Messr^s. Hunt & Roskell of New Bond Street. _ This I now inclose, and you will see that it relates to the Drawings which you sent to His Grace some weeks ago, for the Plate to be presented to him by the Tenantry upon his Estates in Scotland. _

The circumstances of the case are these_

His Grace after having examined the three Drawings you forwarded, gave one of them the preference; but wished certain alterations to be made upon it, _ and the Tenants having expressed a desire that the Testimonial should be executed in Scotland, _ a Committee of their number, got the drawing in question, which they shewed to several Tradesmen, explaining the alterations wanted, and I believe after receiving Estimates, they at last made an arrangement with M^r Muirhead in Glasgow for executing the Work; being at the sametime given to understand that altho' Contracted for in Glasgow, the greater part of it would be finished in London, accordingly a M^r. Storer from London, was brought here, by the Tenants, to wait upon His Grace, to receive his farther instructions, _ and this Gentleman got the Drawing, to make the required Alterations, which were to be submitted to the Duke, before the work was proceeded with. _ The Drawing has not yet been returned, and in this state the matter stands, _ but, in so far as His Grace is concerned, he did not think or advert, to M^r. Storer being a different person from the one that furnished the Original Design _ indeed, he thought they were one, and the same, and therefore, had no idea that cause of complaint was given to any body. _ The Tenants having applied to His Grace to ascertain his wishes, and he having got the Drawings from you to assist him in making up his mind, did not consider, in partly adopting one of them, that you had any implied understanding with any one that the work was to be executed by them, as that was all along left to the choice of the Tenants. _

Would you therefore, be so good as to explain this to Messrs^s. Hunt and Roskell. _ You know best what arrangement you made with them, and what was said on the subject, when you got the Drawings. _ Now, since the business has gone so far, I hope that they will not be so unreasonable in their demand for the use of the drawing, and I will be obliged by your ascertaining what they expect, and letting me know. _ His Grace of course never intended to interfere with the Tenants in the selection of the Tradesmen for making the Testimonial, and cannot now alter their choice, _ but I am sure he will be disposed, to pay any fair recompense for the use of the Design. _

His Grace only looked at the three Designs you sent him, and selected one as I have stated, with certain alterations, but I am not aware that he prefers it above all others, and as the work, I understand, is contracted for at a certain rate per ounce

should Messr^s. Hunt and Roskell be extravagant in their demand, another design may yet be substituted, and the one in question, which has only been partly adopted can be returned to these Gentlemen. _

I shall be glad to hear from you upon this subject, at your earliest conveniency, and begging you will excuse the trouble I have now given you, I remain. &^c

W. L.

PS: The other two ~~Designs~~ Drawings are here, and will be returned to you.

W .L.

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Hunt and Roskell, dated Hamilton Palace, 3 July 1848 (Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1848-50, p.10)

Messr^s. Hunt & Roskell

New Bond Street

London

Hamilton Palace

July 3^d. 1848

Sirs,

I have received your Letter of the 1st., instant. There appears to be some mistake in the matter you refer to, which I do not at present understand, but I have

Written to M^r. Hume on the subject, and when I have his reply, you shall hear from me again. _

I am &^c

(Signed) C H & B

Copy of letter from William Leighton to James Muirhead, dated Hamilton, 25 August 1848 (Hamilton Town House Library, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1848-50, pp.48-9)

M^r. Muirhead

Jeweller

90 Buchanan Street

Glasgow

Hamilton 25 Aug 1848

Dear Sir,

The Young man sent by Mess^{rs}., M^c.Lure and Macdonald, has been at the Palace here for two days making a drawing of the Minerva, but the Duke of

Hamilton on seeing the Drawings he has made considers them to be too small, and that some of the details cannot be properly modelled from them. – The Artist therefore, in the meantime is taking some of these details on a larger scale, but as the Duke feels anxious about this matter, that it should be properly done, to avoid any mistake, I think it would be well if you could conveniently take a run up here tomorrow afternoon, and see what is doing yourself. _

I am &^c

W., L.,

Important Pieces of Furniture in the 1853 Hamilton Palace Inventory (HA, Volume 1228)

The items are identified in italics, within square brackets.

Marquis of Douglas's Sitting Room

Page 48: 2 Rich Lacque Chests of Drawers with chaste metal mountings and fine Giallo antico marble tops &^c [Later addition; Beckford Collection]

[It is possible that these are the Japanese lacquer commodes signed by Etienne Levasseur, from the Randon de Boisset and Beckford collections: see Sotheby's, The Jaime Ortiz-Patiño Collection: French Furniture and Decorations, New York, 20 May 1992, lot 85. They were described in the 1882 Hamilton Palace catalogue (lot

1805) as having tops of 'giallo marble'. However, this should be regarded as no more than a working theory.]

Lady Lincoln's Bed Room

Page 60: a large Indian Japanned Coffin on a carved and gilt stand from Duchess' Room

Lady Lincoln's Dressing Room

Page 62: a beautiful inlaid French writing Table with drawers marble top & 3 china Medallions in D^o

Tribune

Page 96: A Large and beautiful Pietra Dura Marble Table top on a massive solid cast and finely chased Gilt metal frame 5.4 x 4.2

[1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 540. Sold to W. Boore for £630.

Illustrated in the photograph of the Tribune by Annan (Fig. 113).

Base probably by Dénière.

The 1876 inventory (p.84) records that there was a 'Red Porphyry Vase in gilt Metal Mounts' on the base of the table. This was not sold with the table and is presumably lot 541: 'A Circular Vase, of antique Egyptian porphyry, with chased metal-gilt mount'. Lot 541 sold to W. King for £357.]

Dining Saloon

Page 98: The Magnificent large and massive antique Pietra Dura Altar Table inlaid with various Precious stones, marble and Oriental Slabs &^c with thick verde antique Marble Border round the whole, and supported on 3 Elaborately sculptured white Marble Pedestals with Figures and Heraldic Arms &^c 13.6 x 6 feet [Later addition: broken in two]

[The Farnese Table, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fig. 40).

Visible in the Annan photograph of the Dining Saloon (Fig. 61).]

Library

Page 100: 2 Large Ebony Pietra Dura Cabinets in Piers, the whole fronts inlaid with Precious stones and enriched with chased metal Mouldings throughout and D^o chased Corinthian Caps to the rich Sienna Marble Columns with red Marble Slabs on tops &^c &^c

[The pietre dure cabinets supplied by Hume to George Watson Taylor, bought by Hume at the 1832 Watson Taylor sale. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lots 876 and 877. One cabinet is now on loan from Brooklyn Museum of Art to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. The other was sold by Brooklyn in 1990 (Fig. 86).]

Page 101: An oblong inlaid Mahogany Writing Table enriched with much gilt metal ornament the top lined with green and gilt Leather with an enriched (to correspond) high case to contain papers standing at end of D^o surrounded with a Clock by Alard Paria (belonged to the Duc de Choiseul)

[The bureau plat and cartonniere owned by the duc de Choiseul, attributed to Simon Oeben. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 878. Now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (Fig. 70).

Acquired in 1826.]

New Sitting Room

Page 103: A highly magnificent Ebony Cabinet surmounted on a rich stand & containing many Drawers &^c the facade being an imitation of a Building with Lapis Lazuli columns and inlaid with D^o and other Precious stones and gilt metal figures and ornaments as designed by Michel Angelo

[1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 996: 'An Italian Cabinet, of the 16th Century, of architectural design, with columns of lapis lazuli in relief, inlaid all over with slabs of rare agates, jaspers, and onyx, and enriched with figures and busts of or-molu – on stand of the same, with six legs on plinth. From the design of M. Angelo.'
Illustrated in the sale catalogue but not in the souvenir catalogue (Fig. 129). Lot 996 sold to the 5th Earl of Carysfort for £1,176, and is probably in the Upper Octagon Room at Elton Hall, near Peterborough.]

A rich Ebony Cabinet from Versailles of the time of Lewis XIV with a large and beautiful painted piece of [addition: Sevres] Porcelaine in the Centre, the whole

enriched with cast and gilt Metal Scriptural Plates and Mouldings &c &c with a marble top [Later addition: ; belonged to Charles X.]

[1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 993: 'The Versailles Cabinet, of ebony, with a circular plaque of Sèvres porcelain in the centre, painted with a basket of flowers, surrounded by four crowns, and four chasings of scriptural subjects in relief in or-molu, and rich mouldings of the same, surmounted by a verde antique marble slab'. Lot 993 sold to G. Attenborough for £262 10s.

Acquired in 1830.]

Pages 103-4: A rich Ebony Table much ornamented with gilt metal work and the whole frame enriched with raised Birds and fruits sculptured out of Precious Stones with a Valuable Pietra Dura top of Jasper and Porphyry with raised Birds and fruits &c of precious stones same as frame

[1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 995: 'An Italian Table, of Ebony, with friezes of birds, and fruits of old Florentine mosaic in relief, massively mounted with or-molu, surmounted by a slab of antique Egyptian porphyry, inlaid with Florentine mosaics and rare agates, with monogram of the letter A interlaced'. Lot 995 sold to W.

Grindlay for £106 1s. Beckett Denison sale, June 1885, lot 819.]

Page 104: A rich Ebony Pier Commode much ornamented with richly chased and gilt metal work all the Panels filled with Pietra Dura Work representing ruins reptiles &c &c out of precious stones with a black and gold marble top

[1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 992: 'A Cabinet, of Ebony, with three doors inlaid with slabs of old Florentine pietre dure mosaic, representing ruins, fruits, and flowers, with fluted columns at the angles richly mounted with finely chased or-molu, and rich mouldings of the same, and veined black and gold marble slab'. Lot 992 sold to W. Grindlay for £378. Beckett Denison sale, June 1885, lot 820 (illustrated). Believed to be at Elton Hall. (Fig. 131).

Probably the 'one bureau of florentine stone work similar to my two others' that the Duke recorded was sent from Paris by Quinet and arrived at Hamilton Palace in 1827: see note at the back of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory, HA, M4/70).]

A valuable Buhl and Tortoiseshell Chest of 2 Drawers with richly chased and gilt metal winged Heads and other ornaments of the same _ with red marble top

[1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 994: 'A Louis XIV. Sarcophagus-shaped Commode, of black buhl, with two drawers, with terminal winged figures at the angles in relief, and massive mountings of or-molu, surmounted by a slab of Verona marble'.

Illustrated in the sale catalogue but not in the souvenir catalogue. Lot 994 sold to P. and D. Colnaghi and Co. for £1,081 10s. Acquired by the 2nd Lord Leconfield (1830-1901). Now in the Red Room at Petworth House, West Sussex. (Fig. 130).

This is an early eighteenth-century replica or copy of the pair of commodes supplied by André-Charles Boulle in 1708 for Louis XIV's bedroom in the Palais de Trianon, which are now in the palace of Versailles.

Associated in the past with Beckford.

*For illustrations and comments on the piece itself, see Peter Hughes, 'French Furniture at Petworth: Boulle & the Acquisitions from Hamilton Palace in 1882', in **The National Trust Historic Houses and Collections Annual 2008** (London, 2008), pp.58-63.]*

New State or Tapestry Rooms

New State Sitting Room

Page 108: An exquisitely carved and richly gilt large Sofa with 2 Converzatione ends stuffed &c covered with the richest Gobelin Tapestry _ from Versailles

[The canapé à confidants made by Jean-Nicolas Blanchard and Antoine Rascalon for the Salon de l'Été of Louis XVI's aunts, Madame Adelaide and Madame Victoire, in the Château de Bellevue. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 1902. Now in the Gulbenkian Museum, Lisbon (Fig. 137).

Included in Annan's photographs of the New State Sitting Room (Figs. 75 and 76).]

D° D° 6 large Arm Chairs to correspond with Sofa

[Probably 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 1903 (directly after the sofa): 'A Set of Six Louis XVI. Carved and Gilt Fauteuils, with tapestry ensuite'. Illustrated in the sale catalogue but not in the souvenir catalogue. Lot 1903 sold to F. Davis for £441.

Some of these chairs are included in Annan's photographs of the New State Sitting Room (Figs. 75 and 76).]

a richly inlaid Buhl writing Table with gilt-metal ornaments and the top lined with red Morocco Leather

[Arguably, the Boulle table in Annan's photographs of the New State Sitting Room (Figs. 75 and 76). This seems to be the desk recorded in the Sitting Room in 1876 (1876 inventory, p.18) – 'A Richly inlaid Buhl Writing Table, Gilt Metal Ornaments, and the top lined with Red Morocco Leather Stamped & Gilt 5 ft 9 in by 2 ft 9 in.' – which became 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 513: 'An Oblong Writing-Table, of black and coloured buhl, richly mounted with or-molu, with terminal busts at the angles, the top covered with crimson leather – 5 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 9 in.' Lot 513 sold to G.S. Mayhew for £105.

*Lot 513 was at the beginning of the sale of furniture from the New State Sitting Room. At the end of the sale of furniture from this room/area was lot 526: 'An Oblong Writing-Table, by Buhl, mounted with terminal figures, masks, and ornaments of or-molu – 76 in. long, 38 in. wide.' There is a reference to an illustration in the sale catalogue, but there is no illustration in the copy of the catalogue in the National Museums Scotland. This piece was in the adjacent New State/Tapestry Bed Room in 1876 (1876 inventory, p.22): 'A Richly inlaid Buhl Writing Table, Gilt Metal Ornaments and the top lined with Crimson Silk Plush. 3 Drawers of Polished Mahogany & Key, 6 ft 6 in by 3 ft 2½ in.' Lot 526 sold to P. and D. Colnaghi and Co. for £315 and was acquired by the 2nd Lord Leconfield. For illustrations and comments on this table, which is now in the Red Room at Petworth and regarded as nineteenth century, see Peter Hughes, 'French Furniture at Petworth: Boulle & the Acquisitions from Hamilton Palace in 1882', **The National Trust Historic Houses and Collections Annual 2008** (London, 2008), pp.62-4. As the 1853 inventory states that the desk in the Sitting Room in the early 1850s had a red leather top, the desk in question appears to have been lot 513, rather than lot 526 which had (and still has) a crimson plush top.]*

Page 109: An exceeding rich Ebony Pier Commode elaborately ornamented with Flowers and fruit sculptured out of Precious stones Lapis Lazuli &c. with 4 fine Jasper Columns and gilt metal Capitals to D^o. and other richly gilt metal Ornaments, a Clock with Lapis Lazuli Deal in front and red marble Slab on top of all
[The pietre dure clock cabinet made for the 10th Duke by Hume in the 1820s. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 520. Now in the Gilbert Collection, London (Fig. 44). Included in one of Annan's photographs of the New State Sitting Room (Fig. 76).]

A rich Marquetry Pier Commode with 5 Drawers much ornamented with chased and gilt metal work a Vase and Basket of Flowers and fruit in the front of inlaid Woods of various Colours and red and white Marble slab on top

[The marquetry commode made by Riesener for Louis XVI's cabinet de retraite at Fontainebleau in 1778, later in the King's library at Versailles. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 517. Now at Versailles (Fig. 136).

Possibly the 'bureau inlaid wood with guilt bronze & the ornament of [cipher of two crossed Ls] belonging to Versailles' which the Duke records was 'Sent by me a little previous _ 1827' (i.e. to Quinet's consignment(s) from Paris in 1826/27): see note at the back of the 1825 Hamilton Palace inventory, HA, M4/70.]

A High Marquetry Writing Bureau with falling front and doors underneath, beautifully inlaid with woods of various colours in imitation of Vases with Flowers and a female figure ornamented throughout with richly chased and gilt metal ornaments

[The marquetry fall-front secretaire made by Riesener for the private study of Louis XVI in the Petit Trianon in 1777. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 518. Now at Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury (Fig. 90).

Included in one of Annan's photographs of the New State Sitting Room (Fig. 75).]

New State Bed Room

Page 111: 16 Carved and gilt Arm Chairs covered with Gobelin Tapestry (from Versailles)

[The 1876 inventory (p.22) lists '12 Carved & Gilt Arm Chairs covered with Gobelin Tapestry' in the Bed Room in 1876. However, it also records (p.18) '6 Arm Chairs to match the Sofa' and '4 [Arm Chairs] covered with Tapestry of a different pattern' in the Sitting Room in 1876.

Twelve of the 16 1853 chairs were therefore probably included in 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 1905: 'A Set of Twelve Louis XV. Carved and Gilt Fauteuils, the seats, backs, and arms covered with gobelins tapestry, with baskets of flowers'. Lot 1905 sold to P. and D. Colnaghi and Co. for £892 10s. All 12 chairs were subsequently in the 2nd Lord Leconfield's London house, 9 Chesterfield Gardens, which was given up in 1923 (Christie's, Tapestry and a Suite of Louis XV. Fauteuils,

28 June 1923, lot 128) and in the collection of Paul Dutasta (*Galerie Georges Petit, Objets d'Art et de Bel Ameublement du XVIIIe Siècle*, 3-4 June 1926, lot 134). One chair is illustrated in the 1882 Hamilton Palace souvenir catalogue, two in the 1923 Christie's catalogue, and all twelve, singly, on plates XLIX -LI of the Dutasta sale catalogue.

The other four chairs were probably lot 1913 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: 'A Set of Four Louis XV. Carved and Gilt Fauteuils, covered with old gobelins tapestry, with baskets of flowers.' They are recorded in the Sitting Room in the 1876 inventory and in Thomas Annan's photographs of the Sitting Room. Acquired by the 2nd Lord Leconfield, they are now in the collection of Lord Egremont and in the White and Gold Room at Petworth. For a colour illustration of one of these chairs, which are covered with Beauvais tapestry and were made about 1760, see Peter Hughes, 'French Furniture at Petworth: Boulle & the Acquisitions from Hamilton Palace in 1882', *The National Trust Historic Houses and Collections Annual 2008* (London, 2008), pp.64-5.]

A Magnificent Carved and gilt [addition: 6 foot] wide French Bedstead with massive Dome top & D^o Cornices gilt inside and out, the Furniture of the finest Gobelin Tapestry as having belonged to Lewis XIV

[The Louis XVI bed now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fig. 80). Apparently acquired from Bonnet in 1830.]

2 High inlaid Buhl & Tortoiseshell Pedestals to contain Night Chambers & much enriched with chased and gilt metal mouldings and ornaments

[1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 1280: 'A Pair of Louis XIV. Octagonal-shaped Pedestals, of black buhl, richly mounted with masks and mouldings of or-molu – 5 ft. 4 in. high.' Illustrated in the sale catalogue but not in the souvenir catalogue. Lot 1280 sold to F. Davis for £1,680. Sotheby's, *Important French and Continental Furniture, Decorations, Clocks, Porcelain and Carpets*, New York, 31 October 1987, lot 129.

These are the pedestals bought by the 10th Duke from Bonnemaïson's estate in 1827 (Fig. 71).]

2 short verde antique (Tronguè columns with metal Bases (on top of the above Pedestals)

[1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 1281: 'A Pair of Verde Antique Marble Pedestals, with richly chased or-molu bases – 6 in. high'. Lot 1281 sold to Samuel Wertheimer for £105; possibly acquired by one of the Rothschilds.]

Page 112: A richly carved & gilt (Lewis XIV) Pier Table with splendid slab on top composed of the root of Amethyst with a chased metal moulding round D^o

[This is described in the 1876 inventory (p.23) as: 'A finely Carved & Gilt Pier Table the 4 Supports formed of Female figures, & 2 Medallions with the heads of Roman Emperors, surmounted by a Magnificent Slab of the Root of Amethyst. 6 ft by 1 ft 9 in.' It and companion table in the New State Dressing Room became the Louis XV pier tables auctioned as 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lots 1452 and 1453. Both sold to the dealer T. M. Whitehead for £2,016.

A closely related table is recorded in an old Country Life photograph at Lennoxlove. If this connection is correct, the tables might be Italian, eighteenth century, and have been acquired in Rome in the late 1810s or 1820s.]

2 richly inlaid Buhl Chests of 3 Drawers each with Circular ends, chased and gilt metal handles mouldings and other ornaments and black and gold marble Slabs on D^o &^c

[These two pieces are described in the 1876 inventory (p.23) as: '2 Chests of 3 Drawers each in Ebony & Buhl, with Gilt ornaments the ends circular with columns supporting the Top of Black & Gold Marble 4 ft 4 in by 1 ft 9 in & 3 ft 1 in high'.

They became 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lots 1282 and 1283. Lot 1282 is described as: 'A Louis XIV. Commode, of black buhl, with three drawers and semi-circular ends, with columns in relief, richly chased with masks, scroll handles and mouldings in relief surmounted by a black and gold marble slab – 4 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 9 in., 3 ft. 1 in. high.' Lots 1282 and 1283 sold to C. Mellier and Co. for £1,312 10s and £840.

These commodes were subsequently in the possession of Mr Henry P. McIlhenny, Philadelphia, and are now in Philadelphia Museum of Art. They are almost certainly the two commodes 'd'ancien boule', with 'partor' tops (i.e. Portor marble /black marble with gold veins), acquired by the Duke from the 1831 Marchetti sale in Paris (see the Marchetti sale catalogue entries in this appendix). They seem to be late eighteenth century. A pair of commodes of the same model, made in the mid

*nineteenth century, are in the Wallace Collection, London: see P. Hughes, **The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Furniture** (London, 1996), II, pp.663-8.]*

New State Dressing Room

Pages 113-4: a richly carved & gilt Pier Table with a splendid slab on top composed of root of Amethyst, companion to the one in Bedroom

[See above]

Page 114: A richly carved and gilt Sofa frame, stuffed and covered with rich Gobelin Tapestry [Later addition: Lewis XIV. from Versailles]

[Simply described in the 1876 inventory (p.24) as: 'A Carved & Gilt Sofa, stuffed & covered with Gobelin Tapestry'. Probably 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 1908: 'A Louis XVI. Carved and Gilt Sofa, covered with gobelins tapestry, with a musical trophy, festoons of flowers, and drapery'. Lot 1908 sold to Denman, with the 10 chairs lot 1909, for £766 10s. Beckett Denison sale, July 1885, lot 3200 (illustrated). Possibly acquired from Bonnet in 1830.]

10 D° D° Chair frames stuffed and covered with Gobelin Tapestry to correspond [Later addition: D°]

[Simply described in the 1876 inventory (p.24) as: '10 [Carved & Gilt] Chairs [stuffed & covered with Gobelin Tapestry] to match [the sofa]'. Probably 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 1909: 'A Set of Ten Louis XVI. Carved and Gilt Fauteuils, covered ensuite.' Lot 1909 sold to Denman, with lot 1908. Beckett Denison sale, June 1885, lot 3201 (illustrated).

Possibly the 10 fauteuils acquired from Bonnet in 1830.]

a Beautifully Japanned high Bureau with falling front & drawers much ornamented with richly chased & gilt metal Tablet, Figures & D° mouldings &° &° with a D° basket on bottom shelf and black Marble top 5.1 high [Later addition: . Marie Antoinette.]

[The black lacquer fall-front secretaire attributed to Riesener, from the 1832 Watson Taylor sale. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 1296. Now in the Getty Museum, Los Angeles (Fig. 85).]

A large Massive Ebony writing Table on 8 Legs with Lions Paw feet with a high Ebony Cabinet with Cupboards & Pigeon holes to stand at end of Table much

ornamented with richly chased metal mouldings &° &° and the top of Table lined with richly gilt red Morocco Leather &° [Later addition: _ Antique]

[The bureau plat and cartonnier designed by Louis-Joseph Le Lorrain , made for Ange-Laurent de Lalive de Jully. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 1456. Now in the Musée Condé, Chantilly (Fig. 138).]

New State Boudoir

Page 116: a beautifully Japanned high Bureau writing Table Cabinet with falling front & cupboard under, much ornamented with richly chased and gilt metal mouldings festoons of Flowers &° &° and with a black marble top (formerly belonging to Marie Antoinette) 4.8½ high

[The black lacquer fall-front secretaire made by Riesener for Queen Marie-Antoinette, from the 1832 Watson Taylor sale. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 1297. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fig. 83).]

Music Room

Page 120: A beautiful inlaid Marquetrie Pier Commode of 5 Drawers with Vase of Flowers in front and much enriched with chased metal ornaments and pench marble Slab

[The commode made by Riesener for the bedroom of the comtesse de Provence (the wife of Louis XVI's eldest brother) at Versailles in 1776. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 528. Now at Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury).]

Duchess's Sitting Room

Page 123: A very valuable Marquetrie Pier Commode of 5 Drawers much enriched with beautifully chased and gilt metal Tablet Mouldings and other D° ornaments with white marble Slab on top &° [Later additions: from Versailles [and] Belonged to Marie Antoinette]

[The marquetry commode made by Riesener for Queen Marie-Antoinette. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 302. Now in the Frick Collection, New York (Fig. 82). Acquired from the Marchetti sale in Paris in 1831.]

A high D° D° Bureau Cabinet with fall down front and Cupboard under much enriched with chased Metal work to correspond with Pier Commode with a white

Marble top and brass gallery round D^o [Later additions: _ from Versailles [and] D^o [i.e. Belonged to Marie Antoinette]]

[The matching marquetry secretaire made by Riesener for Queen Marie-Antoinette. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 301. Now in the Frick Collection, New York (Fig. 81).

Acquired from the Marchetti sale in Paris in 1831.]

A small oblong Marquetrie Table with a shelf below beautifully enriched to correspond with the above Commodes, a brass gallery round top &^c. 24 feet long [Later additions: from Versailles. [and] D^o [i.e. Belonged to Marie Antoinette]

[The small marquetry writing table by Riesener. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 303. Now at Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury (Fig. 89).

Possibly acquired from the 1832 George Watson sale.]

Duchess's Bed Room

Page 125: a high and beautiful Indian Japanned Cabinet enriched with many fine Paintings and richly chased and gilt metal ornaments and mouldings &^c with a black and gold marble Base and D^o top 5 ft 5 high [Later addition: Made by August[?ie/ei]

[1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 293: 'A Cabinet, the frame of mahogany, with panels of gold japan lacquer, with richly chased metal-gilt mounts by Auguste, ornamented with medallion portraits and paintings by B. West – on stand, the top and base of black and gold marble – 3 ft. 4 in. by 1 ft. 4 in., 2 ft. 5 in. high'. Lot 293 sold to J.H. Pollen for £493 10s.

Bought from William Beckford in 1830.]

Duchess's Boudoir

Page 127: A high Magnificent Ebony Cabinet much inlaid with Florentine Pietra Dura and enriched Ebony Mouldings the inside of Camphor wood and glass Shelves at ends and red marble Top &^c &^c

[1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 299: 'An Ebony Cabinet, inlaid with a large slab of Florentine pietre dure mosaic of a vase of flowers, and with fourteen smaller slabs

above, with fruits and flowers, with small glazed cupboards at the sides, mounted with or-molu – 6ft. high’. Lot 299 sold to S. Litchfield for £409 10s. Bought from William Beckford in 1830.]

Long Gallery

Page 133: 8 Carved and gilt Pier Tables supported by large carved Eagles on red Bases &^c and the tops of black marble

[The 1876 inventory (p.69) describes these as: ‘8 Black Marble Slabs on Carved & Gilt Frame supported by an Eagle resting on a crimson cushion shaped Block & black plinth.’]

Page 134: A large and splendidly Carved and gilt Table with Pietra Dura Top inlaid with rare marbles and precious stones &^c.

[The 1876 inventory (p.69) appears to describe this table as: ‘A Magnificent Pietra Dura Table 8 ft 2 by 4 ft on a Handsomely Carved & Gilt Frame.’ The 1876 piece became 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 666: ‘An Oblong Table, of old Florentine pietre dure mosaic of unusual dimensions, on boldly carved and gilt stand, with trusses and stretcher – 8 ft. 2 in. by 4 ft.’ Lot 666 sold to Duncan for £105.]

2 finely carved and gilt smaller Tables with red Egyptian Porphyry tops surrounded with chased metal borders

[These pieces are described in the 1876 inventory (p.69) as: ‘2 Handsomely Carved & Gilt Tables, with Slabs of Red Porphyry & Engraved Metal border 5 ft 9 in by 3 ft’. They became 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lots 668 and 669. Both sold to W. King for £210.]

2 D^o D^o Tables in Windows with green Porphyry tops surrounded with chased metal borders

[The 1876 inventory (p.69) describes these as: ‘2 Carved & Gilt Tables with Green Porphyry Tops surrounded with Chased Brass Borders 3 ft 9 in by 1 ft 7 in’. They became 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 650, and sold to the Hon. W. Massey-Mainwaring for £157 10s. Beckett Denison sale, June 1885, lot 1870.]

1 D^o Table in Window with Genoese green Marble top to D^o

2 High Magnificent Buhl and Tortoiseshell Armoires profusely enriched with chased gilt metal mouldings Figures and other ornaments &^c &^c

[One of the two porphyry tables with bases commissioned by the Duke from Dénière. Both bases signed and dated 1823. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lots 187 and 188. Both tables are now in the Art Gallery of Ontario, Toronto (Fig. 39).]

A 6 leaved Japan Chinese Screen 7.6 high

[This is recorded in the Breakfast Room in the 1876 inventory (p.88) as: 'A 6 Leafed Japan Lac Screen. Height 7 ft 6 in.'

See 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 649: 'A Six-leaved Ditto [Screen] – 9 ft. 10 in. high'. Sold to P. and D. Colnaghi and Co. for £220 10s. Lot 649 is probably the Hamilton Palace screen at Petworth House, West Sussex.

Not a convincing 'match', unless the discrepancy in the measurements can be explained in some way.]

Old State Drawing Room

Page 141: The richly chased solid metal Table Frame with large massive Porphyry top & c companion to the one in Breakfast Room

[The other porphyry table with a base by Dénière.]

A beautiful commode Chest of 3 Drawers inlaid with Buhl and Tortoiseshell and much ornamented with richly chased & gilt metal Masks, Handles and other enrichments & c with a splendid Malachite Slab on top 5.5 x 2.2

[The 'Artois Commode' by Etienne Levasseur, believed to have been delivered in 1777 for the Comte d'Artois' bedroom in the Hôtel de Grand Prieur du Temple, Paris. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 184 (with malachite top; 5 ft. 4 in. x 2 ft. 2 in.). Beckett Denison sale, June 1885, lot 816 (with malachite slab; 5 ft. 4 in. x 2 ft. 2 in.). Now at Versailles (Fig. 72).]

Acquired by the 10th Duke from the Bonnemaïson sale in 1827.]

A Magnificent Japanese Cabinet (in Pier) of 5 Drawers elaborately enriched with chased and gilt metal festoons of Flowers mouldings & other ornaments with a black marble slab on top

[The black lacquer commode made by Riesener for Queen Marie-Antoinette, from the 1832 Watson Taylor sale. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 1298. Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (Fig. 84).]

A finely carved and gilt Table (in centre of room) with a splendid Pietra Dura top composed of rare marbles and Precious stones &^c &^c 4.3 x 3.4

[This is described in the 1876 inventory (p.92) as: 'An Inlaid Pietra Dura Marble Table Top 4 ft 3 in by 3 ft 5 in on a richly Carved & Gilt Square Frame.' This tallies with 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 181 – 'An Oblong Table, of old Florentine Pietre-dure mosaic, on carved and gilt stand, with square column legs and stretcher – 4 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft. 5 in.' – which was sold with other pieces of furniture from the Old State Rooms and before the 'D'Artois Cabinet' (lot 184), the pietre dure cabinets now in the Getty Museum (lots 185 and 186) and the porphyry tables with bases by Dénière (lots 187 and 188). Lot 181 sold to J.H. Pollen for £215 5s.]

Page 142: A Magnificent Ebony Florentine Coffe elaborately ornamented with raised Flowers & Fruits composed of Amethysts, Agates, Jaspers and other Precious stones and chased and gilt ornaments &^c &^c 2.10 x 1.8 _ 2.1 high [Later additions: , belonged to the Medici. [and] Superior to that exhibited by the Emperor of Russia at the Great Exhibition of 1857.]

[The coffe or casket associated with the Medici, presumably made in the Grand Ducal workshops in Florence. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 182: 'A Large Italian Coffe, of ebony, massively mounted with or-molu, and enriched with masks, scrolls, fruit, and flowers of old Florentine raised mosaic in high relief, with cut steel key in glazed brass case – 2 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 8 in., 2 ft. high. From Fonthill.' Illustrated in the sale catalogue but not in the souvenir catalogue. Lot 182 sold to W. Boore for £1,018 10s. (Fig. 139).

It should be noted that the 'Coffe' was definitely in the Old State Rooms of Hamilton Palace by 1835, and almost certainly there in 1825, and was not part of Beckford's bequest to his daughter, the wife of the 10th Duke of Hamilton, in 1844. The 1876 inventory (p.92) does not mention a connection with Beckford.]

Old State Bed Room

Page 144: A High Japanese Writing Bureau with fall down front and Cupboard under, richly mounted with gilt Bronze Figures and mouldings &^c &^c and a light coloured marble top 4.7 high

[This 'writing bureau' and the following commode (1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lots 176 and 177) are the fall-front secretaire and commode, decorated with Japanese lacquer and ormolu figures, and attributed to Adam Weisweiler, which were included in Sotheby's sale of the Keck Collection, New York, 5 December 1991, lot 55 (Figs. 66 and 67).]

A very rich Japanese Pier Commode with 3 Drawers & cupboard under, much enriched with gilt bronze Figures at corners & D^o mouldings & other ornaments and light Porphyry Marble Top 5.3 long

[See above.]

A large finely executed valuable antique Japanese Chest (belonged to Cardinal Mazarin) on a gilt stand and a large Plate Glass Cover in a brass frame for D^o

[The 1876 inventory (second page 95) describes this as: 'A Japan Lac Chest, raised Landscapes inlaid with Gold & Silver figures of Animals, and Mother O' Pearl. Gilt Metal Corners & Handles. 3 ft 3 in by 2 ft. Height 1 ft 9½ in. Under a Glass Shade on a Gilt Wood Stand. Formerly belonging to Cardinal Mazarin.' 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 147. The 'Mazarin Chest', now in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London (Fig. 65).]

Old State First Dressing Room

Page 147: An inlaid Buhl and Tortoise shell Cabinet with a metal [later alteration to medal] Portrait of Lewis XIV & richly mounted with chased gilt Bronze Mouldings & ornaments with a black marble slab on top 3.6 high 2.8 long

[1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 174 (illustrated in the sale catalogue and the souvenir catalogue); Beckett Denison sale, June 1885, lot 821 (illustrated) (Fig. 135); Kraemer sale, Paris, 28 April 1913, lot 153.

*This low cabinet was either adapted from a cabinet on a stand or assembled in the 1770s or early 1780s. For the type, see P. Hughes, **The Wallace Collection: Catalogue of Furniture** (London, 1996), II, pp.585-94, and Carolyn Sargentson's comments in 'New Out of Old: The Circulation and Recycling of Ancien Régime Furniture on the London Art Market, 1789-1848', in R. Panzanelli and M. Preti-Hamard, **La Circulation des Oeuvres d'Art: The Circulation of Works of Art in the Revolutionary Era, 1789-1848** (Rennes, 2007), p.192.]*

2 High Mahogany Cabinets with richly Japanned [later alteration to Japanese] Panels, finely chased gilt Bronze Mouldings &^c &^c painted medallions, rich Egyptian Granite tops and black and gold marble Bases &^c &^c 4.10 high
[The pair of cabinets-on-stands or secretaries (147 cm./about 4 foot 10 inches high) made for Beckford by the firm of Benjamin and Benjamin Lewis Vulliamy around 1803 (Fig. 68). 1876 inventory, p. 99. 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lots 172 and 173. Bought by Duncan for £1,029. Beckett Denison sale, June 1885, lots 687 and 688. Acquired by the 5th and last Earl of Carysfort from/after the Beckett Denison sale and now in the Yellow Drawing Room at Elton Hall, near Peterborough.]

2 solid antique carved Ebony Chairs the seats covered with black Leather [Later addition: Said to have belonged to Cardinal Wolsey]
*[The ebony chairs associated with Cardinal Wolsey were included in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale as lots 169 (2 chairs, now in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London (413-1882), and the National Museums Scotland, Edinburgh (A.1882.31.27)) and 170 (2 chairs). All four are associated with Wolsey in the 1882 sale catalogue. For other 'Tudor' chairs, see lots 1288 and 1289
 Amin Jaffer discusses these armchairs and related chairs in **Furniture from British India and Ceylon. A Catalogue of the Collections in the Victoria and Albert Museum and the Peabody Essex Museum** (London, 2001), pp.141-2. He describes the two now in the V&A and NMS (which have both been re-caned) as Coromandel Coast [i.e. from south-east India], 1680-1700.]*

Old State Second Dressing Room

Page 150: A very handsome inlaid white metal Buhl and tortoise shell writing Table with drawers and rising top on 8 legs

[The 1876 inventory (p.103) describes this as: 'A Buhl Writing table on 8 legs with knee hole & Drawers, the inside inlaid with coloured Woods. 3 ft 9 in by 2 ft 4 in.' This is 1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 171 – 'A Louis XIV. Knee-hole Writing-table, by Buhl, covered with ornaments in engraved white metal and brass upon tortoiseshell, the inside lined with marqueterie, with six drawers and eight legs, with stretchers – 3 ft. 9 in. by 2 ft. 4 in.' – which was sold with other furniture from the Old State Rooms, including the 'Wolsey' chairs (lots 169 and 170), Vulliamy

cabinets, now at Elton Hall (lots 172 and 173, attributed to Auguste in 1882), and the secretaire and commode subsequently in the Keck Collection (lots 176 and 177). Lot 171 sold to Duncan for £210. Beckett Denison sale, June 1885, lot 686.]

2 Solid antique Ebony Chairs the Seats covered black leather as in other room [Later addition: Said to have belonged to Cardinal Wolsey]

[See above.]

Old Dining Room

Page 155: A magnificently carved & gilt Table with figures & masks &^c with a valuable Pietra Dura top composed of rose marble & Precious stones 4.6½ 2.8 2¼’.

Duke’s Sitting Room

Page 158: a valuable antique Cabinet on top of D^o richly ornamented with gems silver and tortoise shell &^c &^c

Duke’s Cabinet

Page 164: High Ebony Florentine (Pedestal shape) Cabinet richly inlaid with Pietra dura, marble slab &^c [Later addition: Beckford Collection]

[The 1876 inventory (p.233) describes this as: ‘A High Ebony Florentine Cabinet Richly inlaid with Pietra Dura Marble Slab, gilt Metal Mouldings &c’.]

A Large solid Ebony Cabinet on a stand of the same with a richly carved front and chased metal ornaments, containing many drawers &^c

an antique solid Ebony Chair with seat covered black Leather [Later addition: _ Cardinal Wolsey’s.]

[The 1876 inventory (p.233) describes this as: ‘A richly carved Ebony Chair, black Leather Seat.’ See above for ‘Wolsey’ and ‘Tudor’ chairs.]

Marquis of Douglas’s Bed Room and Closet

Page 171: An antique Cabinet or writing Table with a folding top, 8 drawers and Pilasters with Lions Heads &^c

Store Room

The richly Carved Ebony 4 Post Bedstead with Canopy top & all inlaid with Mother of Pearl Tortoiseshell and Ivory & also the rich crimson silk Damask Furniture lined with silk & [Later addition: ordered by the late Duke to be sold.]

[This is the ebony bed at Lennoxlove, decorated with mother-of-pearl and ivory, which is wrongly associated with Princess Pauline Borghese. John Sibbald, John Mutch and others discovered that it was made up in London around 1826 or 1828 by John Stuart, under the direction of Buhard Orwin of Charlotte Square, for the Bond Street dealer John Webb (Scran 000-000-308-216-C). Amin Jaffer notes (op. cit., p.141) that the foot-board is from the Coromandel Coast, 1660-80, and that the 'other components are of diverse origin'. The two panels of flowers in mother-of-pearl and other materials are signed works by the Flemish goldsmith and medallist Dirck van Rijswijck (1596-1679), who specialised in producing this sort of work in Amsterdam during the third quarter of the seventeenth century.]

Appendix 10: Letters relating to the Sculptor Thomas Campbell

Thomas Campbell to Gilbert Innes, dated Rome, 31 March 1821 (NAS, GD113/5/30F/4/1 & 2)

Rome. March 31st: 1821.

Nº.12 Piazza Mignanelli

My Dear Sir

I beg leave to inform you that I yesterday sent off your Bust, entrusted to the care of an Agent who is very successful with his commissions for England, so that I have no doubt of its safe arrival, it was finished nearly six months ago, but I was persuaded by my friends to keep it beside me while the English travellers, and families of distinction remained in Rome.

I am confident that you will not be displeased with my doing so. I have found that it has been of advantage to me, and I am sure from much experience that you will feel pleasure in thinking that your Bust has proved the means of my professional Success, and procuring to me many respectable friends, Although personally absent I thus still found you to be my Benefactor, and Patron __ I am at present engaged with the Busts of the Duke of Hamilton, Sir W^m: Drummond, Sir James Erskine, and M^r. Hamilton under Secretary of State. I have also made considerable progress with a Group the size of life of Cupid, and Psyche, which has been seen, and approved by some of the first Sculptors in Rome. M^r: Hamilton who with his family is living with Canova. seems to have an Eye after it _ I forwarded a letter by the same post addressed to M^r: Thomson the Secretary of the Board of Trustees, informing him of a present Canova. proposed to make to the Academy, I suggested the Idea to M^r. Hamilton, and pled the Cause of the Academy at Edin^r. on the ground that Canova had made a similar present to the Academy at London, a hint from M^r. Hamilton was sufficient with Canova _ I hope the Board will accept of the present, and empower me to make the little expenditure that will be necessary to transport it to Edin^r.. it strikes me that similar casts of celebrated pieces of Sculpture, 'Ancient': which adorn the galleries, and of which there are none in the Academy at Edin^r:: would be very useful for the Student, while they are also a necessary ornament to every institution of the kind. What I particularly allude to are Casts of fragments, on

these, I have myself expended as much money as my limited means would permit for my own private improvement _ _ _

While writing to you upon these subjects, I beg leave to say a word about my own private affairs. for several of my Busts I have recieved part payment, but as I am unwilling to say any thing on this point to some of those who sit to me. unless they offer to pay part which is the practice in Rome, I may almost say that I have recieved nothing. My Group also has occupied much of my time without producing any pecuniary return, although I am very sanguine that it will in the end prove a profitable concern, from these Circumstances I feel myself at times considerably embarassed. so much that I was forced to draw a bill on M^r. Gilchrist as part payment of his Bust, to defray the neccessary expences for executing it in marble. Having now occassion for more money than I have at command in order to pay for some pieces of marble which I lately purchased, I fear I shall be under the necessity of drawing a bill upon you for Sixty pounds. In this transaction I hope you will regard my behaviour in a favorable light. When I assure you that this sum will be of much service to me. In case I sh^d. recieve money I will not draw on you, as I meant to request you to take the Bust as a small remembrance for the kindnesses I have ever experienced, and of which I feel more grateful than I can express. I finished some time ago a Bas. Relief which is much admired even by Canova, and should like of all things to send it home where I dare say it would do some good, but I cannot yet afford it as the expences will come to nearly Sixty pounds to finish it well. My work is already nearly over _ I have only one wish that my mind sh^d be relieved from many severe anxieties, and enable me to apply all my powers to my professional improvement, and render myself worthy of the kindness and patronage of my Friend

—

I am My Dear Sir
ever most Respectfully &c yours Tho^s: Campbell

[...]

Note: Mr Hamilton was William Richard Hamilton (1777-1859), the former secretary to Lord Elgin, who superintended the removal of the Elgin Marbles from Athens. Canova had sculpted a bust of Hamilton, as a 'thank you' for his help returning the works of art Napoleon had looted from Italy, and Campbell notes that Hamilton and his family were then 'living with Canova'. W.R. Hamilton and his son, William John Hamilton, would both be involved with the 10th Duke of Hamilton on many occasions later on. Sir James Erskine was the soldier Sir James Erskine, 3rd Baronet of Torrie (1772-1825), who bequeathed part of his collection to the University of Edinburgh (which refers to it as the Torrie Collection).

Thomas Campbell to Gilbert Innes, dated Rome, 1 November 1821 (NAS, GD113/5/480/42)

Rome November 1.st 1821.

N^o.12. Piazza Mignanelli.

My Dear Sir

I have been a long time in anxiety to hear of the safe arrival of your Bust particularly so, as I wish to send M^r. Raeburn's which will be finished in three or four days, by the same conveyance, if a safe one. Therefore you would do me a favor to let me know the particulars of your own.

I continue to study on as extensive a scale as my means will permit, my having been kept in suspense almost the whole summer by the Princess Borghese who was to have sat to me for her Bust, I have not been able to execute a very extensive Order with which the Duke of Hamilton honored me, Not only a Bust but a Statue of the Princess Borghese to be done in Marble and sent to Scotland, but the death of her Brother has postponed it for a time, The Duke wished this to be kept secret therefore I would not wish it to go much further _

M^r. Raeburn's Bust will be finished on the fourth of Nov.^r, when I shall take the liberty of drawing upon you for the Amount fifty Pounds, in favor of Mess^{rs}. Torlonia [? & co] payable at Mess^{rs}. Down Thornton & Free, Ten days after sight, with whom be pleased to understand for payment of my Bill when presented. When I had just finished the Model at M^r. Raeburn's house he insisted on me taking five pounds to Account, so that there will be still five pounds remaining, which I sh^d. wish to be paid to M^{rs}. Hogarth my Aunt, whom I have commissioned to purchase some necessaries for me. _ The Bust will Cost Sixty Pounds, therefore I will send a receipt for the five pounds making in full fifty five pounds, and write immediately to M^r Raeburn that I have drawn upon you for that Amount _

The first tollerable order that I execute I shall pay part of the debt I owe you, but at present I am obliged to draw these sums of money to forward the other works I have in hands, and to study, I have not yet sold my little group, Lord Kinnaird still talks about it, he brought his Lady yesterday to see me, and says she must sit to me, Lord William Russel tells me that my group is the finest modern work, and that my Bust of Miss Campbell now Lady Tullimore is the finest Bust ever was done. Sir

W^m. Drummond who had thirty Thousand pounds a year additional income a short time ago, and pretends to be my friend, says he will send M^r. Baring the Banker to see my group, and so on, that I believe I am never to get an order for a figure. I have just finished a design for Lady Ruthven a Monument of two figures, Faith Consoling Grief, I think the best thing I have done yet, to be erected to her Ladyships Brother, who died on his way from Greece. They like the design much, but nothing is yet decided, it will cost £150. The Duke's order £400, and if I sell my group (when done in marble is estimated, at £500) I sh^d. be the happiest fellow living, Still I have courage to beg[in] a new figure upon chance to keep me in practice, I have n[ot] yet fixed on the subject. I have just forwarded Canova's letter to M^r. Arbuthnot, and the commission shall be executed soon as possible. If you please to write to me, all letters for me sealed, the Direction put on a slip of paper in the usual way, inveloped in a sheet of Paper. and addressed to William Hamilton under Secretary of State foreign office London. will be forwarded free of expence, in future all to you shall be franked also but I am afraid to risk this in case M^r. Hamilton sh^d. be out of the way. Please remember me most Respectfully to all the rest of the family and

believe me to be ____

My Dear Sir

Most faithfully yours & c

Tho.^s Campbell

Note: The 'death of her Brother' refers to the death of Napoleon, which took place on St Helena on 5 May 1821. The bust of Sir Henry Raeburn is now in the Scottish National Portrait Gallery.

Thomas Campbell to Sir William Arbuthnot, dated Rome, 7 September 1822 (NAS, NG2/3/1/4)

Rome September 7th. 1822

N^o. 12 Piazza Mignanelli.

Dear Sir

[...] I have not been able to obtain the Cast of the Ludovisi Mars as the Duke of Hamilton has not been in Rome & I reckoned entirely on his interest and have no other prospect [...]

I am Dear Sir

Most Respectfully

yours &c Tho^s: Campbell.

Copy of letter from Sir William Arbuthnot to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated 8 January 1824 (NAS, NG1/3/22, p.555)

My Lord

I have the honour to inform your Grace that The Board of Trustees for Manufactures &c. lately voted One hundred guineas for purchasing at Rome Casts from antique Statues, Busts, Vases, Friezes &c, for the use of their drawing Academy here, in addition to a number which they have already got from that City & from Paris. ___ M^r. Campbell formerly a Student in the Academy, and who is now studying sculpture in Rome, is the person who is to select the casts for us. _ There is a much admired Statue of Mars, which we understand is in the Collection of the Prince Piombino at the Ludovisi palace, of which we are very desirous to have a cast, if it has been moulded, as I am assured it has. ___ But M^r. Campbell could have no hope of obtaining a cast upon his own application ___ and being informed that your Grace is acquainted with the Prince, and well knowing your zeal for promoting the fine arts and those manufactures connected with the arts, I take the liberty to solicit the favour of a Note from your Grace to the Prince, which I would forward to M^r. Campbell, asking permission to have a cast taken of the Mars _ and when the Prince knows that it is for a public Academy in Edinburgh, instituted by a Board of which your Grace is a member, I cannot entertain a doubt of his allowing the Cast to be taken

Canova had the goodness a short time before his lamented death to order a Cast of one of his Statues to be sent to the Edinburgh Academy, and it is now in our possession, tho' not yet out of the case which brought it and others. _ I have the honour to be My Lord

Your Grace's most Obed^t. & very hu Serv^t.

WA _

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Sir William Arbuthnot, dated Hamilton Palace, 13 January [1824] (NAS, NG1/41/4/1)

Hamilton Palace

Jan^{ry} y^e 13th

Sir

I hope I need say nothing, to assure the gentlemen of the board of Trustees for Manufactures &c &c, how happy I should be to be able to assist them in procuring any objects of art for Edinbro' that was likely to benefit their institution —

The statue of Mars belonging to the Prince Piombino is certainly deserving of attention, and a cast would be most desirable _ It will be however, I fear, difficult to procure one, as the Prince is very adverse to allow any casts of any of his collection of statues to go forth to the publick __ Altho' he is a friend of mine I did not chuse to ask him to give me for myself the cast of another, because I knew it would distress him _ Thus circumstanced I cannot give a note to M^r Campbell in the terms of your letter, but to shew my anxiety to serve the institution, I will cause an application to be made to him, provided it is promised that no other cast will be allowed to be taken from the one obtained provided I am fortunate enough to succeed in the negotiation —

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most o[illegible]

&^c & &c

C:H:&B:

Will^m Arbuthnot Esq^{re}

Note: The reverse has been annotated with the full date and a brief note identifying the sender and the subject matter.

The 6th Duke of Devonshire's diary entries relating to the marble bust of Princess Pauline Borghese undertaken for him by Thomas Campbell (now at Chatsworth) (Chatsworth, diary of the 6th Duke of Devonshire for 1824)

9 March: Campbell made me sit a last time for the large bust [of himself].

16 March: I went to Villa Paolina with Campbell for Psse Bs first sitting for her bust for me, it kept us all day [...] I was obliged to go at 10 to Pauline where Campbell took casts of her hand foot & nose for me.

17 March: At one I met Campbell at the Villa Paolina, the bust goes on well _

19 March: I rode to Villa Paolina, great trouble to get the Lady to sit to Campbell _

20 March: Another sitting to Campbell _

22 March: I went for Pauline to sit, she was in a fidgetty odious humour and annoyed about Ly. [illegible].

23 March: Campbell finished the bust today as far as concerns Pauline _

The diary records that the Duke visited Campbell on 12 and 15 April. On the latter occasion, Campbell 'had a live model sitting for Pauline'. On 17 April the Duke visited Pauline, who 'was in a ferocious bad humour'. They almost quarrelled, but 'made up'. The next day he dined with Pauline. On the 19th Campbell provided the estimate for the statue of the Princess.

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Sir William Arbuthnot, dated Hamilton Palace, 7 June [1824] (NAS, NG1/41/4/3)

Hamilton Palace

June y^e 7th

Sir

I have the pleasure to inform you, that I have been so fortunate as to succeed in obtaining from the Prince Piombino his permission to let a cast be taken of his famous group of Mars & Venus for the Accademy at Edinbro' _ He has been most obliging upon this occasion, having made an exception to his general rule, exacting merely one condition, _ for which I have answered in the name of the Accademy; that “no casts whatever are to be allowed to be taken of this group, or of any parts of it _” as Campbell, the Sculptor, at Rome was the person to whom the Accademy originally applied, they may again write to him; saying that I have obtained from the Prince Piombino the necessary permission to have the cast made, & that if he goes to the Chevalier L: Ciccolini at the Palazzo Poli, making use of my name, that gentleman will take care that M^e Campbell has every facility for having the cast made ____

I hope I need not say, that as a lover of the arts, I rejoice in having been able to assist the laudable views of the Accademy in Edinbro', & it is a source of gratification to me to have had this opportunity of manifesting towards yourself those sentiments of esteem with which I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obed^t & [illegible]

&^c & &c

Hamilton & Brandon

Sir W^m Arbuthnot

Bar^t

Note: The reverse has been annotated with the full date.

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Sir William Arbuthnot, dated Hamilton Palace, 13 June [1824] (NAS, NG1/41/4/4)

Hamilton Palace

June y^e 13th

Sir

From your letter that I had the honor of receiving last night, I fear I must have made a mistake in mine to you a few days ago _ You mention a cast of the group of Prince Piombino's statue of Mars & Venus; now if I am not mistaken, the statue alluded to by the society of the Edinb[?uy] Accademy, & the much esteemed one belonging to the Prince's, is not a group, but a figure of Mars _ Perhaps this was not worth adverting to, but I have thought it advisable to state the fact _

The Prince is willing to allow the cast to be taken; & by M^r Campbells applying, as I before stated, to the Chev^{ler}.. Ciccolini, to whom I am writing as well as to the Prince, the permission will be immediately granted _

I beg to subjoin that no thanks are due to me; I am too happy to have an opportunity of lending any little assistance of mine upon such an occasion _

I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most obedient

& [illegible]

&^c &

Hamilton & Brandon

Sir W^m Arbuthnot

Bar^t

Note: The reverse has been annotated with the date 1824.

Copy of letter from Sir William Arbuthnot to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated 15 June 1824 (NAS, NG1/3/23, p.60)

My Lord

I was yesterday honoured with your Grace's second letter correcting the mistake in the first; for it was the Statue of Mars only which we originally had in view.

I communicated to a Meeting of the Board of Trustees the very obliging exertions by which your Grace has obtained the consent of Prince Piombino to allow a Cast to be taken of the Mars for the Boards Academy, for which and your polite communication on the subject I was directed to offer their grateful acknowledgements to your Grace; and to assure you that they never will permit a Cast to be taken from the one they are to receive, nor of any of its parts.

I shall cause a communication to be immediately made to M^r Campbell at Rome such as your Grace suggests _

I have the honour to be

with the greatest respect

Your Grace's most obed. & very humble Servant.

Copy of letter from Sir William Arbuthnot to Thomas Campbell, dated 19 June 1824
(NAS, NG1/3/23, pp.61-3)

M^r. Tho^s. Campbell
N^o 12. ____
Piazza Mignanelli
Rome

[...]

The Board rec^d. a letter some days ago from the Duke of Hamilton, stating that he had been so fortunate as to succeed in obtaining from the Prince Piombino his permission to let a cast be taken of his famous Statue of Mars for the Edinburgh Academy: having most obligingly on this occasion made an exception to his general rule, exacting merely one condition, for which his Grace had answered in name of the Academy “that no casts whatever are to be allowed to be taken from it or any parts of it.” And he adds that if you go to the Chevalier L. Ciccolini’s at the Palazzo Poli, making use of his the Duke’s name, that gentleman will take care that you shall have every facility for obtaining the cast. _ The Board have pledged their promise to the Duke, that no casts shall ever be taken from the one you are to get, & this it is my duty to mention to you.

[...]

I remain w^t. esteem &^c. ____

Thomas Campbell to Gilbert Innes, dated Edinburgh, 26 September 1824 (NAS, GD113/5/488/120)

[...]

I promised to return to Hamilton Palace about this time, so I may leave this tomorrow I took the liberty of giving your address to the Duke in case he sh^d. wish to Communicate respecting the Statue _ As soon as I have made a sketch to my mind I shall be happy to shew it to my friends _ [...]

Note: The 'Statue' and 'sketch' refer to the projected equestrian monument to the 4th Earl of Hopetoun, c.1824-34, which would be erected in St Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

Copy of letter from Sir William Arbuthnot to Thomas Campbell, dated 20 February 1827 (NAS, NG1/3/23, pp.302-3)

Thomas Campbell Esq^r.

12 Piazza Mignanelli

Rome

Dear Sir, I wrote you on the 5th June last, since which I have not had the pleasure of hearing from you, and of course do not know, whether you have despatched any of the casts therein mentioned. In a former letter you mentioned your hope of being able to procure for us from the Villa Ludovisia the finest groupe in the world. I trust you have succeeded in this, or if you have not that through the influence of the Duke of Hamilton, now I believe in Rome, it will be obtained for the Edinburgh Academy which now I assure you makes a most respectable appearance in the fine Grecian Temple at the end of the mound. The mars which through the intercession of the Duke you obtained for us from the noble collection of Prince Piombino, is an exquisite Work of Art, and delights every body. I look at it with increased pleasure every time I see it ____ [...] With these and what you are obtaining for us, our Collection will be highly respectable ____ I trust you will do everything possible to have the noblest groupe in the world included among Selection, _ and Demosthenes if already moulded. ____

[...]

Thomas Campbell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Rome, 24 March 1827 (HA, Bundle 1000)

My Lord Duke

As I leave Rome this evening & as I might not perhaps have the honor of seeing your Grace for some time I beg leave to send a letter per bearer which I have received from the Trustees Academy at Edinburgh respecting a cast of the famous group at the Villa Loudavisi The Petrus & Aria.

I have a sum of money to expend for the Academy & if Your Grace would extend your kindness it would be a great acquisition for that institution if a cast of that group could be obtained

My Lord Duke

I have the honor

to remain Your Graces

Most obed^t. Ser^{vt}.

Tho^s. Campbell

Villa Malta

Rome 24 March 1827.

Copy of letter from James Skene, Secretary to the Board of Manufactures, Edinburgh, to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated 15 June 1837 (NAS, NG1/3/25, pp.273-4)

My Lord Duke

In transmitting the accompanying communication to Your Grace as a member of the Board of Trustees, I beg to mention that the Board has been engaged of late in extending very considerably the School of Design under their management, and also in making many important additions to the collection of casts for the use of the Pupils.

And having now established an architectural class under an additional master it becomes very desirable to augment the collection of models of ornament in a pure taste, both antique, and of the period of the renewal of the Arts, which induces me to submit to your Grace whether it would be agreeable to permit a Cast to be taken of the arabesque ornaments on the very fine chimney piece in the Tribune of your Grace's palace, which would be of great use to the Academy from the purity and excellence of the style.

A Cast could be taken without the slightest injury to the original, in as much as the moulds would be made in pipe clay, so as to prevent the necessity of oiling or greasing in any way, and the moulds being in pipe clay which are destroyed by the single cast being made, would ensure your Grace against the possibility of any other copies besides the one for the Board being made, and the Board would of course guarantee that they should not be recast. _ A careful and skilful Italian of the name of Regali would undertake the work, which would occupy him above a few days if agreeable to your Grace to give permission. I have &^c. J.S. Sec^y. _

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Thomas Campbell, dated Hamilton Palace, 20 May 1839 (NLS, MS 146, f.53)

Hamilton Palace

May 20th 1839 –

Sir

I have just received your letter of the 17th instant, & I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging it, & of returning you my best thanks for your very obliging attention _ Some time ago, when some enquiries were made concerning the bust in question; I was informed that it had disappeared from its' original place, but could not be traced to its actual destination _ I rejoice to find that accident has assisted me; & for your honor & mine, it is most desirable that it should be removed, without loss of time, from the antiquary's shop at Rome _ Have the goodness therefore to employ the means you possess, & to purchase it for me _ Whether the dealer should require a few crowns more or less I now will not enquire; I shall trust the matter to your obliging attention, and am convinced that you will not fail in employing economy & assiduity in the purchase _ Perhaps you will further oblige me by giving the necessary orders for its' being sent to London; perhaps to your direction, as most secure; when it arrives I will refund all the sums expended in this transaction _ Accept my repeated thanks; & with esteem I remain, Sir,

Your very obliged

and &^c &c _ & _

C:H:&B:

Tho^s. Campbell Esq^r

N^o 10 - G^t Marlbro' Street

London

Thomas Campbell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 28 October 1839
(HA, C4/770)

16 Great Marlborough. Street
28th Oct^r. 1839.

My Lord Duke.

I had the honor to recieve your Grace's letter of the 21st. Ins^t. and with regard to the Bronze Statues at Hamilton Palace I do not know of any person at Edin^r. that can repair them. I took my own workmen with me (who were French) from London to finish my works at Edinburgh _ but as the repairs are trifling I would advise your Grace to wait until the other Bronze Cariatid[i or e]s are putting up in the Stair Case which may require a man to fit them, and he could do the others at the same time _ Your Graces idea is quite right as to the proper mode of cleaning the other Bronzes by rubbing on a little oil with flannel or leather _ Only it is to be remembered that a polish will produce false lights. I would recommend also that for the meantime the fissures be filled up with a little bees wax coloured to match the original, and put in about the Consistency of putty.

With regard to the Cariatides I do not know of any person here that could do the works so beautifully as Mons^r. Soyer, and I should advise your Grace at once to have the Models sent to Paris; and if I can be of any assistance in facilitating the settlement of the Contract with Mons^r Soyer, your Grace may command me. I can also give my advice to your Grace's House Steward as to the best mode of getting them packed and sent off to Paris. _ There will be perhaps some difficulty in fixing the upper Bronze part of the Cariatides, supposing the terminus half, to be marble, as it diminishes so much, and particularly if they are not put when the Stair case is erected, so as to be properly bolted and Cramped to the marble at the back, which could not be so easily done, if the Stair case is finished. I percieve from the small Model that the height is 13 feet The terminus might however be cut thro where the drapery ends, so as to take up less room in the packing Case, and I think that it will be only necessary for your Grace to send One figure for the present till your Grace understands Mons^r. Soyer's terms. I see that there is a plinth on the top, which I suppose means the landing and which it must be remembered must be supported without the figure.

I have been studying and working on your Grace's Bust, and I trust I have not only surpassed the Early bust in likeness but also as a Work of Art.

With regard to Italy my plans are at present much in the same state as when your Grace left Town, but I have sent some of my Works to Carrara to be blocked out, and ready for me. The chances are that I shall be there this year. but in all probability not at Rome, unless your Grace fixes upon having the Equestrian Statue. which I could do Con Amore.

I have the Honor to be

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's Ob^t Ser^t.

Tho^s. Campbell.

His Grace The Duke of Hamilton K G_.

Thomas Campbell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 1 November 1839
(HA, C4/761)

16 G^t Marlborough S^t

Nov^r. 1st. 1839

My Lord Duke

Since I had the honor of addressing your Grace, it has occurred to me that the Cariatid[i or e]s can be let partly into the Wall, and that the Termini marble part, should be at least one half built in the Wall, and fixed at once. The plaster Casts, that is the Sculpture parts of them, ought then to be neatly fitted to the Termini adding the necessary fastenings to the wall – after which done the Casting may be thought of and proceeded with. The figures can be sent from Glasgow to Havre and in the mean time an estimate might be procured from Mons^r Soyer by sending the little sketch an Inch to a foot _ I can send it now if your Grace pleases, or can take it myself when I pass thro Paris.

I omitted to state that the Marble Bust ought to be well scrubbed with a hard Brush in water, and a little ground pumice stone.

I Have the Honor to be

My Lord Duke

Your Graces Most Ob^t Ser^t

Tho^s. Campbell

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton.

&c &c &c

William Richard Hamilton to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 6 June 1840
(HA, Bundle 753)

12 Bolton Row June 6/40

My dear Duke

I am very much obliged to you for thinking of me, & giving me an opportunity of Employing myself in your Service; tho' I fear you will not derive much Satisfaction from what I can say in reply to your queries. Thorwaldsen would of course be Equal to make you a Colossal Statue of the Duke of Wellington, and to cast it, or rather to get it cast, in bronze: as any or all other Sculptors can or would do: for they none of them perform this part of the work, on their own account, or under their own superintendence _ or at least that is very general & trifling: as the casting of the metal is purely a mechanical operation, for which the Skill required is very different from that of the Sculpture. This is of course superfluous for me to say _ but what I mean is that all you have to look to, is to get the model of the Statue well made _ The Casting it in bronze may be of secondary consideration: As to the Employment of Thorwaldsen for that purpose, would you not hesitate before you make the proposition? _ he is in fact an old man, and retiring, if not retired from his profession: has never seen the Duke, and is not very celebrated for portrait Statues: his line has chiefly lain in ideal, (Scriptural or classical) Subjects. Several busts of the Duke of W. have already been made, & are to be seen in London. Why not suggest that the choice of a Sculptor be referred to a Committee, who should be required to inspect all the Busts hitherto so made, here or in Scotland, including of course those by Chantry, Bailey & Pistrucci, and to report their opinion and Judgement upon them: It is hopeless to get the Duke of W. to sit again _ & not very desirable, Sh^d he consent.

As to the Casts you propose to Select for Hamilton Palace, I will make some further Enquiries, but I much fear it will take some time, & perhaps after all, be very difficult, to get a real honest opinion, as to where & from whom they are to be obtained in the best State. The Venus or Dione in the B. Museum is by connoisseurs reckoned a Roman p[e or a]rt[?icchio]; but is I think, to be had at the Museum: The head of Jupiter is in all the Shops, but it would be hard at once to say where it may be got in the most genuine State. I do not think there is any mould of the Ludovisi Juno

in London _ And the cast which I have, has a crack in it. On this Subject of casts your Grace might get a good deal of useful Information from M^r. Wilson _ an Architect of Edinbro' _ who is of course known to you: Last year I had some correspondence with him respecting a collection of that nature on a large Scale. Why should you not have a Selection of the best of the Elgin Marble? _ In Spite of their mutilated State they are more agreeable to look on than almost any of the other Remains of Antiquity _ My Wife & Daughter beg to return their best thanks for your kind remembrance, & I am as ever your Grace's very obed^t h^{le} Ser^t.

W R Hamilton

His Grace The Duke of Hamilton &c

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Thomas Campbell, dated Hamilton Palace, 23 July [no year given but internal evidence indicates 1840] (NLS, MS 146, f.66)

Hamilton Palace

July 23^d

My good Sir _ I have to acknowledge the receipt of your obliging letter of the 18th instant, and to thank you for the communications you held with my old acquaintance Soyer upon the subject of my bronze Cariatidi to support the landing of my stair-case _ The idea of letting them into the wall is quite conformable to my ideas; I thought he had so intended to execute them, but I have written to him again to urge the propriety of that measure _

My colossal Bust in clay being terminated, you certainly cannot do better than to take immediately a cast in plaister of it _ For the present I could wish you to do no more; altho' when I come to Town perhaps I shall incline to have one cast in bronze, but before that is done, I should wish to have some communication with you _

The Wellington monument to be raised in honor of the Duke at Glasgow is not decided upon _ It remains doubtful, even whether a foreign or a native Artist should be engaged in it _ Should you however wish to put yourself forward, & think the matter of importance to you; if you will write to me upon the subject such a letter, as can be laid before the committee, desiring me to lay it before the gentlemen composing it; I will with pleasure do so _ Your reputation requires no encomium & the work you executed in Edinbro' speaks for itself; & I shall be most happy if I can combine, with the views of the publick, the views of an individual artist, who merits every consideration _ With esteem I am

Your very old acquaintance

&^c & _

C H & B

Tho^s: Campbell Esq^r

London _

J. Forshall to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated British Museum, 27 July 1840 (HA, C4/762)

British Museum,
July 27. 1840.

My Lord,

I have the honour to acknowledge Your Grace's note of July 22. which reached me on Saturday, but which I was unable to reply to on that day being fully occupied with The Trustees until a late hour.

The Museum does not possess a mould of The large Venus in M^r Townleys Collection; but The Trustees would, as a matter of course, order a mould to be made upon application from any individual for a cast. This is their rule with regard to all Marbles, which can be moulded without danger of injury. The cost of a cast would be from Six to Eight Guineas and certainly would not exceed the last sum __

The successors of Sarti, the Formatore in Dean Street, Soho, have a cast of this Venus on sale, but I am told that the cast is not particularly good, the mould having been much worn _ It would take two or three months to prepare a mould at the Museum _ but the cast from it would, probably, be far superior to the one now on sale in Dean Street:

I send Your Grace a printed list of the casts, which are in stock here, and their prices:

I shall have very great pleasure in attending to Your Grace's commands upon this or upon any other subject,

being with sincere

and great respect

Your Graces humble

faithful Servant

J. Forshall

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton K.G.

Note: The price list of casts C4/762/1 has three pages devoted to casts after the Elgin Marbles. The last page includes casts of the Phigaleian Marbles, a dozen pieces from the Townley Collection (including the *Diomedes* and *Jupiter Sarapis*) and three bronzes: Apollo, Mercury (also available in bronze) and Jupiter.

William Richard Hamilton to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 14 August 1840 (HA, Bundle 753)

12 Bolton Row Aug^t 14 /40.

My dear Duke

I really am quite at a loss to think how I could have been so neglectful of your wishes to have some [?further] information respecting the Cast of the Venus of Towneley _ but not to overload you with my apologies, I shall flatter myself with the Idea that my omission was owing to the very undue Manner in which I have always accustomed myself to look on the merits of that Statue, as a work of art. I do not know why, or how I came to entertain such an opinion, which I have no doubt is more [?discutitable] to me than to the Statue; but so it is, & I cannot help it.

However I would not reply to your Grace's last commands without repeating my visit to the original at the Museum, before I saw Sarti's Cast of it: which I effected yesterday. The Cast is certainly not a bad one, particularly for the [illegible word], but the Drapery is I think much below the Sharpness & freshness of the Marble; and I have no hesitation in recommending you to have a fresh Gesso from the formatore of the Museum, which will be commenced immediately that you make the demand, & you will of course have the first Cast.

I saw at Sarti's' (now Loft & Scouler) the Gesso of a much Superior figure _ The Ludovisi [?Marte] _ in a very good State: which I should prefer to the Venus _ but perhaps the dimensions would not suit the locality. It is not of course so high as the Venus, and the lower part would want a breadth _ or rather depth of something more than four feet.

Nothing would give me more pleasure than being allowed again to renew my acquaintance with your [?motions] at Hamilton; and if we should set our horses, or our Smoke in that Direction next year, I shall be too happy to revisit the Scenes of my Ancestors on the banks of Clyde.

With our best Respects to the Duchess believe me Ever

My Dear Duke

Your very obliged & obed^t Ser^t

W R Hamilton

John Robison to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 10 April 1841 (HA, C4/765)

2 S^t James place London 10 April 1841

My Lord Duke

I have just had the honour of receiving Your Grace's communication dated 4 March, which however I suppose may have been intended for 4 April. I am now so far on my way to the City of Barricades, & may perhaps see something of the proposed chagement des decorations, if the scene shifters have had time to make the new fortifications visible in their tracings

I am very much gratified to learn that Butters has succeeded in fulfilling your Grace's expectation in the execution of the Seal, & that it has been made worthy of the unique Poignet for which it has been destined.

There is at present here a collection of objects in Dalecarlian Porphyries & granites of great beauty both in respect to material and workmanship _ they are to be exposed for sale for another week, after which they are to be exported _ if Your Grace should wish for any specimens immediate application would be requisite _

The Reform Club House in Pall Mall is now occupied partly by reformers, & partly by workmen, it being still in a very incomplete state. The warming & ventilation is arranged by Mess^r Manley's brothers, who appear to have Carte blanche for outlay, and to be freely availing themselves of it _ the warming seems pretty well done, but there is too little change of air & a sense of stagnation prevails in many parts of the house . the apparatus as far as I can judge from a single inspection is too complex to be regulated by ordinary capacities: the arrangement proposed by M^r Brown for the Palace would I think be more effective, & would require less skill in its daily use, it would in fact require almost no management.

If during my stay in Paris any thing should occur to Your Grace in which my services may be made available, I hope I need not say that it will be a gratification to me to be made of use.

I had the pleasure of seeing M^r Hamilton this morning, but was sorry to learn from him that very unfavourable accounts have been received of the health of the Duc Decazes who is supposed to be in so precarious a situation that canvassing is going on for his situation at the Luxembourg.

I have the honour to be my Lord Duke

Your Grace's very faithful servant

John Robison

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

Thomas Campbell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 24 October 1842
(HA, C4/755)

16 Great Marlborough Street
London 24th. October 1842

My Lord Duke

I had the honor to receive your graces kind communication of the 21st. ult. It was a great consolation to me [to] know that your grace had not forgotten me, & that I should have an opportunity of submitting the Bust to Her grace the Duchess on Her arrival at Portman Square -

I have just returned from Aberdeen where I had been giving the last touches to a granite statue of the late Duke of Gordon. I am sure Your Grace would be pleased to see what perfection they can now work that stubborn material

I have the honor to be

My Lord Duke

Your graces obedient servant

Tho^s Campbell

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

&^c & &.

Thomas Campbell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 24 November 1845
(HA, C4/779)

16 Great Marlborough Street
London 24th November 1845

My Lord Duke

I beg leave to acquaint your grace that the bronze Moulders which I formerly brought from France are now in London, & that I could now execute the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius or the Bust which I had the honor to model for your grace for that purpose

I have the honor to be
Your graces obedient
Servant Tho^s Campbell

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

&c & & –

The top of the letter is annotated in the Duke's handwriting 'answered X^{bre} 2^d'.

Thomas Campbell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 15 December 1845
(HA, C4/782/1)

16 Great Marlborough Street
London 15 December 1845

My Lord Duke

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your graces letter of the 2^d current, & having bestowed so much time & careful study on the Bust I had the honor to execute of Your Grace, I do not conceal the high gratification it would afford me to have the opportunity of either transferring it to bronze, or completing the more important work of an Equestrian statue, for which it was originally prepared, & designed, but as the execution of this work may depend on the Expence, I shall frankly state to your Grace what my own feelings dictate on the subject, & shall be perfectly satisfied with whatever decision you may be pleased to arrive at -

With regard to an Equestrian statue in bronze, according to that of Marcus Aurelius at Rome, I am unable at present to form a correct Estimate, but should Your Grace think of proceeding with a work of so noble a character; I am perfectly willing to undertake it, & submit an accurate statement of my actual expenditure, & leave my personal remuneration to Your Grace, or any person you may consider qualified to award a fair, & competent remuneration for my labor & services; or should you feel disinclined to engage in a work of this magnitude, I shall undertake to complete a bust according to the large model in my possession, for the sum of Five Hundred guineas, which is the same size precisely as Marcus Aurelius, viz 12 feet if it were erect, or in the event of your grace desiring to decline either of these proposals, I beg leave to name the sum of Two Hundred & Fifty guineas for the duties I have already performed of modelling, & completing the colossal bust, & with taking casts of Marcus Aurelius, with a view to the important object I have referred to; All of which I shall forward to your grace should the latter proposal be now more agreeable to you -

In making these proposals, I would desire at once to relieve from any feelings of obligation that might exist to proceed farther with these works, Either in consequence of what may have passed, on the subject, or the expectations I may have formed regarding it -

I should be proud to receive an order for the more important work, & delighted to have the honor of placing so honorable a testimony of your graces kindness to me & devotion to Art, in my native country, but at the same time should you prefer any of the other proposals I have submitted, I shall willingly accede to your graces views & wishes –

I am now engaged on statues of Lady Mary Christopher, Lady Kinnaird, & M^{rs}. Siddons – a grand subject – to be placed in Westminster Abbey, & I have just finished a marble bust of the Duke of Wellington for the King of Hannover.

I have the honor to be

Your Graces obliged & grateful Serv^t–

Tho^s. Campbell

Copy of letter from William Burn to M^cDonald & Leslie, dated 5 January 1846 (HA, C4/783)

Copy letter M^r. Burn to Mess^r. M^c.Donald & Leslie, referred to in their offer on the preceding page.

6. Stratton Street 5. Jan^y: 1846.

Sirs,

I send you the Plan and Elevation of a pedestal for an Equestrian statue, for which I have to request you will give me an Estimate, to be executed in the best Red Granite, and have the whole exterior face polished _

I should wish this Estimate to be in two different forms _ the one, supposing the die of the pedestal to be in one piece _ and the other _ composed of four pieces, as I have marked in pencil lines, and should this be adopted, I would fill the centre with a solid block of free stone. _ The under part of Cornice may, in either way, be in four pieces, but it would be desirable to have the upper part all in one, if possible _

Pray let me have this as soon as possible, and return me the Drawing, as I have no Copy, and will require to send it with the Estimate _

I am yours truly

(Signed) Will^m Burn.

Mess^{rs}

M^c.. Donald & Leslie.

Copy of letter from M^cDonald & Leslie to William Burn, dated Aberdeen, 12 January 1846 (HA, C4/783)

Aberdeen 12. Jan^y. 1846.

To William Burn Esq^r.

Sir,

We are favoured with your letter of the 5.th inst: and also a plan of a pedestal for an Equestrian Statue, and according to your request, for an Estimate for the same. _ We beg leave to state that we shall furnish it of Red polished Granite, and deliver it in the Ship at Aberdeen for Seven hundred and Fifty pounds St^g: _ Say £750. _ To be composed of 14 or 15 stones: _ The base in 4 stones, the die in 4 stones. _ The under part of Cornice in 4 stones, and the upper part in 2 or 3 stones. _

If the upper part of Cornice was to be one stone _ the Sum will be from one hundred to one hundred & twenty pounds more than the above Estimate, but from the uncertainty of finding such a large surface of Rock, we could not bind ourselves to find such a stone, but will use every means in our power to find it, if the order is given to us. _ Waiting your further kind orders. _

We are

Sir

your very obedient Serv^{ts}..

(Signed) M^c..Donald & Leslie

Turn over.

Note: There is nothing on the reverse, but the paper is folded in half and the copy of Burn's letter to M^cDonald & Leslie, dated 5 January 1846 (transcribed on the previous page), is on the other fold.

Thomas Campbell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 17 January 1846
(HA, C4/782/2)

16 G^t. Marlborough Street
London 17th. January 1846

My Lord Duke

I had the honor to receive your Grace's letter of the 30th. Ult^o & after preparing a sketch of the statue & pedestal of Marcus Aurelius, I immediately applied myself to obtaining the information desired, which I am only this day enable to communicate.

As I mentioned in my last letter how anxious I felt to meet Your Grace's views on the subject of Expence, I have taken every pains to calculate & ascertain the cost of executing the colossal Equestrian statue in bronze, & am now prepared to say that it shall not exceed the sum of Six Thousand pounds, & the Pedestal executed in polished Red Granite, will cost seven Hundred & Fifty pounds, as per Estimate by M^cDonald & Leslie of Aberdeen, which I have obtained thro' the kindness of my friend M^r. Burn Architect, & a copy of which, as also the sketch of the statue & pedestal above alluded to, I now enclose for your Grace's satisfaction -

The cost of the respective works referred to above & in my letter of the 10th. Ult^o. will therefore stand Thus.

- 1 Colossal statue similar to that of Marcus Aurelius in Bronze – six Thousand pounds –
- 2 Colossal Bust in bronze according to the cast of what I executed from Your Grace 500 Guineas -
- 3 For work already done, being the cast referred to. with the models for the Bust £250.

If the colossal Equestrian statue should be adopted there will fall to be added the expence of the Granite Pedestal & the carriage & fixing of it, in addition to the six Thousand pounds, which probably would make the total expence about seven Thousand pounds. I need not again state how highly gratified I should feel to be intrusted with a work of this importance & if placed in my hands, your Grace may depend on its engaging my best attention & most anxious & unremitting study -

I have the honor to be

Your Graces obedient

Servant Tho^s Campbell

Draft letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Thomas Campbell, dated 21 January 1846 (HA, C4/782/3)

Note: The first ten lines of the draft are written as a neat letter, which the Duke presumably intended to send to Campbell. However, the letter suddenly changes into a scribbled, almost illegible draft, with the Duke making corrections to the first paragraph.

Hamilton Palace

Jan^{ry} 21st _ 1846 _

Dear Sir

I have to return you many thanks; not only for your [addition above crossed out the you have given yourself in out] letter of the 17th ins^t, but likewise, for ~~your~~ trouble, ~~in having~~ written to Aberdeen to ascertain the cost of a pedestal for the intended equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius – Your ~~obliging however~~ [illegible word(s) crossed out]

[At this point the neat handwriting stops and the letter becomes a scribbled draft.]

to you cannot but
I ~~cannot but~~ feel obliged ~~alho I must~~ [word crossed out] regret at the same time
that you sh^d have ~~entered into th~~ thought it necessary to enter into this examination, that I could
as the pedestal is a [word crossed out] [two illegible words] ~~that I could make~~
have made
subservient to my own view.

But it is unnecessary that I should enlarge upon this part of the business; I find (however reluctantly it may be) that I must give up the idea of the equestrian statue, and satisfy myself with the colossal bust of ~~which you~~ [word crossed out] ~~you~~ [modelled or moulded] for me – Be so good therefore as to occupy yourself with the casting of it, in bronze; I shall avail myself of the proposition you have made to me

of 500 – [an illegible word added above 500 followed by] & take it at

I shall be in town in the course of next month for certain, if therefore you wish to
 [illegible word] any part of the work untill my arrival, you may do so the [illegible
 word] delay will be but small & [two illegible lines] your [illegible word] labour – I
 should like the whole [illegible word] of the bust ~~but~~ [illegible word] the [illegible to
 word] be as near ————— [? high] as the [illegible word] of the whole will admit
 of –

Thomas Campbell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 14 February 1846
(HA, C4/781)

16 Great Marlborough S^t
London 14th Feb^y 1846.

My Lord Duke

I found that it would be almost impossible to reduce the Bust to the size Your Grace mentioned without destroying the Character at all events I thought it would be better to secure it in bronze & then cut the model, & my men are now engaged on it. The width is 3 feet 6 inches & the height is 4 feet 6 inches including the pedestal - I have made my arrangements that the bronze can be cut in case your grace should prefer it.

When convenient I should feel obliged to your Grace to desire to be placed to my credit with Mess^{rs} Coutts the half payment of the Bronze Bust viz £250 –

I have the honor to be

Your Graces

obedient Servant

Tho^s. Campbell

The top of the letter is annotated in the Duke's handwriting: answered to do nothing - not touch the Bust.

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Thomas Campbell, dated Hamilton Palace, 9 March 1846 (NLS, MS 146, f.62)

Hamilton Palace

March 9th 1846 _

Dear Sir

Your letter of the 7th instant to M^r Brown has just been laid before me _ I rejoice to hear that my bust was cast yesterday, & that it has come out of the form in good order. _ I hope it did not come out too well; for I am one of those, who always think that works of art, succeed better, under the hand, than when confided to mechanical precision altogether _

Enclosed I send you a draft upon Mess^{rs} Coutts & C^o, as you desired, for the sum of £250 _ Shortly I hope to be in London; for, altho' I have been suffering, & still suffer a good deal from a wound in my leg, I am in hopes of being able in the space of a few days to be able to go out, & take my usual Exercise _ As soon as I get to town, I will enquire for you; and I shall rejoice to find that you are engaged in some work worthy of your genius _ With esteem

I am Dear Sir

Your very obliged &&c-c

C:H:&B:

Tho^s Campbell Esq^{re}

Great Marlbro' Street

London __

Thomas Campbell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 11 March 1846 (HA, Bundle 660)

16 G^t. Marlborough S^t

London 11^l March 1846

My Lord Duke

I have the honor to acknowledge Your Graces communication of the 9th inst with the cheque inclosed on Mess^{rs} Coutts for £250 .

I am happy to know Your Grace is better & that I am likely to have the honor of a visit soon.

I have the Honor to be

Your Graces obedient

Servant_ Tho^s Campbell

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

&c &c &c _

Thomas Campbell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 20 March 1847 (HA, Bundle 1001)

16 G^t. Marlborough S^t
20th. March 1847.

My Lord Duke

The sketch of the bronze bust which I send per bearer, may perhaps give Your Grace some idea what sort of pedestal would be most appropriate.

It appears to me now that I see the ensemble on paper, that a column would be more suitable than the square, because the three quarter view looks so heavy. The column ought to be 3 feet in the shaft & 1 foot 9 inches in diameter; The Base Circular, but the plinth square; Another advantage would be that it might be placed in any situation.

The case is ordered & it will be ready for Your Grace next week.

I shall finish the Bust this day.

My Lord Duke

I have the honor to be
Your Graces obedient &
obliged Servant

Tho^s Campbell

His Grace The Duke of Hamilton

The Duke has annotated the back of the letter: 'Call on Campbell'.

Thomas Campbell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 15 or 16 March 1848
(HA, Bundle 1000)

1[5 or 6]^h. March 1848.

16 G^t. Marlborough Street _

My Lord Duke

I have now the gratification of intimating to Your Grace, that I have received from Rome the assurance of being permitted to take a cast of the celebrated Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius, on the condition, that I guarantee the Government against damage & agree to give a copy of the cast to be deposited in the Capitol. & these Conditions being so perfectly fair & reasonable, I have this day written to my friend in Rome, to agree on my behalf to the proposal; & have made my arrangements here for very shortly proceeding to Rome to superintend personally the execution of this cast _ I have also entered into an agreement for erecting the scaffolding, & preparing the moulds, & completing the cast; & have thus only to devote my utmost Energies towards fulfilling Your Graces wishes & expectations, which it shall be my pride, as well as my duty to realize; & having for so many years looked upon this work as one of the highest objects of ambition, I feel that I shall enter on my task with a zealous & most anxious desire to accomplish with honor, & credit, the distinguished charge Your Grace has confided to me.

I have the honor to be

My Lord Duke

Your Graces obedient &
obliged servant

Tho^s Campbell

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

&c _ &c _ & _ c

Edited draft letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Thomas Campbell, dated
Hamilton Palace, 24 March 1848 (HA, Bundle 1000)

Hamilton Palace

March 24: 1848 =

My good Sir _ I have received your very obliging letter of the 16th instant; in which
preparing
you say that you are ~~resolved~~ to return to Rome ~~immediately~~, & intend to dedicate

your time forthwith to the casting of the Marcus Aurelius, having obtained ~~from the~~
a
~~government~~ liberty to take ~~the~~ cast from the Bronze on the Capitol ____

If we are to proceed in our negotiation the cast of course is to [be] under your
~~I do not consider that I have authorized the work to be commenced as yet; & before I~~
personal [illegible word] superintendence of

~~do, you must allow me to subjoin one or two observations _ First the casting is to be~~
you should likewise give me a
(~~as I have just observed~~) to be taken from the original _ ~~next I must have a certain~~
not what it will cost but

sort of estimate of ~~the~~ so as that I may be ensured that the cost will not exceed that

estimate _ ~~the cost; so as to ensure me, that beyond that sum (however short of it the~~

~~outlay may be) that beyond that sum I [illegible letter]ay~~

~~moreover that the Bronze for~~

during its progress
a time should be fixed when the work will be compleated ____ & certain periods
not exceeding £1000

~~named~~ partial payments ^ will have to be to be agreed upon at certain stated times _
stated

~~fixed~~ periods _
conditions

When these ~~matters~~ are agreed upon I ~~will~~ the work may be [single word]; and
[three words] conditions are unnecessary

perhaps [these altered to they], are ~~superfluous as I~~ [two or three words heavily
your

crossed out and what looks like in reality as added beneath them] at ~~your~~ talent
art is ample & sufficient

& your love of [word altered to your] ~~than in anything else~~ [three words added above

and crossed out] ~~which I~~ [illegible word crossed out] guarantee for me ____

Thomas Campbell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 8 April 1848 (HA, Bundle 1001)

16 Great Marlborough Street
London 8th. April 1848

My Lord Duke

I have delayed answering Your Graces letter of the 24 ult^o until I was enabled to mention the period of my departure for Rome, & having now arranged to leave England by the steamer on the 15th. of this month, I take the opportunity of replying at same time to the other portions of Your Graces esteemed favor.

It is perfectly understood that the cast of the Equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius is to be taken from the original, & that the Completion of a bronze Equestrian statue in every respect similar, & subject to such alterations or modifications only as Your Grace may desire, shall not exceed the sum of Six Thousand pounds, according to my former Estimate, & I also engage that the work shall be completed within a period of Two years from the date at which I commence to take the cast.

As regards the payments, I should much wish to leave them in a great measure to your graces consideration, knowing how able you are to appreciate the labor & expences attending a work of this magnitude, but being desired to name certain terms of payment, I beg to suggest what would appear to me reasonable, & I beleive to be according to the usual practice of the profession. viz _ one fourth part of the price, or the sum of £1500. when I have commenced & am proceeding with the taking of the cast, & the sum of One Thousand pounds when the Cast has been completed _ The sum of Two Thousand pounds to be paid in four equal instalments of £500 each, as the preparations for the bronze cast proceeds, & the expences of labor & materials shall be certified to Your Graces satisfaction, & the balance of one fourth part, or £1500, when the statue is completely finished; & according to Your Graces desire I shall complete the moulds & cast the statue at Hamilton Palace, where you have been so kind as [to] offer me every facility, as well as a shed for the purpose.

As I feel most anxious to secure Your Grace against every possible risk or contingency, I am perfectly willing to hand over two old & valuable Policies on my own life in the Equitable assurance company, the one for £1000, & another for £500, if your Grace would advance the first instalment before my departure, & as this arrangement would save some trouble and expence, & at same time amply protect Your Grace in the event of my death for any advance that might then exist, beyond a fair & just remuneration for the time & expences I had up to that period incurred, (the Policies being returned to my representatives on rendering an account of my expences & adjusting the same with your grace) I should be glad that it met with your approbation, & in the event of its being satisfactory, would request my friends Messr^s Coutts & Co. to arrange with Your Grace accordingly

I have the honor to be

My Lord Duke

Your Graces obedient &
obliged Servant

Tho^s Campbell

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

&_ &_ &_

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Thomas Campbell, dated Hamilton Palace, 10 April 1848 (NLS, MS 146, f.64)

Hamilton Palace

April 10th 1848 =

You are a bolder man, my good M^r Campbell, than I am _ to go to Rome & to engage in the taking a cast of Marcus Aurelius, whilst England & Italy are in such confusion __ I am sorry, after what I have written, to hesitate, & to desire that you will suspend for the moment your intended work _ I see the danger of your not being able on your side to carry on the work; whilst on my side, I begin to fear the possibility of not being able to pay for it __ I do not [?rennince: ?error for renounce] altogether the idea, but I must postpone it _

Your project of payment is most just _ I have nothing to complain of in it, unless it is, that I might possibly wish to throw the whole over three years instead of two _ Mess^{rs} Coutts do business for me, which will facilitate our reciprocal arrangements; but untill the present storm is a little blown over I must forbid you to proceed _ with esteem I am

Your very good friend

C:H:&B:

Tho Campbell Esq^{re}

G^t Marlbro S^t

The Marquis of Douglas to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Paris, 29 August [1850]
(HA, Bundle 1421)

Paris.

August 29th

Caro Papino

I have just heard from a man of the name of Beurdeley (who is a marchand de curiosites & a friend of mine) that he purchased at the King of Hollands sale at the Hague 4 Busts in Porphery of Roman Emperors once in the possession of M^r Farrer in London _ Beurdeley tells me that you were anxious to have them at the time they were purchased by the late King of Holland, he says that at that time they were sold for 10,000 francs or £400 _ he purchased them cheap & will take £200 for them _ I know nothing of them myself but he talks of them as very good in their way Will you send me a line by return of Post telling me your wishes, as I told Beurdeley (if he could manage it) not to part with them, till I had received an answer from you I see by the Papers little Woodburn purchased a great many of the drawings by the old masters formerly in the possession of Sir T Lawrence _ Many of the best Pictures of great value were bought by L^d. Hertford & some by the [?E: i.e. E for Emperor] of Russia _ I purpose leaving [? this] on the 7 or 8th of next month L Napoleon returned yesterday he is looking much better & is in good spirits _ he is evidently pleased at the reception he met with on his tour _ Marie sends you her love as well as to Mamina Angus & Carlo [two illegible words].

Your very aff^{te} son

Douglas.

Note: This letter can be dated on the basis of the references to the late King of Holland's sale, which took place at The Hague in August 1850. Baron de Vicq, the Tsar's buyer for the Hermitage, spent £10,770 on eight pictures, including the Van Eyck *Annunciation* now in Washington; while Lord Hertford's agent bought an Andrea del Sarto (£2,521), a Rubens (£1,500), Van Dyck's portrait of Philippe le Roy and his wife (£5,300), Rembrandt's two portraits of Jean Pellicorne and his

family (£2,516) and a Hobbema (£2,250): see D. Robertson, *Sir Charles Eastlake and the Victorian Art World* (Princeton, 1978), p.124. The Mr Farrer referred to in the letter is Henry Farrer, the ‘ubiquitous and increasingly successful dealer’: see *ibid.*, p.80.

Appendix 11: The New Extension to Hamilton Palace

Edited copy of bill from James Gillespie (later called James Gillespie Graham) to the 9th Duke of Hamilton and the Marquis of Douglas for repairs to Hamilton Palace in 1808 and Gillespie Graham's services 1806-8 (HA, F2/1028)

His Grace The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon, and The Marquis of Douglas & Clydesdale his Commissioner

To

James Gillespie. _ For Repairs at the Palace of
Hamilton

1808

	To paid Archibald Smith Slater for Stripping and re-slatting the Roofs of the Palace &c. Per Accot and Stamp receipt	193	12	_
	Paid freight of Pavement from Arbroath for the Hall	31	14	_
Feb: 11	Paid William Mather for Pavement for the Hall P Bill	77	8	4
Aug 4	Paid John Rowat for Mason's wages &c. for Repairs on the Hall. P Acco. & Rect	160	3	8
	Paid Archibald Smith for harling the West front of the Palace	38	17	10
	Paid Shirreff & Co. Leith for Roman Cement	6	13	6
	Paid Robt Buchan Painter in full for painting the Hall &c.	48	14	_
	Paid him for painting the outsides of the Windows &c. Per Accot. & rect.	70	_	_
	Paid James Stevenson ordained Measurer for measuring all the above work about the Palace	6	12	4
	Paid George Douglas Plumber for Lead and Plumber work to the Roof Per Accot	334	5	_
	To paid John Rowat Wright in Hamilton the following Accots.			
	For Carriage of the Pavement from Port [...]			
	Dundas, plaisterers accot. &c. Per accot. and Receipt	129	10	7
	For Wright-work about the Palace. Per Acot. and rect.	161	2	2
	For Carpenter's-work for repairs about the Roof	79	17	7

	For his own trouble superintending the whole of the Repairs	33	15	_
	Paid Archibald Smith Slater for Repairs to the Roof		<u>2</u>	<u>17</u> _
		£ 1375	1	_
	To Mr. Gillespie for his own trouble about the Palace, viz.			
1806				
May	To 3 days on the Marquis' business at Hamilton, viz. 25 th ..			
	26 th .. & 27 th ..	£	6	6 _
	Travelling Expenses		3	3 _
Nov.	To design of an elevation for Hamilton Palace _ a present			
	to the Marquis			
	To 4 days at Hamilton viz 2 ^d . 3 ^d . 4 th . and 5 th		8	8 _
	To 4 days of Clerk at do		2	2 _
	To Expenses to and from Hamilton with Clerk and at the Inn			
	there, including Chaise hire		8	4 9
				[...]
1807				
Jany.	To 2 days at Hamilton 5 th and 6 th		4	4 _
	Expenses		_	12 _
	To first set of designs for an addition to Hamilton Palace _			
	a present to the Marquis			
	To a Second set of finished Plans which were sent to the			
	Marquis		21
June	To 3 days at Hamilton 11 th 12 th and 13 th		6	6 _
	Expenses		3	3 _
July	To 3 days at ditto 13 th 14 th & 15 th		6	6 _
	Expences		2	7 6
Augt.	To 3 days at Hamilton 14 th 15 th and 16 th		6	6 _
	Expenses including Chaise-hire		3	8 6
Oct.	To 3 days at Hamilton 23 ^d , 24 th & 25 th		6	6 _
	Expenses including Chaise-hire		6	18 _
Decr.	To 2 days at Hamilton Palace viz 28 th and 29 th		4	4 _

1808

March	To 3 days at Hamilton Palace 10 th 11 th & 12 th	6	6	—
	Expenses	3	1	9
May	To 5 days at Hamilton Palace viz 2 ^d . 3 ^d . 4 th . 5 th and 6 th .	10	10	—
	Expenses	6	6	—
	To 3 days at Hamilton Palace viz 4 th 5 th and 6 th .	6	6	—
	Expenses including Chaise hire going and returning to Edinr.	8	16	—
			[...]	
	To my Horse & Gig for several Trips to Hamilton	8	8	—
	To Postages & Stationry	3	10	—
	To paid Travelling Charges of Masons and Labourers to and from Hamilton	2	—	—
			[...]	
	[Total]	£1529	9	6

James Gillespie [Graham] to the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, dated Edinburgh, 22 December 1812 (HA, Bundle 665)

Edin^r. 22^d Dec^r. 1812 ____

My Lord

As Your Lordship did not seem to be in a hurry about the Drawing when I had the honour of being at Hamilton Palace I delayd beginning to it till my return from the Country last week _ The Drawings are in the Bottom of the Box accompanyd by a Copy of Vitruvius Scoticus __

I have made out a hurried Sketch of the Palace where I have taken the liberty of introducing a Parapet over the Cornice and adding one compartment to each of the ends _ My reason for introducing this Idea was to Satisfy myself with the general effect of the Pallisade with the avenew & for the sake of variety I have introduced cuppled or double Pillars at the ends of Small avenews but this for your Lordships consideration _ May I request that your Lordship will do me the honour to accept of this drawing together with a View of the Proposd Town of Kylearkin in the Island of Skye

I have sent a Plan of one stretch of the Railing, Pillars and Base, &^c upon a large Scale. The Railings are suppos^d to be one inch and one fourth of an inch sq^r. the railings are seven inches apart. and the Pillars 21 feet apart. From the Section Your Lordship will percieve that the Railings are let well down in the Stone and through an Iron Bar indented into the Stone which goes from one end to the other, which will not only keep the Railing fast, but will add great security to the Building _ I think the form of an Antique Vase without Sculpture will suit best with the Style of the Pallisade, and I would recommend their being done in cast metal in place of Stone to prevent their being broken _ The Pillars are eight feet high as you directed and they can be got at Glasgow for three Guineas each ready to erect – that is to say a Pillar, Doric order eight feet high with Base and Capital compleatly finishd for £3~3 and any number executed for the same price _

The Scale of feet does not apply to the Palace (which is done upon a smaller scale) but to the Railing _ or Pallisade

I have also sent two Pattern Ballasters or Railing – which I hope will meet Your Lordships approbation _

I remain in the most respectful manner ____

Your Lordships very much

obliged humble Servant

Jas: Gillespie

I intended to have sent the Box by the Coach but M^r Young who I have seen this day is to carry them to Hamilton Palace when he goes this week

James Gillespie [Graham] to the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, dated Edinburgh, 26 December 1812 (HA, Bundle 665)

Edin^r. 26th Dec^r 1812 _ _

My Lord

I refer Your Lordship to my last letter sent by Post _ I have sent the Pattern of the Railing by M^r Young _ the long railing or Ballisters are in two pieces but ready to screw together and the cross bars are numberd, so that the preciese effect will be seen when they are erected at the height of the Parapet Wall .[^]_{from the ground} the section shows the exact dimensions of it _ The Moulded cope Stone is ^{so} rounded as to make it difficult to stand upon by mischievous boys, and from this stone being ten inches in thickness it will be sufficiently strong to receive the railing. the[? ir: i.e. a mistake for there] must be [? Stays] at proper distances to resist the pressure which may be occasiond by the Wind [? &c] _ Where the Pillars stand upon this cope a level base is formd to receive them, and this Pedestal or Parapet Wall must be wholly built of of principal Stones to insure its durability and Security _ I shall be most happy if any of my Ideas meet Your Lordships approbation. _ I have the honour to remain in the most respectful manner

Your Lordships very much
obliged humble Servant

Jas Gillespie

The Model of the Railing is supposd all to be full size, and the rail at the bottom _ in which the bars are put in represents the rail ^{or iron bar} which is sunk or indented into the Stone ____

James Gillespie [Graham] to the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, dated Strathallan Castle, 12 January 1813 (HA, Bundle 665)

Strathallan Castle 12 Jan^y

1813

My Lord

From visiting several out of the way places where my letters were not sent me I have been depriv^d the honour of receiving in time Your Lordships very polite letter of the 3^d _ I expect to be in Edin^r by Friday and by the Post of Sunday I shall have the pleasure of transmitting several Sketches of the proposd palisade for Your Lordships consideration _

I am quite satisfied that the foundations of the Walls of the South side of the Palace would be compleatly curd of dampness if the flags were taken away and an air drain constructed close upon the wall as was done this year to the East side, the surface coverd with gravel in the same manner _? moving the Grass plattform would also lend much to the comfort of the Palace, and if Your Lordship were to substitute Gravel in its place, I would recommend a Bed of well beaten Clay to be laid under it, at least one foot from the surface and to extend beyond the line of the South ends of the Building __ having a proper declivity for carrying off the Rain water that would ose through the gravel, it should also have a gentle declivity from both sides to the Center which would have the effect of carring of more quickly the surface or rain water _ Should your Lordship adopt this plan I would recommend the Clay being laid down in two separate Coats prepar^d in the same way, each Coat ^{to be} six inches thick, and after being being well beaten down there should be a thick Coat of fine Smithdy Cumb or Engine ashes laid over and roll^d down with a heavy Roller which would prevent the Clay from cracking __ Should any of these opinions meet Your Lordships approbation I shall have much pleasure in giving particular directions for their being carried into execution. _ I have the honour to be in the most respectful manner

Your Lordships very
much obliged humble Servant _

Jas: Gillespie

The Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale to an unknown correspondent, dated Hamilton Palace, 13 January 1815 (HA, Bundle 1004)

Sir

I learn from copies of various letters forwarded to me by M^r. Young, that there has been much correspondence concerning the £10,000 left (under the circumstances you are acquainted with) by Lady Charlotte Edwin which has terminated without obtaining the object I had in view – as I now am told that the only obstacle to Lady Hereford's allowing this money immediately to be placed in my hands for the purpose of vesting it in lands to add to the Hamilton estate entail; is the want of a security for her annual interest such as may satisfy her men of business; I authorise you herewith, & request you will be so good as, to purchase an annuity upon her Ladyship's life to be delivered over to her of £500 per annum at any of the publick offices that may be most agreeable to her agents _ This appears to be a proceeding that cannot fail to remove every possible uneasiness on the part of Lady Hereford's men of business; and as I foresee many difficulties in allowing this matter to remain unsettled, I had rather make this purchase than allow the matter to drop _

By sending two lines to M^r Brown (the gentleman who does all my business here) you will receive the purchase money of the said annuity whenever it is required _

You will receive this letter from Lord Arch^d Hamilton, who is so good as to promise to see some of Lady Hereford's friends upon this business _ His Lordship will communicate with you upon the subject, and explain to you what papers, giving you any further information or directions that may be requisite towards the completion of this negotiation _

I am

Sir

Your most ob^{dt} Servt [illegible abbreviation]

&^c & &

Douglas & Clydesdale

Hamilton Palace

Jan^{ry} ye 13th 1815 _

P:S:

I should have subjoined that if any obligation on my part to secure the payment from the insurance office is required, I am ready to satisfy Lady Hereford's people on that point as far as in my power ____

Minutes of the Committee of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 22 June 1819 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 22 June 1819)

[...]

Thereafter M^r. Moncrieff read M^r. Bairds letter respecting the importance of M^r. Johnston of Meadowbank obtaining a lease of a small part of the Duke of Hamilton's coal, and the meeting seeing this in the same light and wishing to converse with M^r. Grahame on the subject they directed him to be asked to say when he was likely to be in Edinburgh.

[...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to the 2nd Earl of Liverpool, dated Grosvenor Place, London,
8 July [1819] (BL, Add. Ms 38278, f.182)

Grosvenor Place

July 8th

My Lord

In my situation it cannot, I am sure, surprize your Lordship to receive these few lines; altho' perhaps it may surprize you, not to have received them sooner __ I learn from the Herald's office, that the name of Hamilton has been so fortunate as to attract the notice of Lord Aberdeen, & that the Prince Regent, with that liberality that distinguishes his Royal Highness, has graciously made a sacrifice of it to the noble Earl _ As I must presume that it is by your Lordship's advice that this measure has been adopted; I hope I may be allowed to ask your Lordship, if you consider my name, as one (without even the ceremony of communication to myself) that may be multiplied at pleasure, and disposed of, in favour of whomsoever may think proper to apply for it _ When H: R: Highness was advised to confer this peculiar mark of honor upon my name, by adding to it that of Aberdeen, I am surprized your Lordship's kindness did not lead you to favour me with some intelligence of this so novel & so unusual a distinction __ Your Lordship will excuse me, if I further request to know (& some impatience is excusable concerning honors in reserve) whether the list of Hamiltons still to be made is numerous, & whether your Lordship intends to recommend them to the clemency of H:R:H: the Prince Regent; as in that case, feeling my own unworthiness, I should hope your Lordship would not deem me indiscreet in soliciting a promise of your support; to obtain for me some other person's name, that may be disposed of without impropriety _ I have the honor to be, My Lord, Your Lordship's most ob[^{?ed} or tl] & very h[^{?u} or le] Servant _ &c &c &c _ _

Hamilton & Brandon –

The Earl of Liverpool _

&c &c _ _

Minutes of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 23 July 1819 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 23 July 1819)

[...]

Thereafter M^r Moncrieff [the Clerk of the Union Canal Company] stated that he had fully discussed the matter of the coal wanted by M^r Johnstone on lease from the Duke of Hamilton and that M^r Grahame had readily agreed to do every thing in his power to accomplish this which he concurred in thinking one of the great importance to the Canal Company, and that with a view to this he is to meet M^r Moncrieff tomorrow at M^r Johnston's _

[...]

Minutes of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 27 July 1819 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 27 July 1819)

[...]

The last Minute being read M^r Moncrieff stated that he had met M^r Grahame by appointment at M^r Johnstones Coal field, and that after inspecting it M^r Johnston had agreed to make out a plan of the ground stating also the coal he wished to rent from the Duke of Hamilton and the Lordship he proposed to offer, and after receiving these M^r Grahame promised to wait on the Duke and endeavour to obtain lease for M^r Johnstone.

—

[...]

Alexander Young to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 7 February 1820 (HA, Bundle 1728)

Edin^r 7th. Feby 1820

My Dear Sir

M^r. Aytoun has delivered to me your Letter of yesterday's date, and from the short detail which he has already given of what past between the Duke and him, I am led to think that his last journey to Hamilton Palace will not have been in vain, in particular I have read his Draft of a Memoir regarding the Family Superiorities, of which I furnished the original idea myself, but seeing the Duke's contrary sentiments and intentions so often since avowed, I did not feel myself disposed to Bell-the-Cat with the Chief of the Clan Douglas, in matters where full confidence was not given, and his own judgement not convinced _ I am as clear as of my own existence, that the benefits likely to result from the plans suggested to his Grace will counterbalance all the trouble and expence of the late Election Contest at least three times over, if it be carried into effect _

And in another particular, the intelligence I have received from M^r. Aytoun gives me great satisfaction, I mean the Duke's purpose of building at Chatelherault, on which I have reason to plume myself, for when I took the liberty of objecting to his acquisition of the old houses and yards in that miserable Bourg adjoining to the Palace, I told him that a mere demonstration of making a Palace at Chatelherault was the best mode to insure his getting the whole at his own price, but independent of all such considerations, it will in all other respects be most advantageous to the Duke and his family, bring an accession of health and comfort, with a saving of money, & be a capital improvement in many respects, and a certain increase of Revenue _ These Haughs, as they are called, seem to me to have been a millstone about the necks of the Family, and I cannot but persuade myself that M^r & M^{rs}. Westenra will feel a little less confident of accomplishing their purpose when they hear of the Duke's resolution _

[...]

James Gillespie [Graham] to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 28 August 1820 (HA, Bundle 1761)

Edin^r 28th Augt
1820

My Dear Sir –

This is the first time I have put pen to paper since Wednesday last _ at which time I was taken seriously ill __ but by being promptly Bled by our friend D^r Gillespie I have been restord again but still extremely weak _

It is no doubt selfish on my part to be troubling you, but hearing that plans have be[en] advertizd for Public_Buildings for your County _ and knowing your sincere intention to promote my views in any thing within your power _ may I therefore beg to know what the resolutions of the County are with regard to these Buildings _

Altho I have made it a Rule not to enter into competitions yet I shall be much guided by your friendly advice __ I have the Dukes Castle in a state of forwardness _ Its long since I saw you _ have you any intention of being here soon? _ We have got a young Miss _ & Mrs Gillespie has had a good recovery beleve me

My Dear Sir

Yours most Sincerely

Jas: Gillespie

Draft letter from Robert Brown to Alexander Young, dated Hamilton, 26 November 1820 (HA, Bundle 1767)

Hamilton 26 Nov 1820

My Dear Sir

M^r. Aytoun arrived at this place early this morning and He is now engaged making out some memorandums as to the termination of the negotiation with M^r. Westenra: Having been absent for two days _ which I had devoted to M^r.. Carricks concerns, I found on my return home that Lord Arch^d.. had entered on a correspondence with M^r.. Westenra and had in fact agreed to pay the sum demanded. Such being the case I presume that all that remains to be done is for you and M^r.. Aytoun to see the transaction reduced to writing in a legal form _ and for his Grace to provide the funds to pay off this weighty debt _ on the last point I should wish to have some serious conversation with you and to consult you as to the propriety of selling off the detached Wings of Coa[t or l]s and of carrying into effect some excambions which I would recommend in the same way as We did in the 1814 _ For my part I have neither nerve or inclination to fight and struggle with a burden of this magnitude particularly when the Principal leaves the Country and us to our fate and perhaps cannot estimate the extent of our labours or the difficulties We must encounter in carrying him through with credit _ I begin to feel that my labours are endless and that I am almost as distant as ever from having the Dukes business in a shape that it can be managed with ease to myself _ In the year 1812 The Dukes debts were about £90,000 _ This year We had reduced them to about £30,000 and you know what a large sum was spent by his Grace in the interim on Arran on Kinniel & in Clydesdale on Improvements, and old Houses here, besides political expences. _ In the end We are brought back to the former £90,000 & though the Rental is encreased yet the general distress of the Country is such as to hold out no encouragement of a real encrease of revenue _ on the Contrary I am afraid that the incoming years will like Pharoahs lean kine eat up their predecessors. Still however with the benefit [of] similar advice & assistance as I have always recd from you I do not dispair getting over our new difficulties I have read over your letter to Lord Arch^d.. Hamilton and I am surprised to learn from it that the Duke is still harping on the same string about the value of M^{rs}.. Westenras claims _ I never knew of any estimate of them but one and if any one must plead guilty of being the author of it, I must, & I am always ready to avow & support it I always found you most anxious to get his Grace out of the

litigation & I need only point out our interview with M^r. Cranston and his Grace and of our getting Lord Arch^d. to write Miss Hamilton as two of many instances in which I knew you exerted yourself for that purpose _ But there is one observation I must make _ that I dislike the very idea of retrospective animadversions as they serve no other purpose than that of distressing one and perhaps irritating his feelings _ one minute spent in thinking well as to the future is worth days of deliberation as to the past. _ besides our time is too valuable to be mispent in this way; It is ones misfortune however sometimes to be connected with individuals who act and think otherwise for instance when I was last in the north a mutual employer of ours who I expected to make some use of my local knowledge & experience in suggesting something beneficial for the future managment of his Estates seemed rather inclined to occupy my time and attention on the antiquated subject of the misgovernment of his predecessors.

I send you inclosed the Note of cash remittances & I remain with much respect.

Dear Sir

Yours Faithfully

Robert Brown

Minutes of the Committee of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 1 May 1821 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 1 May 1821)

[...]

Thereafter the Correspondence relating to Sheilhill coal was read and the Committee are likely to meet the Duke of Hamilton's agents along with the Forth & Clyde Canal Committee on thursday the meeting authorised the deputation to say that if £50,000 tons shall be brought to Edinburgh within the year the dues will not exceed one penny p^r. ton p^r. mile.

If 10.000 tons more be carried 10p^r. cent disc^t. on 1st, 10.000
 on the 2^d. 10.000 tons more carried _ 20p^r. cent. d^o. _____
 on the 3^d. 10.000 „ _ „ _ „ _ 30p^r. cent d^o. _____
 on the 4th 10.000 _ „ _ „ _ „ _ 40p^r. cent d^o. _____
 & on the 5th 10.000 „ _ „ _ „ _ 50p^r. cent d^o. _____

[...]

Minutes of the Committee of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 8 May 1821 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 8 May 1821)

[...]

The deputation who met the Duke of Hamiltons agents at Grangemouth last week reported the substance of what passed but as the Duke is now only making trials, the meeting directed the Clerk in conjunction with M^r. Baird to prepare the outline of a general table of tolls for the consideration of the Committee

[...]

Minutes of the Committee of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 4 July 1821 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 4 July 1821)

[...]

There was laid before the meeting a sketch of the rates to be proposed to the Duke of Hamilton as those which would be levied on coal carried along the Canal. and Mess^{rs}. Downie, Munro, M^c.Culloch & Russell were authorised to meet the Duke's Agents on the subject on Thursday next.

[...]

James Gillespie [Graham] to Robert Brown, dated Bucks Head, 3 September 1821 (HA, Bundle 1781)

Bucks Head 3 Sep^r
1821

My Dear Sir

I was fav[u or o]red with yours & having had occasion to come here _ I have brought the Dukes plans with me _ and as you are to be at home _ I will have the pleasure of spending a night with you on Sunday _ as I have much to say to you _ I feel sensible that you will use your influence with his Grace to Obtain his future employment _ & altho he does not Build his Castle I hope he will not pass me in the contemplated addition _ & should be too happy even to prepare Working Drawings and take charge of the Building _ of any designs which he may have got at Rome _ or make such changes on his plans as he may want _

His Graces employment under any circumstances would be of vast advantage to me in my professional line ___ & my only hope is in your kind interference. _ with the most sincere regard

I ever am
My Dear Sir
yours most Sincerely
Jas Gillespie
in haste

Gillespie has added a postscript on the cover:

prehaps [i.e. perhaps] I may be with you on Friday _ or Saturday ___

James Gillespie [Graham] to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 25 September 1821 (HA, Bundle 1782)

Edin^r 25th Sep^r

1821

My Dear Sir

I see by the news paper that the Duke has arrived _ I wish to be advised by you whether I should send the Plans which I have prepared for his Grace with a written description or to wait on him in person _ as you know best _ be so kind as write me in course _ It is an age since we met. Will any thing be done to the present Fabric next year?

I ever am

My Dear Sir

yours most Sincerely

Jas: Gillespie

The 10th Duke of Hamilton's 'orders to Mr Aytoun to observe economy and to send my accmpts to my different factors', dated 26 October 1821 (HA, Bundle 680)

The large reduction of my rental & other circumstances render it necessary for me to introduce the most rigid economy into every branch of my expenditure _ On looking into my accmpts with M^r Young & & yourself of late years I find my expenditure has been very considerable, but the circumstances which occasioned that expenditure have in a great measure ceased & I have therefore to point out to you what I have resolved upon regarding my law business concerns for the future _

In the first place I hold it unnecessary to have a cashier, my money transactions being
a per
now limited to the payment of the interest of ~~the~~ heritable ~~debts~~ & personal debts _

In the second place as M^r Young by his letter to L^d Arch^d of 24th June last appears to have been [crossed out illegible word] law
~~be on~~ in advance for the whole of my annual ^ accmpts to his parteners which must be kept
unpleasant to all parties I hereby request that my accmpts in future shall be ~~seperated~~
under different heads _ that is, all political charges to be kept seperate and the accmpt
of them to be sent in half yearly to L^d Archd H: who has my orders after having
examined them to pay them forth with _

The ~~accmpts~~ charges for the business connected with the Lanarkshire estates will in
& at the same stated periods
like manner ^ be delivered to my factor at Hamilton who will in like manner discharge
them _

at Kinneil connected with the estates
My factor ^ is informed that he too will receive ~~all~~ & pay all accmpts ^ under his
management _ The factor in Arran will do the same for the business that covers that

Island _ ~~Should there be~~ Such legal business as does not come under these
denominations will be rendered half yearly to myself, for which I shall make the
immediate
necessary arrangements for ^ payment _

I need not observe that I am persuaded that M^r Young yourself & the other parteners of the concern will obligingly concur in giving effect to these my wishes, observing every species of economy ~~in the conducting the business my affairs~~ _ and doing no ^{not} ~~unnecessary~~ business excepting ~~this~~ for which there is ^ an absolute necessity _

it is my intention to avail ^{in Lanarkshire}
In regard to politics ^ my self [crossed out illegible word] of the family superiorities ^ but
not to involve myself by making new purchases and I have to request of you that in case
instance
it is thought necessarily in any particular ^ ~~ease~~ to deviate from the rule, that I may be
previously informed of it __

The reverse has been annotated by the Duke:

Oct y^e 26 1821

My orders to M^r: Aytoun to observe economy & to send my accompts to my diff^t
factors

C: H: & B:

The 10th Duke of Hamilton's 'Copy of direction given to Mr Brown and Mr Bauchop not to allow the interference of law agents', dated October 1821 (HA, Bundle 680)

Hamilton Palace October 1821 _

this letter [altered, illegible word: probably given] to M^r Brown
& M^r Bauchop

A plan

~~In the general~~ process of general economy ~~that~~ must ~~now~~ be adopted in every branch of
henceforward
my affairs _ I have already specified the same to you, & I shall expect ^ a diminution of
one forth in the expenditure at Kinneil _
the

~~The~~ one branch of ^ greatest importance you will attend to & that is the law agency _
charges ~~charges~~ in as they must be
All the ^ ~~business business~~ in this department connected with Kinneil & occasioned ^ by
be
yourself your own applications, ~~will be delivered to required by you~~ will ^ given in half
will have to discharge the same & you
yearly to yourself ^ ~~& &~~ you will be held responsible that no unnecessary business is
or carried on ~~upon any account~~
created ^ _ You are not to apply to ~~the~~ [crossed out illegible word] my agents in Edin^r.
legal
or in Linlithgow unless when legal discussion or the drawing up of some ^ deed requires
their interference _ Nobody is to be called in ~~you are not to call~~ in the interference of
~~any body~~ either for the business of the coal or the estate unless you find it absolutely
necessary _

The reverse of the 'Copy', which is clearly a draft, is annotated:

Oct _ 1821 _

Copy of direction given to M^r Brown & M^r Bauchop not to allow the
interference of law agents _

CH&B

James Somerville Fownes to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Lincolns Inn, 3 November 1821 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 39, ff.56-7)

My Lord Duke,

The answer your Grace favored me with to my Letter of the 5th.. Ult^o was forwarded to me into North Wales, where I have been passing three weeks with my Family, and from whence I am but lately returned _

I have since had several communications with the Chev^r. Franchi on the subject of renewing the treaty with your Grace, in the hope of relieving M^r. Beckford from his present difficulties, and preserving the English Estates for himself and your family _ and I am given to understand it is your Grace's wish, that I should, on M^r. Beckford's behalf, submit for the consideration of yourself, and M^r. Brown, a Counter proposal, in the hope that your Grace may be enabled to accomplish the objects in view _

I shall therefore proceed to state to your Grace the absolute necessity for an early payment to M^r.. Beckford's Merchants of £30,000, towards reduction of the Debt of £40,000 remaining due to them, without which, they have intimated their inability, during the depressed state of West India produce, to continue their present quarterly payments to M^r. Beckford, on the payment of the Interest of £50,000 paid of the Mortgages on the Fonthill Estate (amounting in the whole to £70,000) which they have hitherto discharged and which has tended considerably to increase the balance due to them

If these resources are stopped the Fonthill Estate must inevitably be brought to an early sale; it being impracticable to sell any part of the West India property at this time, without making a dreadful sacrifice _

My proposal therefore on M^r. Beckford's behalf is, that your Grace should advance the £30,000 within a given period, say 6 Months, should it be practicable _ but if not, we think we could arrange with the Merchants to be satisfied with £20,000 to be paid within that period and the remaining £10,000 within 12 or 18 Months _ and that your Grace should as proposed take upon yourself the payment of the Interest of the Fonthill Mortgages amounting to £3,500 Per annum, during M^r. Beckford's life

If these advances should suit your Grace's convenience it is proposed that the reversion of all the Freehold and Leasehold Estates at Fonthill and of the Leaseholds held under the Bishop of Salisbury (the particulars of which M^r. Brown is apprized of)

including the Advowson of Fonthill and M^r. Beckford's Interest in the Borough of Hindon (which latter I am authorized to say he would give your Grace the immediate controul of) shall be settled subject to his life interest on your Grace absolutely, charged in addition to the Mortgages for £70,000 with a certain sum in favor of the Children of the late M^{rs}. Orde not exceeding £10,000 payable after M^r. Beckford's death as suggested by your Grace and to which M^r. Beckford does not object _

The only reservation M^r. Beckford makes is the controul over the Timber and woods and from your Grace's knowledge of M^r. Beckford you will rest satisfied that no improper use will be made of such a power _

Under this arrangement your Grace would eventually pay £110,000 for the reversion of the Estates independent of the £3,500 Per annum during M^r. Beckfords life

—
From the great reductions now making in the Establishment at Fonthill and other arrangements as to the Estates in hand I entertain sanguine hopes that M^r. Beckford will in future derive a considerable Income from the Fonthill Estates which has not hitherto been the case; but even with this addition it is calculated that during the present depressed state of Colonial produce M^r. Beckford's net Income will not after payment of the Interest of his remaining Debts (which it is proposed to discharge by Sale of the Draxhall Estate in Jamaica when an eligible opportunity shall offer) and other annual charges exceed £4,000 Per annum at the utmost which I have no doubt your Grace will agree in thinking is the least sum M^r. Beckford can be expected to be satisfied with

I cannot conclude without remarking that M^r. Brown's valuation of the Estates is considerably less than M^r. Beckford's Agents estimate them at _ and that no value is put on the Leaseholds Advowson or Buildings the latter of which have cost M^r. Beckford not less than £150,000 on the most moderate calculation, and considered merely as Materials they are very valuable

I sincerely hope this Counter proposal will meet your Grace's convenience but if not I shall with pleasure give any further proposal which may be suggested on the basis of the present due consideration and if the preliminaries are agreed upon there will be no difficulty in carrying the formal part of the arrangement into effect _

I have the honor to be, My Lord Duke

Your Graces most obed^t.

Lincolns Inn

and faithful humble Serv^t.

3 Nov^r. 1821

James Somerville Fownes

His Grace the Duke of
Hamilton & Brandon

View of M^r. Fownes demand for
Fonthill &^c –

Original Debt _____	£70,000
Interest of this sum for M ^r Beckford's life _____	£62,000
+ M ^r . Fownes asks an advance of _____	30 000
+ Interest of this for M ^r B's life _____	26 500
+ Power of burdening the Estate to	
M ^{rs} Ordes Family at his death	<u>10,000</u> <u>128 500</u>
	£198,500

Instructions written by the 10th Duke of Hamilton below a drawing of part of the ground floor of Hamilton Palace, annotated 'Dining room', 'N^o 1 hall' and 'N^o 2 hall', dated Hamilton Palace, 5 November 1821 (HA, Bundle 1228)

Hamilton Palace Nov^r y^e 5th 1821 _

When the wall is built up or renewed, as it shall be found requisite – in the dining room if requisite four new pillars will be put up, similar to the four already in the room __ In the hall n[e or o]w divided in two by the wall marked by me, which must be substantially built raising up the galery floor above – N^o 1. of the four pillars, the two centre ones must be removed & placed as marked in my drawing _ N^o 2 the same thing must be done, changing the two centre pillars __ The present circular form of the hall must be brought to its original square shape, & the window now shut up in N^o. 1 hall, looking to the south, must be opened __ In building up the two windows, N^o 1 hall the one on the right hand side of the chimney piece must be arched over, and all the wood wainscoat that is taken down carefully preserved __ The windows at the back of the gallery are to be bricked up __ When this operation is going on in the hall, N^o 1 and N^o 2 the stones that have failed in the pavement sh^d be replaced __

The window-frames of brass ordered, should be put up immediately after the glasses can be fixed in them, & exposed in different parts of the building to see how they resist __

Care must be taken to replace a lintile broken in one of the windows of the red drawing room, (the 4th I think from the body of the building) the building has given way a little in consequence of this stone not having been replaced sooner – examine too under the three corner windows if anything can be done; there seems to be something wrong __

C:H:&B:

Minutes of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 18 December 1821
(NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 18 December 1821)

[...]

The Clerks letter to Lord Archibald Hamilton of [space left blank] ins^t. was read and approved and also his letter of 15. ins^t. to M^r. Campbell respecting the measurement of the land on the Callendar Estate

[...]

Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton Palace, 1 January 1822
(Bod, MS. Beckford c. 39, ff.29-30)

Hamilton Palace 1 Jan^y 1822

My Lord Duke

Inclosed your Grace will receive copy letter of 13 december from Mess^{rs}. Fownes & White to me with my answer respecting the negotiation as to M^r Beckfords Estates. _

This subject has been so Often discussed that I am sure I need not say much more to Your Grace regarding it _ Your Grace will see from my letter that I still adhere to my former opinion that the English Estates are not worth more than the debt of £70,000 and the interest of that sum during the probability of M^r Beckfords life and I must with much deference advise you not to exceed that if you even go that length,

_ Mess^{rs}. Fownes & White point at your advancing £10,000 or £15,000 but if you do so you ought to get a security over the personality to that amount & regular payment of the interest, _

Your Grace is aware that unless I succeed in raising a considerable sum on the Coal Leases and from the Sales of Wood you will have great difficulty in commanding even the lesser of these sums particularly at a time when your Rents are suffering an abatement of nearly £10,000 p^r., Ann and when you are under engagements for five years to come to pay M^{rs}.. Westenra £10,000 annually exclusive of periodical interest and that over and above £8500 p^r. ann pay^l. to your Brother & Sisters and to the Marchioness of Exeter _ I say _ nothing of the interest of your own debts nor of the political expences to which you are subjected in Lanarkshire

_ Surely as M^r. Beckford is disposed to save Fonthill for your Family He will make some sacrifice to accomplish so desireable an object and most unquestionably when you make known to him that you cannot proceed in this business beyond the limits of prudence and give more for his Estates than they would sell for if exposed to the public He must be satisfied. _

I am about to procure the Teak wood you want from Liverpool & I shall pick up the different sorts of good fir wanted just as I can find it _ I am afraid the old oak will not answer the purpose of inside finishing and therefore have desired Campbell to disist

from cutting down any more of it _ Perhaps we must still have recourse to a few trees from Barmichael Wood in place of the former. _

The Valuation of the Wood in the Lordship of Wearsdale is going on and is turning out faverable & now soon I can get away from here _ I mean to go up and see M^r. Lamb, who promises to make every exertion in letting the House and says He is in treaty with a Gentleman [damage to letter] it who He expects to become Tenant I will try when I go south what can be done in the way of pushing on a final settlement bext Lamb & the late Dukes Exers & write M^r Goodeve on the Subject _ I will in the meantime press Bauchop & Paterson to make remittances to Hoares. & I have the honor to remain w^t the highest respect _ My Lord Duke _

Your mo; ob: hu^e., Sert

Robert Brown

Note: The top left-hand corner of the letter has been annotated 'Fonthill business' by the 10th Duke of Hamilton.

Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton Palace, 2 January 1822
(Bod, MS. Beckford c. 39, ff.31-3)

Hamilton Palace 2 Jan^y
1822 __

My Lord Duke

The matters noted in the Memd^m. which your Grace left with me when you went away have all been attended to excepting two and these are the prolongation of the avenue through Raith & the building of the stone wall from the Town to Hamilton Bridge _ With regard to the first as the farm of Raith is under Lease for another year it will be troublesome to arrange with the Tenant for the ground needed and moreover it involves a separate negotiation with the Grass Tenant of Bothwellhaugh, so that I wish your Grace could be prevailed on to let this improvement stand over for another year; and as to the other I wish you would also delay it too for another year, when the Bridge will be repaired, whereby you will be enabled to finish it in one season & join it with the Bridge at once in the way you wish it _ There is another reason for your limiting your operations for next season & that is the expence _ Is not Your Grace about to engage in building an addition to the Palace are you not under heavy engagements to M^{rs} Westenra which must be paid _ Is there not a possibility of your going on with the transaction with M^r. Beckford which will require an advance of £13,500 within a year _ May not you reckon on £2,000 or more being spent by you for Lord Archd in the purchase of superiority and political expences and also that it will cost you a sum of money to set your coal works agoing _ While on the other hand the agricultural distress in which your tenantry as well as others are involved must diminish your means of expenditure. _ If great and important matters are to be attended to and carried through lesser ones must be suspended. _ Before I came to Hamilton and even too much since, has not your Graces income been fittered away in small matters and of the thousands on thousands which have been spent what are the Vestigazes that remain to be seen.? Had the funds thus disposed of been husbanded as they ought you might now have paid Cash for the Fonthill Estates and built an addition to the Palace in the same year _ It is not the consequences of large and important investments of capital that I dread for these are seen, arrangements made to answer them and Value got in return and whereby you ought to be enriched in place of being impoverished _ but it is the constant eating & consuming expenditure in a great number of small things none of which are of much

import taken singly but when added together are formidable and overwhelming while in the end they make no return, which alarms me. _ Witness the recent purchases made here which cost at least £30,000 _ besides much legal expence and do not yield £60, pr. ann _ Really it is a source of vexation to me that I was employed in them for no man of business can have credit by such things.

In my last I transmitted to your Grace a statement of the progress of the negotiation with M^r Beckfords Agents and I cannot help observing that I hope your Grace will judge coolly and deliberate maturely on that subject before adopting any hasty decision regarding it _ I am well aware of the justness of the Views of both Lord Archibald and the Duchess on that important subject _ They certainly state with reason that the acquisition must add to your pecuniary difficulties _ that it must encrease your already numerous establishments and detach your Family in some measure from Scotland while it might tend to embroil you with M^r Beckford _ But do they not see that if you do secure these properties you get fair value for your money _ that if you do encrease the number of your Seats you will have at least one fit for a Family residence and one in a quiet pleasant country where moveable property would be safe and such a Seat as ought to supercede expensive improvements here. _ They must also be aware that the residence Here is becoming every day less inviting _ The very circumstances of the establishment of the half Bedlam half Hospital by M^r. Owen behind Logans, the setting down Iron & Coal works betwixt Motherwell & Airblas with the encreasing manufacturing and pauper population of Hamilton and its Vicinity ready on any popular commotion to overturn and destroy every kind of property that is in their way, must drive the Family of Hamilton from this place as a residence at no great distance of time. _ And I ask your Grace what claim have ' the Gentry of Lanarkshire I mean the great body of them, or the leading people of Scotland to this good will or this countenance of you and your Family or to your residence amongst them _ who notwithstanding your Patriotic & disinterested services to this country ever since you came amongst them have Shown every thing but gratitude. _ With respect to the unpleasant results that the proposed arrangements might give ' rise to with M^r. Beckford I do not foresee them _ Trustees would be interposed between you and him so that neither of you would have any thing to say in the matter for you would both be essentially tied down _ M^r. Beckford could not be so totally lost to all right feeling and good principles as not to be gratefull to you for stepping forward embarrassed as you are with your own concerns

and saving the [illegible word: wreath] of his Estate and thereby affording him an assylum in his old age _ But to be left to his fate and in the power of strangers in his latter days and in distress, by his only relations and these two so nearly connected and on so intimate a footing with him, after He has thrown himself on their protection, could scarcely fail to drive him to distraction; and might lead to no very pleasant feelings hereafter either on your part and that of the Duchess or on that of your son. Half measures will not do and if M^r. Beckfords affairs are to be retrieved He must place them in such hands and allow them to be managed in such a way as to hold out certain prospects of their salvation _ The matter should be fairly opened to him by some friend and if He then pursists in a contrary course neither He nor the public can blame Your Grace for want of filial duty. ____

In conclusion all I beg of your Grace is to think before you decide either way and then act with decision ____

May I hope to be foregiven for writing to your Grace on this occassion with that freedom and sincerity which nothing but the dictates of duty and sincere attachment to your person and the best interests of yourself and Family could have induced me to do. _ And may I request that this letter be considered as strictly confidential

I have the honor to be with the highest respect

My Lord Duke

Your mo: ob: humble Servant _

Robert Brown

His Grace The Duke of
Hamilton & Brandon
Paris

Note: The top left-hand corner of the letter has been annotated 'Fonthill business ____' by the 10th Duke of Hamilton.

Agreed Table of Dues recorded in the Minutes of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 5 March 1822 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 5 March 1822)

[...]

___ Coal ___

1st On all Coal carried on the Canal

8 Miles & under that distance _____ 2^d P Ton P Mile.

Above 8 Miles & not exceeding 12 Miles 1³/₄ ___ D^o. ___

„ 12 _____ 16 _____ 1¹/₂ ___ D^o. ___

„ 16 _____ 20 _____ 1¹/₄ ___ D^o. ___

„ 20 & upwards _____ 2/3 Per Ton per Trip ___

To encourage the Coal trade a Wharfage of only 1^d P Ton will be charged, but all Coal passing through a Lock, and which shall not be carried a distance on the Union Canal of at least 15 miles, will be charged the full Wharfage of 2^d P Ton.

[...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Thomas's Hotel, 28 March [1822] (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Records of T.J & W.A. Dykes, Executory Papers of Robert Brown)

Thomas's Hotel

March y^e 28th

Your letter; My good Sir, of the 24^h instant will render it necessary for me to enter upon a subject (I mean with regard to yourself) which I had intended to have postponed untill my arrival in Scotland; not that it had escaped my attention ____

[...]

I now come to the subject I alluded to before of equally delicacy & interest; I mean my good Sir yourself ____ To estimate the friendly anxiety & devotion you have manifested in my concerns by a sum of money, cannot be done; I hold you & your feelings towards me beyond price _ When we meet we can discuss this matter; & I am sure; allowing you as I do to arbitrate in my concerns where you are not interested, I would equally & with the same confidence desire you to arbitrate where your interest is combined with mine, & if one of the two necessarily ought to be sacrificed, I know you too well to beleive that it would be mine ____ I will not enter into details at present, but I will say thus much; you have taken upon yourself much more additional trouble of late years than you exonerated yourself from by the employment of Paterson; I therefore must insist, that from Jan^r 1822 the £300 factory of Arran, be carried to my debit in the accounts of the Island seperate from yours, & that the said sum of £300 be allowed to remain as a part of your factory, liberated from the Arran charge altogether ____ I have little time at present or I should say more upon this subject, but I do not think it necessary, as I am persuaded that my motives & my feelings are known to you, and that they form the pact between us more than any arithmetical calculation ____

[...]

David Hamilton to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Glasgow, 29 April 1822 (HA, Drawing 68)

Glasgow

29th., April 1822.

His Grace The Duke of Hamilton

My Lord Duke

I was honoured with Your Grace' very correct and explicit letter, and explanatory Sketches of Hamilton Palace. I return Your Grace my best thanks for the condescending and kind manner in which Your Grace has been pleased to notice the general designs; they were made merely to serve Your Grace to suggest improvements and arrangements upon.

From the form of the addition being only a Facade as it were, without back space out of the way, behind the suite of Apartments, (as in most cases this is to be had,) considerable difficulty occurs in the kind of Stair that should be adopted, so as to embrace the greatest number of local advantages; M^r Brown and myself being aware that Your Grace might require time to ascertain this and other things of the Plans; and for the better leaving of Your Grace at full liberty afterwards to form any kind of arrangements that may offer best, without being shackled with the old wall, after great deliberation, taking all the circumstances into view, the wall from the high winds in the early part of the season, sustained considerable additional injury, We considered it an imperious duty in losing no time in taking of it down, and rebuilding it in a substantial manner, so as to correspond with any after distribution of apartments in the Plan, and are now completely satisfied with having so proceeded; for when striped and laid open, it shewed to have been in a more hazardous state than could have been well imagined, being completely rent and split in the heart, without band of any kind, so as to have allowed the smoke and fire of the different chimnies to have communicated all over that part of the Building; to the great danger of the whole Palace, and the irraparable loss of works of Art

The wainscot of that part of the Gallery has been safely taken off, and will be replaced without the least injury; The joists of the different floors and roof well supported, and the whole will be completed and put in the same state as it was, in the course of a few weeks.

I have no hesitation in assuring Your Grace that the mode of supporting the Gallery Joists is upon well ascertained principles, and will be executed in a sufficient

and substantial manner, so as to bear every kind of weights that can ever be required upon them.

Your Grace has very properly pointed at, that the ends of the joists may be too short into the wall, which really turns out that they are so, but this defect will be remedied by the margin beams, laid immediately under their ends, which will give them at least ten inches of additional bearing. Along with M^r. Browns good advice, in making these alterations, every thing will be will be studied to make them substantial, and to correspond as much as possible with Your Grace' after operations.

In the annexed Sketches as Your Grace suggested, the Rooms are drawn 40 feet wide; this may be too great a width for the height of Ceilings, they being only 16 feet high, and except in the two Great Flank Rooms, this height cannot be easily encreased, without descending from the new passage, into the present Chambers over Gallery, which will be intolerable, or, otherwise allowing the Old Bedrooms to communicate through one another, a case equally bad. But the Rooms upon the Principal Floor may be brought into proportion by insulated Columns, this is a mode Your Grace is well acquainted with; At the same time those squat Ceilings, well managed, might be made to have a great air of old heavy grandeur, a style not unsuitable for Hamilton Palace; _ Perhaps 35 feet at most of width, may be sufficient for these Rooms.

The Sketches are merely made to enable Your Grace to see the relative situation and kind of Stairs, with the local advantages and disadvantages;

In Your Graces' Sketch of the Ground Floor, Peirs are marked for bearing the vaulting, which is extremely correct; I had represented columns as a form less liable to interrupt the light; if columns are adopted they should be of the oldest Greek paestum.

I am preparing an Estimate of the general expense of the work which will be forwarded to Your Grace with as little delay as possible

My Lord Duke

I have the Honour to be,

with very great respect,

Your Grace' obedient and humble Serv^t., _

David Hamilton

Note: Some words – such as ‘at’ (rather than ‘out’) at the start of the fourth paragraph – suggest that this letter is a neat copy with mistakes.

There are two alternative sets of plans for the ground and first floors of the palace on the reverse.

David Hamilton to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Glasgow, 28 June 1822 (HA, Bundle 606)

Glasgow 28th June, 1822.

His Grace The Duke of Hamilton.

My Lord Duke.

I was honoured with Your Grace's very satisfactory Letter of the 13th, May, the contents of which I will make it my study to attend to. Replacing the plaster entablature of the Gallery with one of oak, as Your Grace directs will be an excellent improvement, at the same time the opportunity will be taken to make it in a more correct taste agreeable to the other parts of the finishing which is very good. The supporting the floor of the Gallery is now about completed in a substantial manner, giving the whole an equal and firm bearing which was much wanted, a number of the old joists being insufficient in strength, and others with their ends much decayed in the walls, which the new beams is a complete security for. In rebuilding the North wall care has been taken to place the three openings in the Ground Entrance Hall, uniform, and of a proper width corresponding with the opposite door and windows upon the South side, having been formerly placed without attention to this. A plan has been made for ascertaining the placing of the doors and chimnies in the Chambers over the Gallery, so as will best suit the Rooms and the Passages afterwards to be made.

All the drainage of every kind will be particularly attended to in making working drawings for that purpose.

For freeing the walls from damp, making the foundations of whinstone (a nonconductor of water) where it can be had in large and shapely dimensions, rarely the case; but otherwise an excellent way is to build the foundations of the ordinary freestone, and immediately below the level of the floors, to lay a course of Dundee or Kilmaronock strong flags, neatly and closely jointed; This last mode allows of more equal and regular built foundations, than whinstone generally does from their unshapely form. Lead is more expensive and is always crushed to pieces with the weight over it, of course useless; except, it is laid betwixt planks of sawn timber, which is never desirable to use in foundations, where not absolutely requisite for security upon a bad bottom, not the case at Hamilton.

Mr., Brown has been very industrious, and at great pains in collecting from all the quarries around, samples of the best stone for the hewn work, and has put some of the most likely ones into the hands of Mr., Charles Macintosh, an excellent Chemist, and I was very happy to witness the result, in his Laboratory; very fortunately the stone that proves best by the chemical tests, is of the finest colour, will make the handsomest work, and can be raised in blocks of large dimensions; It is really a very beautiful stone; I am quite of Your Grace's mind, the architectural parts of the Fronts, should be executed in a bold prominent, manner, every feature made to tell out, and affected with the fewest joints, of course with the largest stones, which constitutes a great perfection in Masonry; those of the rustic courses are not intended to be of lesser sizes than Your Grace mentions.

Before preparing Building Plans, and laying foundations it will be requisite that Your Grace should be perfectly satisfied with the general arrangement upon the Principal floor, even if possible the kind of Stair that is ultimately to be gone upon; without this precaution, after-thoughts may be the cause of regret, as those foundations establishes once for all, the formation of the superstructure: For the better enabling Your Grace, to think what effect it might have, to throw the Great Stair behind the grand Suite, I have taken the liberty of laying before Your Grace, slight sketches of three Principal Floors, all upon the same principle, but differing in some respects; The Stair in No 1, and No 2, will be attended with some advantages, being central, and commanding the Passages upon the Chamber Floor, without loss of front space, beside allowing the Principal Rooms to be made more proportionable to their heights, which in the other designs this is somewhat sacrificed, for giving them more width than is requisite, so as to give breadth of Passages in the Under and Upper Floors: In N^o 1. the Elevation to the West is more complete, without the connexion at A being carried on to the present, or that part of the Court, afterwards to be built, (see this effect in No 2.). No 3 is drawn for Your Grace to think if it might be of any advantage to front the two Great Rooms to what I would call the Principal aspect; to shew how this might affect the Principal Front, a Sketch is here sent, which Your Grace's good taste will make the best comments upon: It may be thought the parts are too much compressed, but this might be an advantage in some points of view, when approaching the Portico. In my opinion bringing forward the Portico, for giving room to the Great Stair, will have a good effect, shewing part of the flanks as it were, of the temple; This projection will likewise have

the advantage of the rays of the Sun, early in the day, playing amongst the columns, giving light and shade, very desirable in that aspect being somewhat to the North; but all this I submit to Your Grace, and beg Your Grace will pardon me for all this plague, I trust Your Grace will think it proceeds from a strong impression of my duty, and the great anxiety I have that every circumstance connected with the new Addition at the Palace be made the most of while it is still in time.

All the ornaments, mouldings, and parts of the mason work, will be made out upon an extended scale, as well as the Building Plans, and submitted for Your Grace's approbation, before beginning the work; Of this the miniature sketches give little or no idea.

I have made a calculation of the expense of the whole Masonry, which will cost £7,900. the other departments of the work are not so easily ascertained, as much will depend upon the stile of finishing the Apartments that Your Grace may go upon, but supposing it finished similar to the present work it will cost £9,900. in all £17,800.

I have examined Colin Campbell's Plans of Wanstead House (he was the Architect) and from what I remember of it, from the difference of the size of the Apartments there, from those intended by Your Grace, and other circumstances, there is little of it that could be used with propriety at Hamilton, except, it might be flooring. I think there is nothing valuable in the work, but what can be better effected at present; That House was built in Grinling Gibbons time, but I think there is none of his celebrated carving amongst the wainscoting.

My Lord Duke

I have the honour to be,

with very great respect,

Your Grace's

Obedient and Humble Serv^t.,

David Hamilton

Note: Somebody – possibly the 10th Duke – has annotated the top of the letter 'Homilton [i.e. Hamilton] architecture' and 'Architecture' in pencil.

Proposals submitted to the Duke of Hamilton, dated 6 August 1822 on the reverse (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 39, ff.58-9)

Proposals submitted to the Duke of Hamilton

1st The Duke to insure to M^r. Beckford an Annuity for his life (by quarterly payments, the first quarterly payment to be made on 1st November 1822) of£4000: _ : _

2nd The Duke to pay the following Life Annuities viz^t. _

M^{rs} Orde's children £300 _

Chev^r. Franchi 400.

Abbè Macquin 100.

D^r Verdeil 100.

M^r. Chardin 100.

1000. _ _

To commence at the same period.

3rd The Duke to pay down to M^r. Beckford £6000_ to enable him to pay two Bonds one to Mess^{rs}. Morland and the other to Mess^{rs}. Rundell & C^o. for that Amount which will enable M^r. Beckford to retain some of the pictures & valuables at the Abbey, which he is desirous of preserving in the Family, the produce of which would be otherwise applied in the discharge of those Bonds. _

4th The Duke to discharge the Debt to Campbell which is estimated to Amount from £25000. to £30,000_ but the Amount is yet unascertained.

5th The Duke to secure the payment of £5000_ to each of the Miss Orde's payable at the death of M^r. Beckford _

6th M^r Beckford to enjoy the whole of the Fonthill Estates including the Borough and have full controul over the Woods during his life _

If these proposals are acceded to M^r. Beckford engages to discharge the Mortgages and all Incumbrances on the Fonthill Estates out of the produce of his remaining Jamaica Estates which it is calculated will produce at least £80,000. _ and will convey the reversion of the Fonthill Estates to the Duke in fee _

Note: The back of the folded document is inscribed: '6 Aug^t. 1822. / Proposals submitted / to the Duke of Hamilton.' The 10th Duke of Hamilton has added 'Beckford' and 'Letters concerning M^r B / proposal to me about / Fonthill _ to be put into / the Charter room / CH&B / Oct^r = 18th = 1822'.

James Somerville Fownes to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated 7 August 1822 and probably enclosed in Fownes's letter to the Duke dated 8 August 1822 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 39, f.62)

7th August 1822.

In elucidation of the intention of M^r. Beckford as to the Mortgages on the Fonthill Estates it is to be understood that in the event of the clear annual produce of the Jamaica Estates after payment of the Supplies and Contingencies till the Sale of those Estates can be effected not being sufficient to discharge the Interest of the Mortgages and the Interest of the £10,000. _ estimated to be remaining due to Mess^{rs}.. Plummer then that the deficiency whatever it may be shall be paid by the Duke _ And in the event of the Sale of the Jamaica Estates not producing the clear net sum of £80,000. _ that so much of the principal of the Mortgages after discharging the £10,000. to Mess^{rs}.. Plummer as the produce of the Sale shall not extend to pay shall continue a charge on the Fonthill Estates and the Interest thereof shall be paid by the Duke but if the Jamaica Estates shall produce more than the clear nett sum of £80,000. then the Duke shall be repaid out of such excess whatever sums he may have paid for interest on the Mortgages and Mess^{rs}.. Plummers debt.

A valuation of the Jamaica Estates is expected by the next packet.

James Somerville Fownes to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Lincolns Inn, 8 August 1822 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 39, ff.63-4)

My Lord Duke

The proposal last submitted to your Grace on the part of M^r. Beckford was only prepared the mornng I had the honor of an interview with you, from the instructions received from him at my late visit to him at Bath and his subsequent communication with the Chevalier Franchi _ A copy of the proposal was by yesterday's post transmitted to M^r Beckford with the inclosed rider which I beg leave to hand to your Grace in elucidation of that proposal, & in order that there may be no misunderstanding in regard to M^r Beckford's intentions with respect to the discharge of the Mortgages as far as the produce of the Jamaica Estates when sold may enable him; but as from the present state of West India Affairs it is uncertain whether any Sale can be effected which can realise the sum expected & it is evident that unless there is a material change in the Market the income of the Jamaica Estate will fall very short of discharging the Interest of the Mortgages, it is proper your Grace should be fully apprized that M^r Beckford will have no other source from which these incumbrances can be provided for; but in the case of a deficiency, a mortgage to that extent might remain on the Fonthill Estate, your Grace engages to pay the Interest of it _

I fear that M^r Beckford's views cannot be met in any other manner than what is now suggested, should he have any observations to make on the written proposal, I shall take the liberty of troubling your Grace further _

Sincerely hoping that an arrangement may be effected with your Grace for the future comfort & happiness of M^r Beckford & to preserve the property in the Family

I have the honor

to be

My Lord Duke

Y^r. Grace's most

obe^d & faithful Servt

Ja^s Somerville Fownes

Lincolns Inn

8 Aug^t. 1822

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

Note: There is a more legible copy of this, with slightly different orthography, at f.67.

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to James Somerville Fownes, dated Holyroodhouse, 11 August [1822] (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 39, ff.65-6)

Holyroodhouse

August the 11^h _

Sir

I have received your Letter of the 8^h. August with the inclosed note in addition to the proposal given to me in London _ I have not yet seen any of my Agents so as to consider the matter in the way of business; I wish to assist Mr Beckford, but I must say that the present proposition appears to me to create insurmountable difficulties _ To enter into an obligation to discharge the interest of mortgages without knowing the amount of the same. _ To answer for any deficiency that may remain of the debts upon the Fonthill estates beyond the produce of the Sales in Jamaica without knowing what those Sales may produce; and to engage to meet the result of a Law suit without the amount being ascertained or any sum being fixed as the Ultimatum to which it may lead are proposals that I know not how to meet _ my affection for Mr Beckford would lead me to make any specified & limited Sacrifice that was within my power, but to engage in obligations without Knowing their extent, as a man of business you must feel would be exposing myself & family in transactions of so extensive a nature to difficulties that no man can or ought to encounter _

I have sent you these few lines in the hurry of business here without being able to enter into detail, that you may see that without some thing more clear & definitive it will be next to impossible for me to interfere _ When I have more time I will reconsider the proposals laid before me, but I think I owe it to Mr Beckford and the regard I feel for him to state immediately the first impression your Letter has produced _ With esteem & regard I have the honor to be

Sir your most O^t Ser

Note: The 10th Duke has annotated the top left hand corner of the letter 'my letter to M^r Fownes'.

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to James Somerville Fownes, dated Hamilton Palace, 3 September [1822] (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 39, ff.70-1)

Hamilton Palace

Sep^r y^e 3^d

Sir

In my former letter I explained to you the difficulties under which I laboured, in consequence of the proposition you had laid before me, in regard to M^r Beckford's affairs, not being definitive _ To answer for a debt without knowing the extent of it, & to engage to pay a sum of money without knowing what that sum was, were things that I did not know how to answer _ I have however, Since I have had a few moments to myself, examined the state of my own affairs, to see, independant of the former difficulties, what I was in a situation to do; & I feel called upon (however reluctantly I do it) to declare, that it is impossible for me to engage to pay M^r Beckford £5000 per annum and make large advances besides _ I have not the money, & were I to engage for a similar obligation, it is more than probable that I Should not be able to make it good _ I must therefore beg you will be so good as to express my regrets to M^r B:; but to tell him candidly, that it is not in my power to engage to pay to him the sum of £5000 per annum & make the other payments he requires _ Whatever might be the value of the reversion of the estate, I have not a sufficient command of money (consistent with my other obligations) to enter into such an agreement _ Do not forget to add how grieved I am to find myself in this situation; but it is better to be candid, than to mislead M^r Beckford _

I feel happy in having an opportunity of assuring you of those sentiments of esteem with which I have the honor to be

Sir

Your very Sincere

& most ob [illegible abbreviations]

& &

C:H:& B:

Abstract of Sundry Tradesmen's Accounts for additions, alterations and repairs to
Hamilton Palace, March – October 1822 (HA, Bundle 665)

Abstract of Sundry Tradesmens Accounts paid
out by Robert Brown for additions to and Alter:
ations and Repairs done on Hamilton Palace
Anno 1822.

1822

March	4	Paid James Lindsay & C ^{oy} Glasgow to Acco ^t of price of wood _____	£√ 200
April	8	Paid Gavin Dalziel for Carriage of Timber from Glasgow _____	√ 16 5 ..
June	15	Paid William Roy Boness for price of Timber _____	√ 304 18 8
		Paid James Milne & C ^{oy} Grangemouth for do _____	√ 50
	26	Paid Adam Mosman Liverpool for do _____	√ 140 11 3
Aug ^t .	7	Paid John Davidson & C ^{oy} Glasgow for Freight & of Timber _____	√ 27 4 ..
Sept ^f	16	Paid Andrew Hamilton for Carriage of Lime _____	√ 10 13 ..
	18	Paid John MacGhee for Carriage of Stones & _____	√ 16 10 ..
		Paid James MacGhee for do __ of __ do _____	√ 28 16 ..
		Paid James Govan for Mason work _____	√ 439 1 10
	20	Paid Andrew Mackie for Carriage of Stones & _____	√ 19 16 ..
		Paid Cleland & Muir for Lime _____	√ 6 14 ..
	21	Paid James Henderson for Lime _____	√ 23 6 8
		Paid James Fairley & C ^{oy} for Blacksmith work _____	√ 35 16 3
		Paid James Roxburgh & C ^{oy} for Nails & _____	√ 28 6 9
		Paid Alexander Mac Donald for Painter work _____	√ 15 11 1 ⁶ /
		Paid John Rowat for Carpenter work _____	√ 207 10 6
		Paid ___ D ^o ___ for Quarrying Stones _____	√ 56 12 ..
	25	Paid Hugh Wright for Plaster work _____	√ 104 11 6 ⁶ /
	28	Paid Selkirk & Hamilton for Sawing wood _____	√ 41 19 ..
Octb ^f	10	Paid Archibald Lourie for Slater work _____	√ 22 9 3

1822		Bro ^t forward	£ 1831 12 2
Octb ^r	11	Paid William Cadnow for Stones furnished at Overton Quarry _____	26 9 7
		Paid Roger and Baillie for Timber - omitted 20 ult ^o . _	<u>34 10 6⁶/</u>
			<u>£ 1892.12.3⁶/</u>

There is a copy of this, without the ticks, on paper with the watermarked date 1820, in HA, Bundle 6346, which has been signed off by Robert Brown, under 24 October 1822, as paid: ‘By the Duke of Hamiltons order on Michael Rowand Esq.^r of the Old Bank Glasgow ____ £1892 12 3⁶ Robert Brown’.

Payment to David Hamilton, under the date 28 November 1822 (HTHL, 'General Ledger Hamilton Palace N^o. 1' (the general ledger for 1813-22), unpaginated but the third written page from the end)

Paid M^r Hamilton Architect his Acco^t for drawing Plans &c & for his attendance &c relative to the alterations & new work at Palace omitted formerly

62 7 „

Note: The payment is listed under 'Payments to and on Account of the Proprietor'.

Table of Dues agreed at a Special General Assembly of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 9 December 1822 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 9 December 1822)

[...]

- 1st. Coal, carried on the Canal a distance not exceeding 27 miles, to pay one penny per ton per mile. When carried above 27 miles, to pay 2/3^d. per ton per trip. These rates do not apply to coal brought certain distances on the Forth & Clyde Canal. __

[...]

Minutes of the Committee of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 23 December 1822 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 23 December 1822)

[...] a letter of the 18th. cur^t. from Robert Bauchop agent for the Duke of Hamilton it was not considered necessary to inspect the coal workings of the Duke of Hamilton at the present time _ [...]

Minutes of the Committee of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 7 April 1823 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 7 April 1823)

[...]

A letter from Mess^r Barker & Dawson of this days date stating that they were authorised by M^r. Bauchop Factor to the Duke of Hamilton to deliver the best great coal at Port Hopetoun at 8/6. p^r. ton provided the Canal dues be reduced to 2/. p^r. ton, having been read, It was resolved that 15 p^r. cent discount on the Canal dues be given to the Traders in coal on the Union Canal on condition that they reduce the selling price of their coal 15 p^r. cent. This resolution to continue in force till the first of September next.

[...]

Minutes of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 11 April 1823 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 11 April 1823)

[...]

M^r. Bauchop's letter of the 8th. Ins^t. having been read, & M^r. Rutherford on the part of M^r. Ayton and M^r. Bauchop hav^g. been called in, and the resolution of the 7th. Ins^t. relative to the reduction of the dues on coal having been communicated to them. _ M^r. Bauchop informed the meeting that he would give an answer to it in the course of eight days. _

[...]

Minutes of the Committee of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 18 April 1823 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 18 April 1823)

[...]

The minutes of the last meeting having been ready. __ M^r. Aytoun, M^r. Bauchop and M^r. Dawson having been called in on the part of the Duke of Hamilton it was stated that M^r. Dawson had received the Companys circular letter dated the 14th Ins^t. relative to the discount of 15 pr cent on the dues being granted to all those coal Merchants who should reduce the selling price of their coal 15 per cent. _ To which proposal of the Company they agreed to on the part of the Duke of Hamilton till the first of September next to which time the proposal of the Company was limited.

But at the same time these Gentlemen stated “that as the reduction of the Canal dues was common to all Coal Masters on the line of the Canal, it did not remove the inequality of the Canal dues of which they had still to complain and they hoped the Company in terms of M^r. McCullochs letter of the 3^d. October last, would take that matter under their further consideration betwixt and September next, when the effect of the present reduction on the price of coal would be better ascert^d.

“The[y] further stated for the information of the Company that the Duke of Hamilton besides the Colliery which he had opened on the Canal banks and from which the coal hitherto sold by him for the Edinburgh Market had been furnished, He had lately fitted the main body of the Sheildhill coal, and had now a considerable quantity of splint coal from the main seam at the pit mouth, but there was no access from thence to the canal for want of a Road, which was now making, and a Railway also to the Canal was in contemplation, That this seam was fitter for storing than the seam now working, being of a harder quality, and it was proposed to work it to a considerable extent during the summer months for winter sale, and to bring it to the Depots both at Port Hopetoun and on the Canal banks

“But as the cartage alone of this coal would cost the Duke a considerable additional expence it was impossible to sell it so cheap as the coal now working for sale; They therefore trusted the Canal Company would give the same discount on this coal for any quantity that might be stored in the Depot at Port Hopetoun during the season without any restriction on the Duke of Hamilton as to the price at which he should sell this coal after the first of Sept^r. leaving it to his Grace and his Managers to be directed in

this matter according to circumstances, they being always bound till the first of Sept^r. next to keep a full supply of the other coal for the market at the reduced rate of 15 per cent off the present selling price. _ or if the public should prefer the splint coal _ it was proposed on the part of the Duke of Hamilton that the present value thereof should be fixed till the 1st. of September as at 11/- per ton at the Basin and that his Grace should reduce 15 per cent from this price in selling the same to the public, on the Canal Company abating thereon 15 p^r. cent of their dues.”

The Committee having taken into consideration the proposal of the Duke of Hamilton’s Agents to fix the price of Splint coal at 11/. p^r ton thought it reasonable and agreed to give the reduction of 15 p^r. cent on their dues on condition of his deducting 15. per cent from the eleven shillings as the selling price of his splint coal. ____ [...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to James Chalmer, dated Quai Malaquais, Paris, 2 June 1823
(Beinecke Library, Yale University, General Manuscripts Miscellaneous, 592 F-I)

Quai Malaquais
Paris - June y^e 2^d 1823

Sir

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th May, with a copy of the Memorial in favour of my rights, in opposition to the claim of the English Lord Douglas to the honors attached to my family _ Altho' I will not specify any particular alteration to be made, yet I cannot refrain from offering one or two observations, which I beg you will consider in revising the paper before it is printed __ In the first place when you state that "Lord Douglas was served & retoured according to the Scotch forms heir of line or at law", you add that, "the Estates of the family were adjudged to belong to him by the Court of Session and the H of Lords" _ Now the case was given against Lord Douglas first in the Courts at Paris, & next in the Court of Session: it was upon an appeal to the House of Lords that the sentences alluded to were superseeded and another given in his favour _ I apprehend thus the fact should be stated –

The practice of honors being attached to male & not female descent, might be more forcibly argued, and the futility of an irregular resignation of them (not according to Scotch forms) to divert them from their natural course, more successfully exposed; moreover the necessity of establishing the legitimacy of birth, ought to be advanced as a sine qua non in the claim of either male or female honours; & I who am not bound to admit that Lord Douglas is Lady Jane's son, have now a right to require the proof that he is _ The House of Lords appear to have decided in his favour, not because he had established his ~~legitimacy~~ birthright, but because Lord Mansfield negatively ~~acknowledged~~ admitted it, saying that it was not to be expected that a child was to prove who his mother was _ As upon this point Lord Douglas has chosen, as it were, to put himself again upon trial, I rejoice at it, & accept the challenge, and shall be glad to re-examine the matter; & the more so, as various circumstances & facts subsequent to the trial have come to light, that might materially alter the state of the case __ This point therefore I hold should be particularly adverted to in my memorial, both as it may bear upon my general interests, & as it is a fact to be established before L^d Douglas can claim any benefit from any investiture resignation or entail whether informal & irregular or not

_ Having said thus much I shall leave the matter here, requesting that you will, in case of doubt or difficulty, apply to Lord Arch^d Hamilton _ I have the honor to be

Sir

Your most [illegible abbreviations]

&c & &c__

C:H:& B:

James Chalmer Esq^{re}

Abingdon S^t

Westminster

Minutes of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 28 August 1823 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 28 August 1823)

[...]

Mess^s. Aytoun, Brown, Bauchop, Barker, and Dawson having been called in after some conversation on the Subject of equalization of the dues on Coal _ M^r. Aytoun said he would give in a written statement of what the Duke of Hamilton expected to be done.

—

[...]

Minutes of the Committee of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 5 September 1823 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 5 September 1823)

[...]

There was read to the meeting a memorandum drawn up by M^r. Ayton of what passed at the meeting of Directors and Mess^{rs} Ayton, Brown & Bauchope on the 28th. of August last relative to a proposal made by the Duke of Hamilton for equalizing the Canal dues on Coal _

[...]

Minutes of the Committee of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 8 September 1823 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/2, under 8 September 1823)

[...]

The Minutes of the last meeting having been read – And Mess^{rs}. Ayton, Brown & Bauchope having been called in on the part of the Duke of Hamilton attended by Mess^{rs}. Barker and Dawson _ The following letter was presented and the proposal agreed to _

Edin^r. 8 Sept^r. 1823

Gentlemen

We hereby offer on the part of the Duke of Hamilton to bring into Edin^r. Market the quantity of One Hundred and Twenty five Thousand Tons of Coal within one year from the fifteenth day of December next and to pay the Canal Company at the rate of Two Shillings and three pence per ton provided the Canal dues on all other Coals brought along the Canal for the same or a greater distance are charged by the Company at not less than the same rate _ The agreement now existing as to Canal dues to Continue in force until the said fifteenth day of December next, but in case of any unforeseen accident happening at the Colliery from Combinations of Workmen, Frost or otherwise a reasonable deduction to be allowed out of the whole quantity above stipulated _ We are

Gentlemen

Your Mo. Obed^t. Serv^{ts}..

To the Committee of }	(Signed) Roger Aytoun
Management of the }	„ Robert Brown
Union Canal Co }	„ Robert Bauchope

P.S. It is understood that although the Canal dues to others are not less than two Shillings and three pence for the same or a greater distance than Redding, yet the Canal Company may charge others as much more as they please – Only whatever extra quantities the Duke may furnish beyond the 125,000 Tons shall only be charged at the foregoing rate of Two Shillings and three pence ^P Ton _

(S.) R.A.

„ R.B.

„ R.B.

Agreed by order of the Committee

Union Canal Office

(Signed) Alex^r. Cheyne

Edin^r. 8 Sept^r. 1823

W^m Maxwell

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Hamilton Palace, 25 December 1823
(Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Records of T.J. & W.A. Dykes, Executory Papers of Robert Brown)

Hamilton Palace

Decem^r y^e 25th 1823

My good Sir

The friendly attention you have constantly shewn to my interest for some years past, gives you a just claim to my regard & my gratitude — I wish to give you a proof of these my sentiments; & in doing so, I wish you to understand, that it proceeds from what I owe to you, as well as from what I owe to myself _

You will debit my accompt from next January (instead of the usual sum) with £1000_ annually in your favour; and in doing so, you will understand, that I consider this sum, not as dependant upon your present engagement with me, but as your own, and to be continued to you during my life time unconditionally, as a proof, of my regard, & of the sense I entertain of your past services _ Having said thus much, I cannot conclude without subjoining; that I trust & hope I may look forward to the benefit of your assistance in my concerns during the rest of my life; & if my son follows my advice & example, he will be equally anxious to retain you amongst his friends ____

With sentiments of sincere regard & esteem, I remain My good Sir Your attached

C:H:& B:

Rob^l Brown Esq^{re}

P:S: I wish you to get a regular deed drawn up in the way most satisfactory to yourself, to give every possible effect to these my wishes & determinations _

C:H:& B:

Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 25 December 1823
(Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Records of T.J. & W.A. Dykes, Executory Papers of Robert Brown)

Hamilton 25 Decr
1823

My Lord Duke

I have just now the honor of your Graces letter of this date for which I return you my sincere thanks and I beg leave to say that ever since I have had the honor of being employed by Your Grace the kind and handsome manner in which You have [added illegible word] treated me has made it a pleasure to me to exert any moderate faculties or experience I may have possessed in forwarding whatever I conceived was for your Graces advantage or whatever might prove agreeable to you. Twelve years have already elapsed in that employment and to find that I still continue to enjoy Your Graces favor and confidence in an undiminished degree is not only a recompense of itself but a matter of satisfaction to me which I feel in no ordinary way.

The very liberal way in which Your Grace intends to act towards me in a pecuniary point of view in future is such as I had not the smallest reason to expect and I have not words to express my feelings on the occasion taken as I am by surprise. But your Grace may be assured that while Providence Preserves my bodily health and mental faculties unimpaired I shall endeavor to prove that the favor you intend to confer will not be thrown away on me And I trust I will be able to make a Suitable return of services such as may prove lastingly beneficial not only to Your Grace but to my Lord Marquis and the rest of your Family That Your Grace may enjoy long life and every felicity is the most earnest wish of

My Lord Duke

Your mo ob Ser[illegible abbreviation for vant]

R B

To his Grace The Duke of

Hamilton & Brandon

&^c.. &^c.. &^c..

Note: Robert Brown's initials, rather than signature, at the end, coupled with the quick, almost illegible handwriting and insertion of two words, suggest that this is a draft or copy letter.

John Connell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Glasgow, 21 February 1824 (HA, C4/95)

Glasgow 21 Feb^y 1824

To His Grace The Duke of Hamilton

My Lord Duke

In the understanding that Your Grace is about to erect a large Addition to Hamilton Palace in a style superior to the more ordinary works of the time, this, together with having the honour of being in Your Grace's employment, has made me desirous of offering my service, to conduct, superintend, or act as clerk to those works, which I hereby agree to do for the space of twelve months, which time is to commence upon the first of march Eighteen hundred and twenty four years _

During the above specified twelvemonths, it is understood that I am to reside at Hamilton, and to devote the whole of my time, (that is the regular working hours) to Your Grace's business in superintending all the branches connected with the different departments of the work in the building of the said Palace, whether it may be executed by Contract, or employing the workmen by days wages. or in part both ways, as shall appear to Your Grace most advantageous, for the work. In the first case if done by

Contract, it will be amongst my other duties to ascertain that the materials of every description, used throughout the work, shall be of the very best Kind, such as that the stones, be of the proper dimensions, and the best part of the rock, and that the lime shall be the best quality, carefully burned, slacked, and used in the proper proportions, and should it be found, that any materials have been brought to the ground of an insufficient, or inferior description, I am to order their immediate removal. Otherwise if the

work is carried on by men working at days wages, I am to have the power of selecting and employing, such workmen as I may judge best qualified for the different departments of the work, likewise that I am to keep regular account of their time, such as Masons, Carpenters, Labourers and Carters. In short upon whatever principle the

business of the Building is to be conducted I will do every thing according to the best of my abilities, so as to have the whole work executed, in the most complete and masterly manner, agreeably to the full spirit of Your Graces intention and the Drawings, and in rendering myself useful, both in conducting the work at the palace, or overlooking any other of Your Grace's building operations in the neighbourhood.

In consideration of all which I am to receive the sum of One hundred and Fifty pounds, during the aforesaid term of twelve months, by four quarterly installments.

It is further understood that any books or stationary required is to be furnished to me

My Lord Duke

I have the honour to be

Your Grace's

mo. Obed^t. humble Servant

John Connell

Note: This is a beautifully penned letter, apparently written by a clerk, to which John Connell has added his signature.

The reverse has been annotated: Offer / John Connel to act / as overseer & Clk of Wks.
/ at the addition to Hamilton / Palace / 21 feb^y 1824.

List of the 10th Duke of Hamilton's debts, dated 7 May 1824 (HA, Bundle 683)

7 May List of Debts due by His Grace the
1824 Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

1. st The Poor of Boness	£	300
Miss MacDowal		900
Miss Shepherd		470
M ^r Mitchell		5000
M ^{rs} Carslaw		2000
M ^{rs} Calder		1000
M ^{rs} Bauchop		2500
M ^{rs} Calder		<u>1000</u>
Sum_Interest of which pay ^{le} by M ^r Bauchop	£	13170
2 ^d M ^r Murray	£	1000
Miss Bell		1000
Col ^l Stewarts Trustees		2000
Bank of Scotland (say)		1425
Lady Mary Montgomery (suppose)		600
Sum_Interest whereof pay ^{le} by M ^r Young		<u>6025</u>
3 M ^r Allan of Ellsrickle's Assignee		1200
M ^r James Henderson		3300
William Young		150
D ^r Bryson		1000
Andrew Russell		800
M ^{rs} Jane Boyes		3700
Hamilton Widows Fund		1000
M ^r Dykes of Lambhill		1661
Miss Gray of Hamilton		1300
Alexander Burns		680
Major Burns		400
M ^r Burns		300
M ^r Craig Minister		1082

D ^r Weir	350	
Miss Gray of Bothwell park	2500	
William Bogle	800	
M ^r Patersons Representatives	2000	
M ^r Rutherford	700	
Thistle Bank	5000	
M ^r Jackson of Bardykes	750	
Ship Bank	5000	
Debt over Westyett assigned to Gen ^l Moncrieff	1500	
Sum_Interest whereof pay ^{le} by Mr Brown	_____	35173
4 M ^{rs} Westenra		<u>30000</u>
		<u>£ 84368</u>

Note: Lists like this appear to have been drawn up each year. A list of debts dated 14 October 1822 records debts of £35,872 19 shillings and is heavily annotated in pencil with such information as ‘old debt’, ‘bill’, ‘bond’ and ‘new debt’ and details of payments (e.g. ‘Paid M^{rs} Westenra £16000’) (HA, F2/1042/5). Another list of the 10th Duke’s personal debts is dated 15 February 1825 and totals £93,518 (F2/1042/4). Interestingly, the list of debts of £81,787 at 15 April 1826 (F2/1042/3), which was subsequently added to and amended to £83,337, also has a page entitled ‘Assets’. These come to £164,056 and include the furniture at Hamilton valued at £35,000, the silver plate at £13,000, books and manuscripts at £10,000, engines and railroads at the collieries £9,000, and the stock of coal at £5,000. The list of debts of £79,664 2s 1d at 14 December 1827 (Bundle 683) is published further on in this Appendix. The list of the Duke’s personal debts in December 1829 totals £61,527 17s 6d (F2/1042/9).

David Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Hamilton, 15 November 1824 (HA, C4/706/1)

Hamilton 15th Nov^r 1824

Dear Sir

I beg to hand you my account for the drawings of Hamilton Palace &^c and for the time spent in my attendance there preceding this date You will see that the amount, is considerable being £492 ,, 16 ,, 6, but you will also see that the time spent on the Duke's business is 178 days of myself and 183 of my clerk, which was owing to the frequent change of the plans and frequent attendance upon His Grace

It may be some satisfaction to the Duke however to learn that the business has made such progress, that nothing in proportion to the same charge can take place again, the general design being now ascertained _ The other drawings required for the exterior and roofing in the building, will not exceed another £200 and will be furnished to His Grace without delay.

Dear Sir

I am, with great respect

Your humble Serv^t

David Hamilton

To

Robert Brown Esq^{re}

Written in pencil between David Hamilton's signature and the last two lines is the following undertaking:

M^r Hamilton promises
to have all the working
drawings referred to
in the above letter
in three months from
this date _

David Hamilton

Note: The letter itself is in a good, flowing ‘hand’, to which David Hamilton has added his poorly formed signature, in ink. Hamilton did not even write the short commitment. This was written quickly for him to sign, and he appended another almost identical, laboured signature, which – like the note – is also in pencil.

The Hamilton Estates ledger for 1823-30 in Hamilton Town House Library records that David Hamilton received £100 on 10 November 1824, a further £200 on 15 November 1824, and the remaining £192 16s 6d of the £492 16s 6d on 21 November 1826 (see pp.84, 143 and 246). The entries read:

[10 November 1824]	Paid M ^r Hamilton Architect to Acco ^t .	100 „ „
[15 November 1824]	Paid David Hamilton Architect Balance of his Acco ^t for Marble Chimney pieces put up at Palace	67 „ 2
	Paid him on Acco ^t of Drawings & Designs for addition to D ^o	200 „ „
[21 November 1826]	Paid M ^r Hamilton Architect Acco ^t relating to addition to Palace from 18 Octbr 1821 to 13 Nov 1824	492 16 6
	offcredited in Acco ^{ts} . 1823 £100 & 1824 £200=	300 „ „ 192 16 6

The Glasgow Herald, 6 May 1825, p.2, under 'Edinburgh, May 5'

COAL. – Now that the Duke of Hamilton's extensive collieries at Redding are again in full operation, we are much surprised that our fellow citizens do not enjoy the benefit as formerly. We strongly suspect combination in some quarter. – Courant. [River Bill! Cheap Coals!]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated London, 28 July 1825 (HA, C4/99)

London

July 28th 1825.

My good Sir

I send you these few lines for your information & for that of M^r Hamilton's the Architect _ I do it now to correct any mistake in time; altho' I am persuaded I need not have mentioned what I am about to state, for any practical purpose, for some months ____ I am come to a resolution of lighting the tribune as was originally intended from above, & making a galery to communicate to the different rooms __ Tell this to M^r: Hamilton: it will make little or no alteration upon what is now going on, but I wish him to know it now, as it may serve to give him some facility in regard to the water:closet intended to be placed behind the stair case _ He may now perhaps place it where the great window that looks into the kitchen court was to have been placed; that is in the two upper stories, for upon the ground story of course the window will be required to light the passage under this tribune for the servants _ Let M^r: Hamilton know this determination of mine, as I am sure it will assist him not only in the waterclosets as I before stated, but in regard to getting up to the rooms above the dining room, the entrance of which will be difficult from the intended hight of the dining room _

For Heaven's sake take care & allow no (I will not say) bad but even equivocal wood or stone to be employed in the building _ With regard I remain My good Sir

Your very sincere

& good friend

C:H:&B.

Rob^t: Brown Esq^{re}

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Rome, 1 February [1827] (HA, Bundle 2722)

Rome Feb^{ry} y^e 1st

I am glad to find, my good Sir, that the weather has been so favourable, & that you are going on with the building _ Carry it on as expeditiously as circumstances will admit, but let nothing be hurried, for what is hurried must be more or less neglected __ In the interior [illegible, altered word:? parts] of the Kitchen court allow nothing to be done too quick particularly up stairs: I had rather find half of the rooms unfinished, than find them, as the old dining-room was (plaistered carelessly & all the wood work neglected) when I return'd to Hamilton Palace five years ago __ I understand you are now engaged in erecting the old-oak stair-case; I take it for granted the demensions have been attended to with that regularity to ensure the adapting with out patch-work the oak bannister _ recollect, I described more than once, that a corresponding half cornice, the hieght & size of the stair bannister should be carried up along the wall to preserve the symetry & the wall-itself; only instead of its being carved like the old bannister, it should be done in pannels like the lower part of the oak breakfast room; with the projecting dado or cornice coming out half of its size from the wall or more __ You have done well in ordering all the sewers & drains to be compleated within the kitchen court only take care that they are most substantial & that in paving the court large stones with holes in them are placed at the four corners to carry off all superfluous water _ The same should be attended to in the north front of the kitchen court; & the drains not lost that come from that part of the building, & surround the stables _ I shall require them hereafter to carry into effect my plans, moreover take care not to allow the ground between the stables & the building to be filled up, it is my intention to dispose of that in another manner, & I frequently told Connel he was filling up that ground more than I wish _ I mean to have a little terrace, & not a piece of ground sloped down to nothing __ I am quite delighted to find that you have already cut the columns in the quarry, but you have done well to keep them exposed to the air a little previous to the thinking of removing them _ moreover there is no hurry ____

In regard to what is doing at the building I should only observe that if after the stair case is done, you endeavour to unite it to the principal building, by covering in what is called the tribune; care must be taken how that tribune is covered in _ It must receive light

from above; but as I do not chuse a flat or round piece of glass work to be introduced; there must be a little cupolo or light-house similar to what is now above the stair case, & this of course must rise from a circle in the center of the tribune to give light to it _ The walls must be so left that the gallery above destined to lead to the bed=rooms upon the upper floor, may be supported either by suspended arches, consols, or anything else I may chuse to direct _ I shall be back before it will be necessary to say anything about the upper story, but still I wish you would hint to Connel the possibility of my sacrificing the upper part of the large stair-case, & the principal great hall opening upon the Portico, & carrying them up two stories, instead of one _ I shall thus lose the rooms above, but the passage to the bed rooms may [be] kept on a level from east to west of the building, which will be an advantage, & create much less trouble in laying the joists, rafters, &c & for that story, & render the stair case & hall more beautifull & much lighter _ & want of light will I fear shew itself before we have done __ But I consider all this as premature __ The iron railing before South front of the Palace, I suppose is merely prepared upon the ground; you should recollect the publick road must be a little adjusted before the parapet wall can be properly built __

I observe you say nothing about your own office that we were endeavouring to plan out before I left Scotland _ This thing must not be lost sight of; & if you rather prefer not beginning it untill my arrival, all the materials should be prepared before-hand so that the whole may be done at once & expeditiously __ Recollect that a building altho' not very extensive requires time to be compleated if it is done with care and attention _

By the bye you will probably receive some cases from abroad all that arrive you will cause to be opened & their contents placed in secure places, where they can neither be exposed to damp nor to the heat of the sun __

With regard I remain My good Sir

your attached & [illegible abbreviation] &

C H & B

Rob^t Brown Esq^{re}

Hamilton Palace

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 5 February 1827 (HA, Bundle 2722)

Copy Letter M^r Brown

To His Grace The Duke of Hamilton

Palazzo d'Palavicini

a' Rome

Hamilton 5 Feby 1827,

My Lord Duke

I have not yet had the honour of receiving any letter from your Grace since you arrived in Rome.

The weather having become mild and the day lengthening I have advised Connel to resume the building of the north front of the Palace _ In the instructions you left here you direct the under sashes of the windows, on the out side of the Kitchen Court to be glazed with ground glass, so as to prevent them from being seen through _ Does this order apply to the windows in the second storey, as well as those on the ground flat? Connel says that he would advise, in place of grinding the glass, which is expensive, to cover it with a preparation of gum and other ingredients which would do equally well, and could be taken off by a chemical preparation were it afterwards necessary to restore the glass to its' original state _ The Lathing & Plastering is begun, but in finishing the large Room over the new Laundry, in the south west corner, it has occured to M^r Hamilton _ and ~~myself~~ Connel and myself that it would be much better to divide it into two Rooms, as originally intended, in place of keeping it in one, as your last orders bear _ because, if put into two divisions, it would enable you to class your servants and seperate them from one another, in place of having too great a crowd together _ the latter being a mode of arrangement not only prejudicial to yourself, but injurious to the individuals who are huddled together, and contrary to the manners and habits of English Servants _ but without your special instructions to the contrary, I shall cause the room to be finished as one apartment _

[...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Palazzo Pallavicini, Rome, 1 March [1827] (HA, Bundle 2722)

Palazzo Pallavicini

Rome March 1st

My good Sir

Your letter of the 5th of last month only arrived two days ago, by which I learn to my surprize that at that moment you had not heard from me from Rome _

I am glad to hear that you have ordered Connel to resume his work at the building; it is desirable to do as much as possible this year, that we may not be hurried next in the roofing in of the building, & in the placing the cornice; things which ought to be done with great care & attention & without hurry _ Let me remind you again not to allow the ground round the corner of the Stables opposite the principal front of the Palace to be filled up; I forbid it before I went away; and as I mean to make a little terrace round where the stables now stand, if that hollow is filled up, I shall have to remove the earth again _ I have already mentioned in a former letter that if the old staircase is put up in the new building before my return that there must be a dado and wainst-coating of oak round the wall opposite the oak banisters stained dark to immitate the old one _ The wainstcoating should be in pannels, & similar to what you will find around the breakfast room or the galery windows _

I desired the under sashes of the under windows, on the outside of the kitchen court, & along, to the old-building, on the south side, to be glazed with ground glass _ In so doing I had no view but to prevent peoples looking in as they pass; therefore this does not apply to the second story in the least; & if the object of preventing the transparency of the glass can be obtained cheaper by a preparation of gum than by grinding the glass, I shall be equally well satisfied that it should be so done, provided it is not an ugly nasty thing _ I have only to say, concerning the lathing & plaistering, what I before observed; that it must not be hurried, that I may find it well done _ You may divide the room over the laundry into two rooms instead of one if you think it would be better; I cannot altogether judge unless I saw it _ I have only in view this object, & that is; to have a room or two for servants, where there can be placed two or three beds or more _ If all my people begin by having seperate bed-rooms, I shall be tormented to death by them, & by comers with gentlemen who visit at the palace _ It is therefore desirable that there

sh^d be one or two, what I should call, common rooms _ But [damage to letter: I] am indifferent as to this alteration proposed; therefore do what you think is preferable _
[...]

Damaged letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Rome, 31 March [1827] (HA, Bundle 2722)

[...]

In regard to the building at the Palace your ideas are very good & if the communication between the offices & the Palace can be roofed in this year, it will be a source of much convenience; at the same time I will not knowingly injure any part of my work by precipitation _ & pray din this into Connell's ears _ There is one thing concerning which I must write to you, & that is, the roof over the Tribune; for I have my doubts whether, as the passage from the gallery to the dining-room will not be in the center, whether it will not be better to light it by windows round it making a [damage to letter: ?vaulted illegible word] instead of a glass lanthorn in the center _ This is an idea of mine, which I will explain in a letter to you with a drawing, and then you will be able to learn from Hamilton whether or not the thing is feaseable, as it depends too a little upon the mode of making the roof _ Your arrangement with Connell I approve of; he shall have his additional £[? 52]-10 provided he carries properly into execution, what you impose upon him __ & I will double the sum if you are fully satisfied as well as myself __ I shall say nothing more concerning the carrying up the stair-case & the hall to the roof; it would much beautify that part of the house, but it would certainly curtail the number of bedrooms, therefore we will let matters remain as they are __ [...]

Minutes of the Committee of the Edinburgh and Glasgow Union Canal Company, 2 April 1827 (NAS, BR/EGU/1/4, p.260)

[...]

The Clerk read the Draft of a letter to Mr., Bauchope intimating the reduction of Canal Dues on Coal which was approved of.

Mr., Paton moved for the following reasons that the Committee should alter their resolution of last meeting reducing the Dues on Coals unless the Duke should bind himself to pay for One Hundred & Twenty Thousand Tons annually. The motion not being seconded was not put.

First. “Because in last Summer the Canal Company reduced their dues from 3/ to 2/6 per Ton on the faith that his Grace would reduce the price of his Coal which he did not do.”

Second. “Because the whole money obtained for Dues on Coal has not paid the Interest of the Canal debt.”

Third. “Because it has taken the whole dues on the other branches of Trade to pay the expenses of the Management and keep the Canal in repair which in other words just secures the Duke of Hamilton a good market for his Coal.”

Fourth. “That while his Grace is enjoying enormous profits on his Coal, in consequence of having the Union Canal as a cheap passage for it the Proprietors of said Canal have never yet received any dividend.”

“Notwithstanding the above reasons, consents to reduce the Canal Dues on the Duke of Hamiltons Coal (including Wharfage and weighing) to 2/ per Ton on condition that not less than 120,000 Tons of Coal are brought into Edinburgh per annum or £1000 _ Sterling is regularly paid in lieu thereof per month.”

[...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Palazzo Pallavicini, Rome, 7 April [1827] (HA, Bundle 2722)

Palazzo Pallavicini

Rome April 7th

My good Sir

In my former letter I promised to explain more fully to you my ideas concerning the mode of lighting the tribune at Hamilton, in the event of your roofing it in, as well as the new stair-case __ Your object is to unite by this work, the old and the new buildings thus rendering the house more habitable _ If it is to be done as a temporary thing & to be taken down again I have only to say do it in the best & least expensive manner _ If it is to be done permanently, I have to desire that you will shew the enclosed drawing to Hamilton, and ask him if he sees any difficulty in doing it according to the said plan _ I had intended to have a lanthorn light in the centre, but as the doors thro' which you pass, particularly the principal one from the gallery, is out of the center, I think this irregularity will appear less evident, by so constructing the roof so as to be able to open three or four windows laterally as I have shewn in my plan _ The circular forms where the windows are to be placed will all be uniform, but it is not necessary to open each of the windows so as to give light _ The difficulty or facility of executing this plan, will depend upon the formation & [one word: force or form] of the roof, & the mode of treating it _ If there is a great difficulty it must be given up; but if there is not, I think this mode of mine (for the roof is to be flat from the cornice above the windows) is to be preferred to the present form or the large open lanthorn originally intended __

You will see in the enclosed paper the 40 feet area of the tribune, & the pallisade or gallery above, that is to be the mode of uniting the various rooms, & giving communication _ I have made a drawing of a sort of consol, of a column, & of a figure to support this gallery; in finishing it off we can adopt what we please, but there must be some temporary mode of communication resorted to when the stair-case & the roofing are done, or they will be of no use, for without this precaution there will be no means of getting from the servants court & new stair-case to the present up=stair rooms __ I must leave this to M^r Hamilton & yourself, but I should not chuse the work to be so far carried on without my authority & approbation, as to place me in the necessity of adopting any one mode, untill I had thought upon the subject and definitely decided upon it _ I had

rather put up with inconvenience than do any thing that was to injure either the quality of any part of the work, or even the beauty of it _

Again let me remind you not to allow the ground around the new building, particularly near the old stables to be filled up; I have plans for carrying off the damp & water & likewise I propos [sic] making a little terrace as I before told you _

In regard to the stone, get it all down from the quarry, or at least upon dry ground; I find even here in this finer climate, that an architect will not allow his stones to be quarried in wet weather, or if they are, he keeps them for some months before he employs them _

When I stated the mouldering away of some of our stones in the basement story to an Architect here, he immediately said that those particular stones, if the general quality was good, could only have failed in consequence of their having been employed when damp __

I say nothing more of carrying up the entrance Hall & great stair-case to the top of the House _ I gave up that idea in my last letter upon the representation you made to me upon the Subject; but I have my doubt whether or not it might not be better to have the new roof of the large new dining room, the library, the billiard, & the entrance hall and stair=case all raised up to the same heighth (the dining=room is decided upon already) & thus equally diminish the heighth of the bed rooms above the part of the house, leaving the other part of the house upon a regular level with the old building _ I am not positive about this alteration, but I think Connell will prefer it, to the making of so many different heighths in the upper flooring _ Thus there will be only two, but I leave this to Connell's & your judgment; it is of no material importance; the whole lower rooms (principal ones) will be loftier by this arrangement, & better, & the bed-rooms will suffer, but they will all be alike, & still handsome rooms, & high enough __ [...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Palazzo Pallavicini, Rome, 14 April [1827] (HA, Bundles 2722)

[...] I foresee unfortunately that this year must be an expensive one in regard to our building; but it is impossible to postpone the purchasing of the wood for the joisting roofing &^c &^c– Moreover, as I told you in a former letter, it is desirable that the stone should be out of the quarry a whole winter before it is used, or it will be affected by the weather __ One thing I could wish to say, in regard to the laying of the joisting of the bed rooms over the dining-room; I could wish none of the beams to be placed upon the two projecting walls, if possible, & moreover great care to be used in placing them not only where the present chimney piece is, but likewise opposite to the space between the first & second window[s], counting from the Kitchen court corner _ My reason for these cautions, is this; should I wish at any time to throw the whole of the room, as it were, in one piece here after, and destroy those two projecting walls, it can be done at pleasure, if they are not allowed to bear any weight of the upper story floor; & the chimney can be removed to the thus altered center of the room, by placing it opposite the space between the two windows before mentioned, if the beams are so contrived, as not to run into the opposite walls, in a manner to prevent such alteration if approved of __ There is a thing that I do not insist upon, but that I think ought to be done before the tribune is plaistered or worked upon, & that is, the door into the gallery into it _ This door cannot be properly begun upon untill my return; but what can be done is this: the old door can be built up, the new one burst thro' in the center of the gallery, made as large & high as circumstances will admit of, to be afterwards filled up with my columns & regular door &^c &^c– and in the intermediate time to leave the wall in its' natural state _ I will put up a curtain at the end of the gallery, & fix a temporary door to enable people to pass backwards & forwards _ It thus appears to me that if the wall & mason work is done now, the rest can be done at pleasure: This idea I leave to Connell & yourself _ The wooden part of the door will be rather more than eleven feet high, & near six feet large, without counting the jamb of the door the cornice &^c &^c– _ When this work is done for Heaven's sake, take great care of the old-oak taken down, as it must all be replaced again _ Now I leave this business to Connell & yourself, but my idea is that it ought to be done when the other work is done at the tribune _ We are all well here & all desire to be particularly remembered to you _ Recollect do not hurry any work imprudently under

the alarm of your being surprized by the arrival of the family _ I shall come first alone to Hamilton Palace & give you sufficient time by previous information – take care of yourself – with regard I remain &

C H & B

Draft letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 29 April 1827 (HA, Bundle 2722)

Hamilton 29 April 1827

My Lord Duke,

I have now the honor of acknowledging your Grace's letters of the 31st March and 2^d & 7th inst _ At present my answer will be in a great measure confined to the operations carrying on by M^r Connell at the Palace. _ The West end of the Building was raised up above the second Storey some weeks ago, and the Window soles are and cheeks of the Bed Room floor built, and the Beams above the Dining Room ^ laid. _ the rest of the House is all completed as far up as the floor of the Bed Rooms, and the of that floor Carpenters are engaged in laying the Beams and Joisting ^ _ the Masons have therefore now ^ to direct all their force to the putting up of the Pilasters in front of the Entrance Hall, and to the finishing of the Upper Storey and it may be here proper to inform your Grace that the Stair Case connecting with the Kitchen Court, and the South Wall of the Tribune are up the whole height, and ready for the moulding of the principal Architrave _ Matters were this far advanced when your Graces letter of the 7th arrived here three days ago, expressing a desire to have the height of the Library _ Billiard Room, Entrance Hall, and Great Stair Case increased to the same height of Ceiling with the Dining Room _ this letter has puzzled us as to how we can best carry Your Grace's views into execution, and I have had M^r Connell at Glasgow to see M^r Hamilton on the subject for advice _ The Beams of the Bed Room floor over the Dining Room give a clear height to that Room of 20 feet, but the flooring to be laid upon these Beams ~~will~~ encroach or rise 18 inches above the Window Soles of the Bed Room Storey, leaving scarcely 5 feet of a Window above the floor _ now if your Graces suggestion was to be carried into effect, of raising the Ceilings of the Principal Floor to the same height, over the Library, Billiard Room, Entrance Hall, and Great Stair Case, as that over the Dining

Bed

Room, then two thirds of the ~~Dining~~ Dining Room Storey would be deformed in the inside by lower Panes of the the ^ Windows being ~~all~~ sunk 18 inches below the floor, and leaving only 5 feet of window above the floor ~~left~~ _ It is a great pity that M^r ~~H~~ Your Grace and M^r Hamilton had not fixed definitely on every thing when the Plans were put into M^r Connells hands for changes now when the Beams are partly laid, the Holes in the Walls for the ends of made & the Joists ^ the places for holding the Chimneys of the 3^d Storey partly built, will be attended with considerable inconvenience, and the misfortune is that we are arrived that it absolutely fresh exactly at that point, ~~if it~~ were ^ necessary to receive ^ instructions from Your Grace, [one or two illegible words] ~~that~~ we ~~must~~ ^ stop the whole of the Building operations until an answer could be got from Rome _ No doubt a portion of the men could be turned to Hewing, but at least the half of them would require to be dismissed _ Under these circumstances we have resolved upon a plan which we are in hopes your Grace will approve of, as the only one that will enable us to meet your views _ and it is this _ To raise by ~~laying~~ an additional Course of Ashlar the Bed Room Windows, thus giving an additional elevation to the Windows Building of at least a foot whereby the Bed Rooms ^ over the Dining Room will be nearly clear of the floor _ and in putting in the Beams thro every other part of the Bed Room floor of the House deep Slits or Ragles will be made in the Walls so as to enable your Grace too raise or lower the floors of the Bed Room Storey to whatever height you may wish the Ceilings of the principal Storey _ and this will be done in a way that will not in the least weaken the Strength of the masonry. _ The height of the ~~Bill~~ Billiard Room Ceiling according to the present plan is 16 feet 4 inches, and by what we propose to do, you can vary from that, to any thing not exceeding 20 feet, and still leave tolerable Bed Rooms only you will require to have some steps from the New passage, down to the Bed Room floor of the Old House. _ M^r Connell says that he can easily make the

the diameter of which are rather thicker than the due proportion for the original height pilasters ^ to agree with the additional elevation proposed, and as to the Portico the Shafts of the Columns there by the present plan being 23 ft 11 inches will be lengthened of greater length out to 25 feet the Stones in the Quarry having been cut out 18 inches longer than what is necessary, and will admit of any additional thickness required for the extra height. _ M^r Connell says that two day's work will take out the Window Soles of the west end of the Upper Storey, and replace them _ Your Grace may be assured that it is with considerable hesitation that we mean to adopt the alteration proposed, but as you have in some measure given us a discretionary power about altering the height of the floors in question we think it our duty to adopt what we conceive will be in the end be agreeable to your Grace, and ^ an important improvement _ M^r Hamilton has got the Drawing you sent of the Tribune, and is to return you some suggestions regarding it, to which there will be ample time to get your reply, before it is necessary to do any thing as to it. _ We have only pulled down a small part of the Old Stables next to the Kitchen Court, and ~~has~~ ^{as} no rubbish or any deposit has been put in that quarter, the ground will be perfectly clear for any object you may have in view _ We require all the upper floor of the Old Stables at present for Carpenters Shops, and M^r Connell thinks they should be kept up as long as possible for that purpose, for if he was obliged to turn the Wrights into the New House there would be great danger of their setting it on fire. _ I presume you ^ we will get ~~any~~ whatever part of the Garden of the Inn you want for Building your New Stables, at any time you want the same but in the present scarcity of money, and the prospect of a falling Rental I think it would be imprudent to ^{undertake} ~~engage in~~ any other Buildings than those we are now engaged in [...]

‘Copy Letter’, Robert Brown to the Duchess of Hamilton, dated Hamilton Palace, 8 October 1827 (HA, Bundle 2722)

[...]

We are beginning to roof in part of the new Palace _ I mean the Main Building _ The lesser building is now compleated and a number of the new Rooms are furnished and ready for company _ and they are by far the most comfortable about the Palace.

I have the honor to remain

&c &c_ &

R B.

Memorandum of the 10th Duke of Hamilton's personal debts, dated 14 December 1827
(HA, Bundle 683)

14 Dec^f

1827 Memd^m.. of personal debts

1st.. Interest whereof payable by M^r Bauchop.

due Miss Macdonall	—	£900:
M ^{rs} . Bell	— — —	1224:
Poor of Boness	— —	300:
M ^{rs} .. Carlaw	— —	2000.
M ^{rs} . Fleming Carriden		1200:
M ^{rs} . Bauchop	— —	2500
Miss Sheppards Trustees		470
Tobias Mitchell	—	<u>5000</u>
		£13594 — —

2^d: Interest whereof pay^l.. by M^r. Young. —

M ^r .. Murray	—	£1000:
Miss Bell	— —	1000:
Stewarts Trustees		4000:
Ba ^l .. to Bank of Scotland		1425:
Lady Mary Montgomery		<u>600</u>
		<u>£ 8025</u>

Forward £ 21,619:

Bro^t. Forward £ 21,619:

3^d: Interest whereof pay^l.. by M^r.. Brown — —

M ^{rs} .. Mary Dykes	— —	£500:
D ^r . Gardenir	— —	6000:
Miss Marg ^t . Gray	—	2500:
Miss Marion Russell		460.
M ^{rs} . Jane Boyes	—	3700.
M ^r . Alex ^r . Burns	—	600:
M ^r . W ^m .. Bogle	— —	800:
M ^r .. Roger Glas ^w .	— —	4000:

Co ^l .. Russell Ed ^r ____	1650
M ^{rs} .. Clark Hamilton	500
M ^{rs} .. Helen Burns _	300:
Rev ^d .. James Craig _	1085:2:1
Major Burns _ _	400. ____
M ^r . William Russell	950 _ .
M ^{rs} . Imrie Edin ^r .. _	1200. _
M ^r .. W ^m Dykes ____ _	3000:
M ^r Paterson Carbarns	500:
M ^r .. Paterson Arran	500:
M ^r James Jackson _	<u>750:</u> :
N:B there is a Ba ^l .. due	<u>£29,395:2:1</u>

J: Henderson but there
is a counter claim

Forwd £51,014:2.1

Bro^t.. forward £51.014:2:1:

4 th . Interest pay ^l . by Sundries	
Ballance due Ship Bank	£5000,
M ^r Th ^{os} . Lambs Rep ^s . _	<u>2650</u>
	7,650: ____
5 Ballance to M ^{rs} .. Westenra	
say about	<u>15,000. -</u>
	£73,664.2:1
6 add Debt due to Lord A:	
Hamiltons Trustees ____	<u>6,000</u>
	£79:664.2.1

N:B _

Suppose there were borrowed
on Recorded Improvements

say _	£22,000
on Estate of Coates	15,000
on Starrishaw & ^{co} _	4,000

on Kildonan _	3,700
M ^r . Bauchop to pay off	
Ship Bank from Sales	
of Coal _ _	<u>5,000</u>
	<u>£ 49,700. —</u>
Forward	£29:964.2:1
Br ^t .. forw ^d ..	£29:964.2:1
There is due from the Lancashire	
Estate a Debt on which would	
be raised	<u>20,000. —</u>
Remains to lye on	£ 9:964.2.1
personal security _	

Note: The memorandum is annotated as follows:

To the left of 'Poor of Boness' and 'M^{rs}.. Carlaw': interest paid up to Mart^{ss} 1827 [i.e. Martinmas 1827]

To the left of 'Miss Bell': D^o paid interest to do

To the right of 'Miss Bell _ _ 1000': p^d in 1828

To the right of 'Co^l.. Russell Ed^r ____ 1650': £1350 paid in 1827

To the right of 'Rev^d.. James Craig _ 1085:2:1': p^d £485:2:1 in 1828

After 'Ballance to M^{rs}.. Westenra say about': pd £10,000

After 'Debt due to Lord A : Hamiltons Trustees ____': pd

Beneath '£79: 664.2.1': 17 664.2.1

£62.000

Beneath '29:964.2:1': say pd 17 964.2.1

£12.000

A note in the Duke's handwriting, also in Bundle 683, records that 'In 1827' he

Paid the thistle bank _____	2500 _
Paid Col Stewarts heirs _____	2[?]00 _
Paid D ^r Bryen _____	500 _
P ^d M ^{rs} :Torrence _____	350 _
P ^d M ^{rs} Cook _____	300 _
P ^d Col Russell _____	1350 _

According to the Duke, the total amount of debts paid, including the purchase of grounds and houses costing £1,730, was £8,700. If the sum paid to Colonel Stewart's heirs was £2,000, the entire list comes to £8,730.

John Connell to the Duchess of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 15 April 1828 (HA, Bundle 694)

M^r. Connell has the honor to inform The Duchess of Hamilton that since the Marquis of Douglas left Scotland the following Progress has been made towards completing the New Building at Hamilton Palace _ Viz

The Large Entrance Hall, the Charter Room, and Cellarage have all been Arched over with Fire Proof Groin Arches, done with Hewn Stone

The Corinthian Capitals of the Pilasters on the Wings of the Building, have been finished and put up.

_ One of the Wings is now nearly completed and the other will be finished in the course of two weeks

The Capitals per the Pilasters on the Wall behind the Columns of the Portico are finished and put up and look extremely well

The large Carriage for conveying the Ten Columns of the Portico from the Quarry to the Palace is nearly completed, and these Columns which weigh about 24 _ Tons each will be laid down at Hamilton in the course of a few weeks _ It is supposed they are the largest that have ever been erected in Britain As no tradition or example exists of stones of a Similar size forming apart of any Building in the United Kingdom

Hamilton

15th.. April 1828 _

Report in *The Glasgow Herald*, 2 June 1828, on the celebrations associated with the arrival of the last monolithic column at Hamilton Palace

HAMILTON PALACE.

On Wednesday there was another immense concourse of people to witness the removal from the Quarry of the last two large stones for the portico of Hamilton Palace. The stones are the largest ever used in British architecture. So grand a spectacle was never witnessed in the county. In addition to the multitudes on foot, there were great numbers on horseback, and in carriages; and when the whole were concentrated on the lawn in front of the Palace, the sight was picturesque and magnificent in the extreme. From one point of view, 300 children were counted. In the afternoon, the farmers and others, who had assisted in transporting the stones, partook of an excellent dinner in the inn. Mr. Brown presided, and gave the toasts with his usual ability. The various members of the noble family were toasted with so much enthusiasm, and in such rapid succession, that the company soon got into very high spirits. In the evening the tables were removed, and the room lighted up for a ball to the families of the persons employed in building the Palace. The dancing was kept up with much spirit; and the Marquis of Douglas delighted the assembly, by initiating the girls into a very vivacious sort of waltzing. About 11 o'clock the Duke, accompanied by a number of distinguished guests, visited the ball-room, and appeared highly delighted with the scene. The affability of his Grace, the Duchess, the Marquis, and Lady Susan, was the topic of every speaker; and the completion of the Palace will ever be remembered as an era in the history of Hamilton, not only for the valuable addition which it makes to the architecture of Scotland, but for the reciprocation of the best feelings of the heart, which took place on the occasion between the noble and public-spirited family and the inhabitants.

(FARTHER PARTICULARS.)

The stones for the great Portico were twelve in number, 26 feet in length, and each weighing about 26 tons. The quarry at Dalpatrick is about eight miles from Hamilton, and one day was taken up in bringing down each stone; but it was arranged to bring down the two last on Wednesday, which was with great exertions accomplished. One of the stones reached the Palace about seven o'clock that morning; and preparations having been made, it was resolved to bring down the other with more than ordinary

eclat. On setting out from the quarry, the scene was truly sublime – the day beautiful – and, besides the cavalcade, there were several thousand spectators.

PROCESSION.

Out-riders,

The Duchess of Hamilton, Lady Susan Hamilton, and
Lord and Lady Dunmore, in a carriage and four.
Other Noblemen's and Gentlemen's carriages;
Hamilton Band of Music.

The Duke of Hamilton, mounted on a beautiful grey
Arabian, accompanied on horseback by the Mar-
quis of Douglas and Clydesdale, on a black
charger; Mr. Lockhart of Castlehill,
Mr. McCall of Craighead, and
other Gentlemen.

One hundred and fifty respectable Farmers, part of the
Duke's Tenantry, all mounted on beautiful
Clydesdale horses, two and two.

New Town of Wishaw Band of Music.

The Duke's Farmer, followed by 30 yeomanry, mounted
on 30 capital draught horses, harnessed three abreast,
drawing the carriage, on which was placed the
STONE,

On which were, a man standing in front, holding a
Ducal Coronet of evergreens and flowers, keeping
a look out before, another person acting as pi-
lot, and on the centre a herculean quarrier,
standing erect, with a flag-staff and
flag, which he displayed to the
utmost advantage.

One hundred and twenty farmers, all mounted two and
two.

Strathaven Band of Music,
Followed by an immense crowd of Pedestrians.

The procession reached the Palace about half-past five o'clock, surrounded by a dense mass of people, not less than 15,000, notwithstanding that a thunder-shower and storm had commenced about an hour previously. The Duke and Duchess, the Marquis of Douglas, and Lady Susan Hamilton, Lord and Lady Dunmore, with others of the nobility, and a numerous body of other ladies and gentlemen were present, to witness the lowering of the stone from the carriage; the various bands of music added much to the grandeur of the scene. – After preparations were made to raise the stone, it was thought better to delay it till next day, on account of the difficulty that would be occasioned to the workmen, from the immense mass of people all anxious to be close to the carriage; indeed, it was almost impossible to get one's self turned. The shower also continuing heavy, it was better to delay this work, as hundreds were drenched.

At six o'clock, about 320 gentlemen sat down to a most substantial dinner in the Assembly Hall, Robert Brown, Esq., in the chair, Bailie Hamilton, croupier, when the evening was spent in the most harmonious and convivial manner. The following were among the toasts, many of which were prefaced by appropriate speeches from the Chairman and gentlemen present : –

The King – The Duke of Clarence, and the rest of the Royal Family – the Navy and Army – the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon – the Duchess of Hamilton – The Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, and long life to him (tremendous applause) – Lady Susan Hamilton – The Earl of Dunmore – Lady Dunmore, &c. – The memory of Lord A. Hamilton – The Plough – The Trade of Clyde – The Dairy – Farmers' wives and Farmers' bairns – Baillie Hamilton and the Magistrates of Hamilton – Breeding in all its branches – The Manufactures of our country – The operative Weavers of Lanarkshire – The Gentlemen who have favoured us with their company this day – Admiral Fleming, who is protecting the interest of Commerce abroad – A good Summer and a still better Harvest.

The dinner was followed by a ball. Dancing commenced at ten o'clock, and continued with little interruption till seven in the morning. The Marquis of Douglas joined the dinner party, and continued dancing with much spirit for several hours. The Duke also was present, and was in excellent health and spirits. It was past one o'clock in the morning before the Duke and Marquis quitted the dancing party. The whole concluded with a supper and a ball to some hundreds of the various tradesmen employed

at the works, accompanied by their wives and sweethearts, when mirth and glee was kept up till the sun was ascended high in the heavens.

Among the company present, were – Mr. Farie of Farme; Mr. James Ewing; Mr. James Cleland; Mr. Dunlop; Mr. Aytoun, W.S.; Mr. M^cCall of Craighead, and Sons; Mr. Archd. Smith; Mr. David Bell; Mr. Hamilton, architect, &c.

At the Palace there was a grand display of fireworks in the evening, and all classes vied with each other in wishing long life and happiness to the various members of the distinguished house of Hamilton.

This magnificent building will be a monument to the munificent taste of the Duke of Hamilton, and of the genius of the architect, our townsman, David Hamilton, Esq.

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated London, 25 June 1828 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, f.66)

[...]

I am sorry to hear of the Duke of Hamiltons painful situation without the blessing of sight life must be a lingering doom _____

[...]

Rev. John B. Patterson to Rev. John Bonar, dated Hensol, 29 August 1828 (NLS, MS 15998, ff.86-7)

Hensol August 29th 1828.

My Dear Bonar

I am quite ashamed &c &c. You will perceive that I have got back to my old quarters, and I make it a point by the first opportunity to take up the correspondence in Galloway again which had unfortunately flagged during the episode of Hamilton. You will perceive by the size of the character in which I have begun that I intend inflicting on you no slight quantity of verbiage though whence it is to be derived I am as yet profoundly ignorant. Perhaps as I have not had the pleasure of meeting you since I left the Palace, I may as well tell you something of my residence there as anything else. As for scenery, architecture, pictures, statues &c, I always skip such descriptions myself in letters or in books, and I shall therefore refrain from putting your patience and politeness to the test by any attempt at connoisseurship on the present occasion. It is different with men and manners, the study of which is always interesting _ So, without going further round the bush, let me describe the Hamilton family. _ The Duke who was at home for the last fortnight of my stay I found to be a person altogether different from what I had been led to imagine him _ His manner is somewhat formal and stately, to be sure, but very far from overbearing or repulsive _ On the contrary I have very seldom met with any person so kindly considerate and obliging in ordinary intercourse, or (what made me often feel somewhat awkward) so very grateful for any little attentions one might render him _ His talents are of a very acute and penetrating kind. No one sees better through a subject, or distinguishes its various parts more delicately than the Duke _ He was much displeased, for example, with the restoration of the forfeited titles to Erskine of Mar _ Gordon of Kenmure &c when it ought to have been to the heirs of the last Earl of Mar, [illegible alteration] Kenmure, &c, leaving the aforesaid individuals to prove their descent, and so acquire their titles _ His taste in the fine arts is of course very delicate and refined and he has given a splendid proof of it in the front of the new palace of which the design I was informed was principally his own _ In conversation he is often very interesting and eloquent though rather given to make speeches, and to make two sentences of that for which one might have served His principal employment, I am told, when his eyes permitted of it was writing letters of which he was passionately fond _ generally expanding them fairly over the sheet (a great

contrast to his brother Lord Archibalds which were generally comprized in one emphatic line or two well garnished with strokes below) and uniformly writing two copies of them with his own hand _ When I was there, however, writing or reading were forbidden, and he spent most of his time in solitary meditation _ In the morning before breakfast you might generally see him abroad wrapt up in a very large and voluminous blue cloak, and for his headdress an ancient Spanish hat which had once been black but now _ not on the rims alone _ was of a greyish napless brown _ pausing under every tree and gazing up into its foliage for minutes sometimes more than two or three _ During the day he generally moved on horseback and after dinner in his own room _ Altogether the Duke formed a very striking and very far from an unamiable character _ He one day expressed to me pretty strongly his regret that circumstances had prevented him from spending his life in his own [country altered to land] and his determination as soon as the Palace is finished to take up his permanent abode in Scotland as well as to educate his son for the service of his country _ Next for the Duchess who is a perfectly delightful woman _ Her whole manner is grace itself, except that in my opinion she laughs a little too loud and long for a woman. Her conversational talents are of a highly attractive kind, excelling as she does equally in the gay and the pathetic, the serious and the humorous _ As for her singing, it is that of an angel, excepting that she acts [altered illegible words] countenance too much for a less continental taste _ Altogether I was not very much surprized when looking over her music-library one day to find a composition of some Italian master or other dedicated “To the tenth Muse and the fourth Grace, that is to say, the Marchioness of Douglas.” In another part of her library I met with what pleased me yet more in relation to her character. Immediately before her setting out for England she sent back to their places in the library the books which she had beside her in her own private room _ These I was delighted to find were almost all religious and principally devotional books and all of them marked and annotated in such a way as very distinctly shewed the Duchess a woman accustomed to take a very vigilant charge of her own heart and much accustomed to think on these things __ The Marquis is a very fascinating young man _ full of gaiety and gracefulness _ He does not shew much inclination for voluntary study which his father regrets exceedingly _ Meanwhile he does vigorously and well what he does undertake in that way and it is to be hoped the taste may come _ Lady Susan his sister is the most exquisitely beautiful creature you can conceive _ and her beauty is set off and made interesting by the delightful frankness and freshness so to

speak of her character _ You may imagine that taken altogether they made a delightful family for however inconsistent we may generally imagine the ideas of domestic enjoyment and elevated rank _ I know no house which has more of home about it than Hamilton Palace _ nor are its inmates in any circumstances more amiable [~~than crossed out~~] or so happy to all appearance as when of an evening they meet together without company or parade [~~? crossing out or alteration to a dash~~] a little self-satisfied family _ You may imagine also that I enjoyed my four weeks at the Palace excessively _ and that I was little tempted to go much abroad. Indeed the only person I visited was M^r Gardenir of Bothwell whom I found a very pleasant and sensible person. He preached the day I heard him in the open air [...]

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated London, 7 October 1828 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, f.85)

[...]

I heard from the Duke of Hamilton on Friday and am glad He is again able to write Himself therefore no doubt His Eyes are restored for a time I am to see his Clock completed with Lapis Jaspers & & & & _____

[...]

Francis, White & Francis to Robert Brown, dated London, 7 November 1828, with a copy of Brown's reply, dated Hamilton Palace, 12 November 1828, on the second fold (HA, C4/697)

Nine Elms 7 Nov^r /
/ 28

Sir

In reply to your favor of the 2nd ins^t enquiring the prices of different sorts of Marble for His Grace The Duke of Hamilton we request to state that there is very little of the color'd Marbles at this time in London but we could procure any of The Italian sorts by due notice to us, and should be most happy to do so _

We have seen no Sicilian Jasper for many years but Sienna we could furnish you with in any quantity if time could be given to import it, we have just parted with our last eight blocks and perhaps could recover one or two of them if His Grace is anxious immediately to have them. _ The price of Sienna of the best description is from 50 to 60 shillings p cube foot.

We have also three Blocks of the most beautifull marble called Rondona Mischio, a description quite new in this country and we think not likely to be imported again, on account of the expense of quarrying it without a direct order is sent out for it _ Two of these Blocks measure upwards of nine feet long by 3 feet wide the first contains nearly 90 feet, and the other about 50 feet, the price is 80^s/- p cube foot: The third Block is much shorter and contains only about 15 or 20 feet and as it is an unopen'd block we are authorised to sell it at 60/- p foot _ We have seen this Marble polish'd and it is admirable.

Should you require Black or Gold Marble we recommend to you a part of a Block we have just sawn, it is certainly not to be equalled for the richness of figure, and from its being 9 feet long and apparently sound would be very valuable to any of our own masons, as it is a description of Marble which is seldom found without cracks _ the quantity is about 30 feet, the price 60/- p foot but we must beg the favor of your determination upon this piece within a post or two, as it will readily sell when, the trade have seen it. _

The price of Statuary Marble in Rough Blocks, p foot is from 40/- to 55/- Best Vein at 22/- Dove 26/- Bardilla 24/-

We shall be happy to give any further information and to attend to your
Commands

We are Sir

Your most ob^t Serv^{ts}

Francis, White & Francis.

R Brown Esq^{re}

Hamilton Palace

Scotland _

Nov 12. 1828

Sirs

I received your letter of the 7th inst, and I immediately laid it before His Grace the Duke of Hamilton. _ I am desired to return you on the part of His Grace many thanks for the information you have given him concerning the Marbles in your possession, but he desired me to subjoin, that as he is very particular, he will not at present give you any order. _ His Grace however is shortly to be in London, when he will call at your Magazine, see the Marbles, discuss with you the mode of importing them, and then leave you an order according to circumstances – Of course you will not preserve, if an opportunity for Sale offers, the Black & Gold Marble, you was so good as to propose to the Duke, as without seeing it, he is not disposed to take it

I am,

Sirs

Your most Obedient

Servant &c &c

Signed R.B. _

To

Mess^{rs} Francis, White & Francis }

Nine Elms }

London – }

‘Memorandums’ about the finishing of the interiors of Hamilton Palace, dated 4 May 1829 and signed by the 10th Duke of Hamilton on 12 May 1829 (HA, M10/200)

4 May
1829.

Memorandums as to the finishing of the inside of Hamilton Palace and other improvements connected therewith; made out by the Duke of Hamilton in presence of M^r Hamilton Architect and M^r Hume of London

Gallery

furnished
M^r
Hamilton
with Copy

All the drawings have already been furnished in so far as required by M^r Hamilton who is to finish and put up Marble Chimney pieces there within three months of this date

all done

The present plasterers are to give the second coat of plaster, but M^r Hume is to send people from London to execute the finishing coat and ornamental decorations -

partly done

M^r Hume is to direct the painting gilding varnishing and finishing off of this apartment -

The Carpenter work has already been executed by M^r Ramsay who will glaze the windows as soon as the plate glass arrives from London -

Furnished M^r Hamilton with Copy

The great door on the Western end of the gallery to be put up by Ramsay conform to the drawing furnished by M^r Hamilton and approved of by the Duke -

The Marbles requisite for erecting the columns on the inside of this door to be furnished by Mr Hamilton in three months from this date and the columns put up before the first day of Septem^r next.

Old Billiard Room or Little Drawing Room

The new Marble Chimney piece has been put up and the Carpenter work having been finished by M^r Ramsay, M^r Hamilton is to cause the painting to be done by the Glasgow Painters according to the directions already given by His Grace to Galloway the Painter [The following has been added, apparently by the 10th Duke] _ the old grate is to be put up with a rim of iron round it like the one in the dining room -

furnished M^r
Hamilton with Copy

The Duchess of Hamiltons suite
of apartments

Her Graces' rooms are now repaired and are ready for painting guilding and decorating - these operations to be done by London Tradesmen under M^r Humes superintendence -

Furnished M^r Hamilton with Copy _
[See note 1]

Her Graces new apartments such as the Bath room _ waiting maids room with the passage and Stair case leading to the same are to be finished in respect of the Joiner and Plaster work and also the painting according to M^r Hamiltons directions

The Drawings and details for finishing these new Rooms and passage are to be made out and left to M^r Hamilton to carry into effect with whom the Duke has arranged as to the completion of these rooms by verbal instructions.

Lady Susan Hamiltons'
Apartments _

These with the passages leading to them are to be carried on and completed by M^r Hamilton so as to be ready at the same time with the Duchess' apartments and as to which M^r Hamilton has got verbal instructions from the Duke.

The Duke of Hamilton's Bath room
Servants waiting room with
passage leading to them

These to be finished under M^r Hamiltons' directions and adjusted betwixt him & his Grace.

N.B. The Duchess' Lady Susans' and His Graces apartments above noted to be done as expeditiously as possible keeping in view however that the materials shall be well seasoned and the work of every kind executed in the best manner.

Furnished M^r Hamilton with Copy

The Great Eastern Stair case

This Stair case is to be erected with Thinacre Stone by M^r Connel, and the Carpenter wright and plaster work to be executed under the direction of M^r Hamilton who is immediately to furnish Sketchings of the drawings in order to be laid before His Grace for his sanction as to the manner in which the whole is to be completed _ and double Crown glass to be used for the Lantern.

The two Passages from the
Eastern Stair Case to the Tribune

With regard to these passages M^r Hamilton is to cause them to be finished according to particular instructions which His Grace is now to furnish.

Furnished M^r Hamilton with Copy

The Passage on the ground=floor from the East to the west end of the House to be rendered accessible for the use of the Servants &c and the pavement laid.

The Low Western Rooms in
the new Building.

These are already plastered and are to be floored Stone Chimney pieces put up and painted white _ doors with [p or f]ane lights hung _ and windows with plate glass put in so as to render them habitable without delay.

The Tribune

M^r Hamilton is immediately to furnish all the drawings necessary for this apartment and to direct M^r Connel to erect the Stone gallery with Stone to be procured from M^r Forrests' quarry around the same at the elevation of the Bedroom floor _ To complete the Carpenter work of the roof _ To lay the floor with the best pitch pine and to glaze the windows with Crown glass of double thickness in large panes furnished at Dumbarton or London wherever it can be got of the best quality and largest size _ The Plaster and ornamental work together with all the decorations to be executed by the Tradesmen that come from London of which M^r Hume is to take charge and to plan and direct -

Furnished M^r Hamilton with Copy _
[See note 2]

New Bed rooms in the Main
House in the western end

These to receive the first coat of plaster and to remain in that state till farther orders.

Garret Bed rooms immediately
above these last -

The Garret Bedrooms are already plastered _ The floors to be laid _ windows put in and the whole completed so as to be habitable _ The Stair up to them to be finished at same time -

Bed rooms above the Gallery

These to be finished with plain plaster work in the manner pointed out by the Duke and rendered fit for use without delay. Painting here to be commenced directly and particularly the windows Oak colour.

New Kitchen

This Built

The building of it to be begun whenever the Masons have completed the portico – and
The Stair cases and the blocking course around the old House

Coal House

This to be erected in the centre of the Kitchen Court and the old well to be arched over and the Pump removed to a corner in order to make room for the same -

Water for the Palace

Preparations to be made and Specifications and Estimates obtained for bringing that article from the well at Motherwell -

Glazing

The Plate glass for the windows is to be sent from London and all the new Windows of the Gallery and S.E. wing of the Palace which have been made by M^r Ramsay are to be glazed with it.

attended to

The old windows on the ground floor and also those of the S.W. wing of the Palace are to remain as they are until farther orders, but M^r Ramsay may proceed to make new windows in order that they may be ready when required.

The old windows that are taken out of the S.E. wing and the gallery &c are to be put in a temporary way into the north front of the Palace, in order to keep the unfinished rooms dry.

M^r Hamilton is now to take up his residence here and remain almost constantly untill he makes out the whole drawings required for carrying on and completing the several operations mentioned in the foregoing memorandums, and also for the purpose of giving instructions from time to time to the Tradesmen employed; but to be allowed to return to Glasgow when the drawings and operations are finished or in progress to the satisfaction of His Grace or of M^r Brown in his absence.

M^r Hume goes off to London this day in order to engage Artisans for doing the work under his immediate charge, and to procure the models and materials necessary. His Grace is to pay the London workmens wages monthly and the materials when furnished _ M^r Hume is to be allowed his Travelling expenses when coming from and going to London and at the rate of one Guinea p day whilst employed by His Grace for his trouble ie. if he stay here for a considerable period at one time, but he is to be allowed half a guinea additional per diem each time he comes here when his stay is not required for more than eight days on such occasion.

M^r Connel is to proceed furthwith to execute the following operations viz

- | | | |
|----------|----|--|
| done | 1. | To complete the portico and outer Stair |
| done | 2 | The blocking course around the old House |
| done | 3 | The wall in the Bath room |
| done | 4 | The wall below the Tribune |
| | 5 | The Stone gallery around the inside of the Tribune. |
| | 6 | Stone Chimney pieces for the Rooms already plastered – |
| finished | 7 | The Stones for the new Kitchen to be brought home and prepared. |
| | 8 | The Stone and partition in the old Entrance Hall to be over hauled all wood work removed and Stone substituted all around the doors. |
| | 9 | The [Rudling, Budling, or a mistake for Building] of the floor below the hearths of the rooms above the gallery to be altered and brick arches or Iron substituted |

My large Florentine Chimney piece without the top part to be put up in the Tribune by M^r Hume, who has my orders to that effect – [The following has been added, apparently by the 10th Duke] & a thick large Marble frame ~~of iron~~ to go round the inner apperture, so as to diminish it, & strengthen the work –

M^r Hume has orders not to proceed but to apply to M^r Brown if the wood or Painters' work is not sufficient to enable him to complete a good Job –

M^r Ramsay

- | | |
|------|---|
| done | To build immediately a place to keep his wood in, safe from wet or Sun. |
| done | To prepare the windows directly for the Duchess rooms and all the rooms above the Gallery, as likewise for all the windows round the Duchess new Buildings _ and afterwards |

To prepare windows in the french fashion as per model in my room for all the principal floor windows in the new Building

Dining Room windows are to be painted _ New Building _ Library windows not to be painted, teak or other Billiard Room windows not D^o

Great Hall windows to be painted

Great Stair Case windows and all the rooms where M^r Ramsay is working to be painted

Upper floor windows are to be painted unless there is hard wood unemployed; in which case the windows above the three rooms where M^r Ramsay is at work should be prepared to receive this hard wood.

Discussed this with M^r Hume M^r Connel and M^r Ramsay and it does not appear to them necessary to come to any resolution about the size of the doors untill the final arrangement as to the finishing of these Rooms are decided upon
Hamilton 29 June 1829

N.B. It is understood that where the windows are painted, all the wainscoating and inside work will be painted likewise _ and where the Teak and Oak wood is employed in the window frames, the same will be employed all thro' the rooms for dados &^c &^c

M^r Ramsay may be preparing the doors in the new Building as soon as M^r Hume arrives to ascertain their height I think the present apertures too small and particularly for folding doors which they ought all to be, and of course the doors will have to correspond with the windows of the several rooms either painted or not _ The doors should be three inches or two inches & ½ thick at least _ If necessary the Masonry to be made suitable to the size of the doors

M^r Ramsay is to finish all the work in the Rooms over the gallery of course windows door pannels &^c are all to be painted white _ in the Bed room with the old ceiling, the french white marble and gilt Chimney piece is to be placed, and the others that came out of these rooms before replaced in the others, but a new Mantle of marble substituted for the old one of wood the black marble Chimney piece to be placed in the room above the Billiard room.

The Kitchen Court windows and rooms to be painted white by Galloway _ the Sashes on the outside dark _ as soon as the blocking course and weather will permit.

The Tympanum over the Portico to be executed according to the designs sent by me from London

The circular Stair case between the Duchess' rooms and the Billiard Room _ the communication must be reserved with the passage from all the three Stairs

Enquire about the Brazil wood expected at Bonëss

Water Closet Kitchen Court on the second floor over the Entry and above the present water Closet to be put up

Wooden Venetian Blinds to be made and painted green for the Duchess' rooms before the autumn so that the smell of the painting may be gone off before the spring.

June 1829
written
orders
given to
Ramsay

CH&B

Hamilton Palace
May y^e 12th 1829 –

Additions to text:

- 1 The text has been annotated, in pencil: Maids Rooms to be papered passages &^{co}. to get one coat of paint or size.
- 2 The text about bedrooms above the gallery has been annotated, in pencil: Does the painting apply to these Bed rooms?

Notes:

There are drafts of M10/200 in the Hamilton archive, under M10/198 and 199. M10/199 is a reasonably well-written, almost final draft, with a few additions, for the first four and a half pages of the typed transcript, up to the heading 'M^r Ramsay'. M10/198 is a rough draft (apparently in the 10th Duke of Hamilton's handwriting) for the rest of the 'Memorandums'. It ends with the entry about the Kitchen Court windows and the word 'permit', followed by a dash. There is no mention of the tympanum, circular staircase between the Duchess's rooms and the Billiard Room, the Brazil wood expected at Bo'ness, or of the water closets, but the entry about the wooden Venetian blinds appears on the second side of the draft and has been relocated to form the final instruction in M10/200.

A copy of the Memorandums, '(signed) CH&B', with slight differences in spelling and upper and lower case, but without the additional annotations found on M10/200, is in Bundle 665.

The 3rd Lord Macdonald to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 8 May 1829 (HA, C4/702)

Crawley's Hotel Albemarle Street

London _ May 8th, 1829.

My Lord Duke,

I am just favored with Your Grace's letter of 25th ult^o & I only regret that in following my steps & not overtaking me till I had become stationary again so much time has been lost when the reason for acting is about to commence _ I hasten therefore to say that it will afford me the greatest pleasure that Your Grace will make use of my Skye Marble, & in such situations as will answer best for the purposes that your Grace intends it for _ I write by this Post to my Agent at * Edinburgh to afford the necessary facilities to the persons that may be employed for the purpose of having it worked.

Your Grace does me much honor by the manner in which you mention me. I hope at all times your Grace will have no scruple in writing to me on this or any other subject in which I can be at all of service _

I remain

with much respect,

Your Grace's

most faithful

& ob^t servant

Macdonald _

* John Bowic Esq^r W_S_

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Hamilton Palace, 9 May 1829 (HA, C4/701)

May y^e 9th 1829

Hamilton Palace

My Dear Sir

I send you herewith M^r Gillespie's drawings that they may be returned to him, as they are of no use to me _ It will give me pleasure to have the business settled with him, & I am ready to pay anything that is thought reasonable for his drawings as drawings, but I will not pay for them as mathematical plans or working drawings, as I expressly forbid him to prepare anything of the kind for me —

[...]

Robert Hume & Son to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 27 May 1829, with a note from the 10th Duke to Robert Brown and a 'Memorandum' by Robert Hume on the reverse, sent to Brown at Hamilton Palace on 29 May 1829 (HA, C4/103)

London 65 Berners Street

May 27th, 1829

To His Grace the

Duke of Hamilton & & &

My Lord Duke

We beg to state that We are now quite ready to Execute any Works that Your Grace may please to Command in the Finishing of Hamilton Palace.

We are most desirous that the Works may be done in a Superior Manner & with the very best Materials for which Works when done We will Charge your Grace a just & moderate price _ Should that not prove to your entire Satisfaction We will then make a Charge by the Usual Mode of Measure & Value Off which We will take 5 p^t cent and also at the rate of 5^pC^t for all Monies advanced during the progress of the said Works __

We beg to Remain Your Most Devoted &

Humble Servants

Rob^t. Hume & Son

My Dear Sir

The arrangement proposed by Hume I have considered, & I have acceded to it, thinking it is upon a fair principle & I have therefore sent it to you __

By the memorandum that follows you will see that Hume will be ready to proceed as soon as you are ready for him, & you will notify to him your wishes & he will attend to them _

I must now add, that, as there will be more work carried on than we had anticipated when we discussed the expenditure of this year upon the building together, you will consider yourself as authorized by me to lay out 3 or 4 thousand pounds more than the original sum agreed upon; in all I should say, about ten thousand pounds, leaving you a [illegible word:? libertide or latitude] of a thousand pounds as circumstances may require to your discretion _ With regard I remain

My Dear Sir Your attached

&^c — &

CH&B

Robert Brown Esq^{re}

To Mr Brown

Memorandum

being now with His Grace He desires me to say that He is most anxious to proceed with the Dutchess apartments and therefore I have inform you that my men are now ready to set off whenever you shall fix the time by a Letter to me

The Ceiling & & Lanthorn Light of the Tribune should be pressed forward as much as possible in the Carpenters Work, as we shall soon require it to proceed with the Stucco Work ____ this is essential that it may have all the time possible to Dry

Note: The back of the letter is addressed to Robert Brown at Hamilton Palace and dated 'May twenty nine _ 1829_', in the Duke's handwriting. It is also annotated in ink: 29 May 1829 / Agreement with / Hume & Son – / _ Expenditure on Palace / 1829 – . £10,000 has been added in pencil after the date and the dash.

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated London, 6 July 1829 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, ff.90-1)

London July 6. 1829

To W^m Beckford Esq^r

Sir

I was in hope that I should have been in Town before you had left for Bath, the next pleasure is to write I remained at Hamilton Palace 10 Days

The cautious Factor again attempted to make play when I told him I had most respectfully told the Duke my mind upon that subject and that I was quite unalterable since then not a word has been said ___ while I was there I worked hard and gave him a satisfactory specimen of what We shall do there ___

His Grace had written him as regards myself with every confidence so much so as regards the Apartments that I have to do, that they are entirely under my direction so that if possible I feel more anxious than before to give him the utmost satisfaction in all I have to do

I was with the Factor twice and found him a Shrewd & wily Scot _ He has been of the utmost value to the Duke in raising Rents & doing political Business on Moderate Terms – He is much looked to by the Nobility for advice without pay otherwise notwithstanding than places & patronage for his relatives & Friends — that is either [? Mcul or Meal] or Malt He seems attentive to the Marquiss who is expected there in a few days to go to Arran a Shooting, I think He wishes to advise with him previous to his going to join the Head Quarters of Noble dissipation [where or when] I hope He may be preserved to the comfort of his most anxious & affectionate Parents

With the most Grateful feelings

I beg to Remain Your very

Devotd Humble Serv^t

Rob^t Hume

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated London, 6 August 1829 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, ff.92-3)

[...]

I shall be going to Scotland again in a few days _ I hear, that what is done has given the greatest satisfaction to M^r Brown My hope is that it may do so to their Graces

[...]

Note: Hume informed Beckford in his letter dated London, 2 September 1829 (*ibid.*, f.94): ‘I am going off to Hamilton this En^g & shall be to Town in 8 or 10 days’.

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated Hamilton Palace, 11 September 1829 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, f.96)

Hamilton Palace

Sep^r.11- 1829

To W^m Beckford Esq^r

Sir

I hope my gratitude to you is infinite – The Palace Works are proceeding very well and those parts which are entrusted to me getting very forward, and it is much pleasure to add, every of the numerous Visitors Architects, Inspectors & the Factor bestow unmeasured praise to the Gall^y Cieling & Cornice which is nearly complete in the Plaster ___ I have the Dutches^s Ap^{ts} much advanced the third ceiling is now Gilding & I have confidence that these ap^{ts} will when finish^d. not discredit me —

I am now occupied putting into hand the great Tribune Cieling _ I have shown my Design to Mr Hamilton the Arch^t & he well repaid me with his most hearty and flattering concurrence ___ I have also set a going the Library Cieling which will be with the Bookcases I expect) a very Superior Example of Symetery

I should be most happy if you could without inconvenience make a morn^g call on the Banks of Clyde as I am sure His Grace would benefit much by your active and purefying Taste ___ by this time next year I hope a Balloon or some other Sublunar celerity will bring you over the Border

The weather here is (to use the local term) very soft in intervals of sunshine the scenery is pleasing, and in the park the Trees superb the Foliage light & graceful with very extended Arms sweeping the Lawn on all sides

I shall return to Town in 3 or 4 days when the first thing I attend to shall be the intermediate friend of the man at Brighton _ I will then let you Know how matters stand on that Subject _

I am Your Devoted & Grateful

Obed^t Serv^t.

RHume

Robert Hume to Robert Brown, dated London, 10 October 1829 (HA, Bundle 1882)

London Oct^r 10 = 1829

To Robert Brown Esq^r.

Sir

I have sent off for Hamilton Palace 3 Boxes with Models Drawings Gold & sundry other Materials for my Workmen at the Palace which I expect will arrive at Hamilton on Tuesday next there is also one more of the flooring cramps for M^r Ramsey ____

I have heard twice from his Grace lately _ He seems much satisfied and talks of coming over for a short time to see how the Works go on __ as his Eyes are much better of late ____

I must beg to trouble you to forward to me the Letter I left with you,, belonging to my Friend M^r Davies,, respecting Lord Fifes Affairs with any good advice you can give upon the Subject __ his Lordship it appears can afford to Subscribe to the Relief fund of Covent Garden Theatre

I am now Busily engaged making the Models for the Ornamenting the Tribune & shall forward them as they are got ready, next month the plate Glass for the Bed Rooms will be sent off

I have written to my Brother by the Parcels & have drawn a memorandum for an advance of £200 – on ^a/_c which I beg you will have the goodness to let him have & you will much oblige

Your very Obed^t &

Humble Serv^t

Rob^t Hume

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated London, 22 October 1829 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, ff.100-1)

London Oct^r. 22- 1829

To W^m. Beckford Esq^r.

Sir

Having this day rec^d a Letter from his Grace with the agreeable news that his Eyes were improving very much & feeling that you would much rejoice to hear the same I pass it on by the first post __ His Grace Talks of coming over very Shortly to run down to see the progress at Hamilton _ He seems very highly satisfied with the reports that have been forwarded to him, of the Gall^y Ceiling &c _ which I am doing for the Palace _ You being the King of the Science or Art of Emblems I most Humbly beg your advice as to whether & what Emblems would be most proper to place in these Pannels A.B.C _ at the end of the Gall^y in the ceiling over where the Dias or Throne will be placed _ [Note: sketch of the Long Gallery ceiling to the left, on f.100 verso] in the other compartment of the great Squares there are the armorials _ Cinquefoils. de liese & mullet. I have mentioned the Arms & Two Crests but his Grace thought of an Apollo^s Head with rays _ then He left me do what I thought best ___ & I think best to Implore you to help me from the dilemma

My York Work is proceeding rapidly I have 60 men at work upon it, this Job together with making the Working Drawings & models for the Tribune & Library at Hamilton keep me hard at work

Smith has returned from his Tour from Dresden Vienna Venice Florence & & &

He could not purchase any fine thing in all his route but was most civilly treated every where in consequence of an open Letter to all from Mr Peel, He was most happy again to see London which He looks upon as a[? n] [illegible word with damage to letter] Paradise _ I am sure Sir you will not [damage to letter:? be] pleased to learn that I have received only a fresh batch of Promises from Earlstoke, these sorry doings make me Sorry when I think.

I have seen Buckingham Palace within it is all straw & no corn _ O dear O dear poor John Bull _ passages about the state apart^{ts} where it is so dark that Gas. or Lamps must at all times be burning, shameful indeed

I Remain Your Most Devoted & Humble

Serv^t Rob^t Hume

Note: Very interestingly, there is an entry for ‘A drawing design for a splendid ceiling’, costing one pound, charged to ‘Mr Hume’'s account in the day book of the London dealer John Smith during the period April 1829 to 9 March 1830 (National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, Day Book of John Smith, Volume II, 1827-36, p.167). ‘Mr Hume’ was definitely Robert Hume because some of the other items were for William Beckford. The ‘drawing design for a splendid ceiling’ could have been for the Long Gallery or the Tribune.

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated London, [3 or 5] November 1829 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, f.102)

London Nov^r [3 or 5] 1829

Sir

as I was daily expecting to hear from his Grace I thought of delaying writing until that [? event] had occurred in hope that I should have been enabled to have had the pleasure of forwarding some further report of convale[s or c]ence from Paris ____ in consequence of your information ab^t. His Grace I have been to his usual Hotel this afternoon & found that He was expected this E[illegible letter or abbreviation]^s [i.e. contraction of Evening] or to morrow so no doubt I shall have the Honor to attend his Grace in a day or Two when I shall strongly urge the Crests & Arms

at present I regret I cannot communicate anything satisfactory ab^t the House the Theme of the day is Sacrifice, or it is not possible to Sell just now, and it will not be good Policy to make it too common at this time possibly the spring may produce a better demand

I have not yet heard where the large Family Vault is to be erected for the Metropolitan Family but I recollect having seen the Draw^s 2 or 3 years since the Idea I think originated from the Bee hive by a Mr Wilson

I have heard that a Gentleman named G[?egoni] has just commenced a most magnificent Mansion in the Elizabethan Style in that Swushy County Essex – Estimated at £100 000, Lambeth Palace is being rebuilt by the now called Building Bishop this being the 3^d Episcopal residence He has taken in hand __ Blon is Arch^t__

I saw the other day Sir Jeff's sketch for the Throne to go to Windsor I suppose for the Hall it is plain & heavy, otherwise miserably simple. They are filling up some Rooms with Old French Boiserie or Carv^d Wainscot^s ____ the same which De, La Hante sold to L^d Farnborough so they will have some of all sorts ____

I Remain Sir Your Most Devoted

Humble Serv^t

Rob^t Hume

Note: The reverse of the letter is franked 'V.S / VNO5 S / 1829' within a medallic cross.

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated London, 7 November 1829 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, f.104)

London Nov^r 7 – 1829

To W^m. Beckford Esq^r

Sir

I was with his Grace this morn^g for a few minutes He is much better than when I last saw him His Eyes are somewhat better but they will not bear regular use that is if He reads or writes a little much the vision is exhausted I shall again see him to morrow I believe He seems in a hurry to get to Hamilton where He proposes I sh^d again see him in a few days He is very determined to push the palace forward _ so we may hope a great part will be finish^d by the period of Legal Manhood of the Marqu[e or i]ss I spoke ab^t the Arms & Crests & stated that you consider^d them most correct when his Grace at Once consented it should be so –

I have heard this morn^g, that after a cold Parley a repugnant Armistice has been concluded the Phillipits & Farquhants the Serp^t has acceded to certain prof^d conditions by which He will lose a little from his very extended Demand _ I was very happy to receive this news & sh^d hope that before long the Ballance Due to you will be paid _ the Serp^t & Doxey are gone to Brighton for a few days to rejoice over this Treaty of Peace

I Remain Your Most Devoted

& Humble Serv^t

Rob^t Hume

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated London, 12 November 1829 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, f.106)

London Nov^r 12 -1829

To W^m. Beckford Esqr

Sir

As usual his Grace left London at night last Sunday, I was with him all the morn^g He was in good spirits I shall be following him about Monday or Tuesday next it seems to be his intention of staying at the Palace until the second week in next Month I imagine with the intent of being in Paris by Xms_, He was well pleased with what I explained to him as to how & what I was now doing for the Tribune. He told me that the Gall^y Ceiling was much talked of & praised, & said we must take care what we are ab^t or else Mr Beckford will find fault with us _ I s^d I hope^d to merit yr Praise in some degree, He agrees to the Arms & Crests with Arabesques

I believe the Physician accompanied his grace it put me in mind of Sir. W^m. [illegible name: ? Knythe] & a gr^t personage and is quite in the grand style & very well while He remains only a talking Physician, but I should beg to be excused being a Subject for experiments to Him

there is a Lot of 20 Pictures coming from Middleburg among which I hope to procure something Pure to displace M^r Clover who is very muddy I have been to, but did not see Colnaghi ab^t. taking Possⁿ of the Woeful Seal I will see to this again before I go –

I Remain Your Most Devoted &

Humble Serv^t

Rob^t Hume

Note: There is a draft reply from Beckford on f.107r.

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated Hamilton Palace, 30 November 1829 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, f.108)

at Hamilton Palace

the last day of Nov^r 1829 _11-P.M

Sir

I feel much in debt to you, not writing before, I shall now Endeavour to repay a little having a Ducal Envelope which would become extinct by 11. A.M. to morrow

I am really Sorry I cannot write better to night but I severely by accident Stabbed my right hand this morn^g not so bad th,o but I have been at work all day but it is now quite stiff _ His Grace left me this En^s for Edinbro for 3 or 4 days He is pretty well in spirits & much pleased with the works that I have done here yet, & really He is profiting by that experience which your very long continued Liberal encouragement had excited my Observation to, the Gall^y Ceiling is a good Job and the 3 pannls above the Throne are now Knocked into One which is being shaped thus [sketch of the arms of the Duke of Hamilton surrounded by the Order of the Garter and a wreath, and with two shaped compartments on each side, to the right] & I am modelling the Arms with Emblems of Peace & Honor with the Garter __ Honi Soit qui mal y pense !

// with the Crests it would have been out of proportion

His Grace says it shall all go on with spirit & I think that will be the case, as He has decided that He will decide further orders on his return here this week so that it is probable I may remain here till the 10th when his Grace will be about leaving

He had a slight touch of Pain in one Eye yesterday for a few hours, and is now better but cannot write long together __ His Doctor Signirressimo Benmatto,o, is at Edinbro,o., since I have been here I have not seen him here ____ I am treated with the utmost Kindness by the Duke & am unremittingly anxious to merit it

with faith & Hope that You continue to enjoy Health as usual & that it may long Continue is the constant wish of Your Respectfull & Most Devoted

Oblig^d Serv^t

Rob^t Hume

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated Hamilton Palace, 7 December 1829 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, f.109)

Hamilton Palace Dec^r 7 _ 1829

To W^m. Beckford Esq _

Sir

I had often thought abo^t the Ex^p but as I intend to be in Town this Week I shall be in time to Exchange them

I shall get home on Saturday therefore if you will forward them to Berners Street by that time I will attend to them

His Grace return^d here from Edin^g & L^d Dunmors yesterday morning at 4.O
clock I think none the better of his trip his Doctor is all the time at the Skools in Ednb^g

I Remain Yo^r Most Ob^{dt}

& Devoted Serv^t

Rob^t Hume

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated London, 3 January 1830 (HA, C4/703)

London Jan^{ry} 3 _ 1839

My Dear Sir

I have been detained a day longer – This evening however I set off for certain _

Since my arrival here I have seen Hume & settled everything concerning the ceilings of the new billiard room, library & dining room; & almost everything indeed concerning them: in so much however that he may commence his work, & the sooner he does perhaps the better _ I have told him to write to you, as to the mode & time of his commencing his operations, which he will do; & you will tell him when he may send his men down, & come himself, as several things will require his own personal directions _ In regard to any price, or to any arrangement as to price, I have not said one word to him, so that your hands are free, & I sh^d be obliged to you to enter into such agreements as you think proper; for, if you recollect upon a former occasion, I got you into some difficulty in consequence of my having said something _ This business I have now left quite open, & thus you will do as you please without being bound to anything _

In the course of six weeks Hume is to send down to M^r: Baird of the Shotts works the mouldings for the iron East bannister stair-case; & you will be so obliging as to take care that M^r Baird puts the work in hand so that it may be ready in time for placing in situation in the summer _

I have given Hume a frank for tomorrow, so you will hear from him upon these different matters _ You will then be so good as to tell him, when he may commence this new undertaking; but probably you will chuse before hand to have some settlement or understanding as to the past as well as in regard to the future _

I am preparing for my departure & shall leave this letter to be sent off tomorrow _ I have only to desire that you will take care of yourself, & that you will believe me My Dear Sir your attached and obliged

CH&B

Rob^t Brown Esq^{re}

Note: The 10th Duke seems to have got confused with the year change. He definitely wrote 1839, but the letter is docketed '3 Jany 1830 / The Duke of / Hamilton / respecting the / Palace'.

Note of 'Estimate of Mr Hume's probable expense' at Hamilton Palace in 1830 and 1831, including the date 12 March 1830 (HA, F2/1078)

Estimate of Mr Humes Acco^{ts}. ____
 For Duchess Apartments £1500
 Gallery _____ 2500
 Tribune _____ 750
 Billiard Room ____ 750 _
 Library _____ 2000
 Dining Room 5000
 £12,500
 Ramsay Library ____ 2000

The reverse has been annotated:

Estimate
 of M Hume's
 probable expense
 [at] Palace in 1830
 say ____ £4000
 in 1831 _ 5000
 £9000

 already paid £1300
 £10300
 12 March 1830
 £2200
 Balance afterward____
 £12,500

Robert Brown to Robert Hume, dated Hamilton, 25 April 1830 (HA, Bundle 1897)

Hamilton 25th Apr^l 1830

Dear Sir

I was surprised to learn this day that the Measurements of the Glass for the Lantern of the Tribune had not been given you when you was last here __ These Measurements are now inclosed and I beg you may send the Glass without delay __

I have late letters from the Duke and Duchess of Hamilton who intend to leave France in June nixt They mention that you are to send down a Number of Guilders from London to finish the Gallery and I hope to see them here soon __ The Family fix on Oct^r nixt for coming home when I hope you will have the Gallery and Tribune fit for their reception and free of the smell of paint I am

Dear Sir

Your Mo^t Ob^t Se^t

Robert Brown

M^r Robert Hume Jun^r.

Berners Street London

Robert Hume to Robert Brown, dated 29 April 1830 (HA, Bundle 1897)

To Robert Brown Esq^r __ April 29th 1830

Sir

I yesterday rec^d yours of the 25th inst^t in which you say you the[n or re] enclose measurements for the Glass of the Tribune it was not inclosed _ I therefore conclude it is coming by mail or that in haste you omitted to enclose it _ I will procure the Squares of Glass as quick as possible _ The Duke has wrote me to press forward with all proper dispatch which of course shall be done ==

I have the pattens for the Staircase Balustrade nearly Finished also the Glass & Frames for the Dutchess apartments & shall forward them to Hamilton Palace

I learn from Hamilton that the Picture Frames are nearly all Finished & that the Gilding the Gall^y will commence forthwith & I have no doubt will proceed to your satisfaction

I think I shall have occasion to be at Hamilton in 3 or 4 Weeks by which Time I presume the Tribune will be very forward & I hope very Handsome _ His Grace is sending to me some goods from Paris to be repaired new Gilt & forwarded to Hamilton for the Dutchess^s Rooms _ these & some other heavy things I have in hand make me look forward for means to your Friendly help by a remittance on ^{a/c} for any Sum you may Please to forward to your very Respectful

& very oblig^d Humble Serv^t.

Robert Hume

Report on the progress of the addition to Hamilton Palace in *The Glasgow Herald*, 7 May 1830, p.4

Hamilton Palace. – This magnificent mansion, the principal seat of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, is now fast advancing to its completion, and, when finished, will be not only by far the most splendid habitation in Scotland, but equal to any in the island. Last year upwards of 40,000l. were expended on the interior of the building, and an equal sum will be expended during the present year. In two years more it is supposed that the whole edifice will be completed in all its departments – its erection thus taking up a period of eight years, about six having elapsed since it was commenced. The length of the palace is 263 feet; but, including the elegant kitchen-court stretching from its south side, there is, in reality, an uninterrupted front of building of not less than 363 feet. The breadth, likewise, of the structure, is very great; its height 60 feet. The sum required for the completion of the palace has never been exactly calculated, but it is supposed it will exceed 200,000l., and would have been still greater had the stones not been procured from the Duke's own quarries. Besides this expenditure, it is generally supposed that 40 or 50,000l. will be required to furnish the mansion in a suitable manner. – We understand that the Duke and Duchess now intend to reside permanently in Hamilton; and a suite of elegant apartments are in the course of preparation for her Grace, who is expected in the course of the summer. The architect of this magnificent structure is Mr. David Hamilton, of Glasgow, a gentleman who, by this splendid specimen of professional talent, has placed himself in the very foremost rank in this department of art, and is every way worthy to be classed with the first architects of the British metropolis. – *Free Press.*

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated London, 22 June 1830 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, f.115)

[...]

On my return I found a Letter from His Grace dated the 10th respecting a large Quantity of superb silk for the Dutchess^s Rooms that is consigned to me from Lyons, in that Letter He says He shall be in Town in a few days it now seems a Slow Fever has overcome his intentions and it may yet be 2 or 3 Weeks ere He is here

[...]

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated London, 26 June 1830 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, f.119)

London June 26 1830

To W^m Beckford Esqr
Bath

Sir I this Morn^g had the Honor of an Interview of the Dutchess of Hamilton & it is with real pleasure I can say she looks exceedingly well. I presented the two Letters from you which she read with seeming satisfaction but evidently with much feeling & inapreciable Filial affection, she was delighted to hear you enjoyed good Health

I did not take the Sketches as I expected she would have a Levee this morn^g which was the Case _ but I am to attend on Monday morn^g with them for Her Inspection

The Duke is expected in the course of next week but as George the IV is now really over the Styx & Elections will be the order of the day _ perhaps He may change his Plans last En^g the Saint Smith called upon me to learn if the Picture had been recovered & to day I went again to the Waggon Office but they never not yet had an Answer from the [? A]ntwells I told them if it was not forthcoming next week I should demand payment for the loss

Smiths Son will be at Bath on Tuesday next & is properly desirous of viewing the Gems of the Tower & the Crescent I told him I would mention his Ambition to you this day & that I thought you would Grant Permission for his admission to I am sure the most choisi & Tasteful Collⁿ in Europe ____ This morn^g I Rec^d the order for the Throne & Pulpit from Mr Smirke

I am Your Most Devot[ed] & Humllle

Obed Serv^t Rob^t Hume

The 3rd Lord Macdonald to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Thorpe, Sledmere, Yorkshire, 1 October 1830 (HA, Bundle 665)

Thorpe. Sledmere Yorkshire

October 1st, 1830 –

My Lord Duke,

I was this Morning put into possession of Your Grace's letter of the 11th Ult^o, & I am sorry for the delay if it retards the operations in view, but which I should hope would not be the case as my Factor D^r Macleod is aware of what is to be done; I have only to mention to your Grace as I do to him by this Post that I request you will make any use you please of the marble Quarries, & if they should be found to have answered the purposes for which your Grace intends the marble, I shall be very much pleased and gratified

I returned from the Highlands only a few days ago _

I beg leave to subscribe myself with sentiments of much respect and esteem,

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's most faithful

and obedient humble Servant

Macdonald

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

&cc &cc &cc

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated London, 10 November 1830 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, ff.121-2)

London Nov^r.10th 1830

To Will^m Beckford Esq

Sir

Having been from home all yesterday until after 8 in the Evening I had not the Pleasure of reading or answering yours of the 8th until after Post

I had the Honor to accompany yesterday to the Castle at Windsor His Grace of Hamilton & the Amiable Scion of Sussex with a roving Order to inspect all the Royal Apartments, I much wished that you was our Leader in the morning, but as the inspection proceeded it became more & more irritating by the many examples of ignorance & vulgarity there to be seen, if you had been there I should have feared that your very Sensitive nerves of Sight & judgment would have spoke forth many (not praises) but curses upon the Lords of Taste His grace was much disappointed I may say in every respect. Col^l. Dester Dined with the King on Monday & also yesterday & on our way to Town the Col^l said My Dear Duke I am not a Man of Taste or a Cognocenti but what shall I say to the King what do you most admire He did not like to answer that but made a most Happy proper & noble proposition that is as the round Tower is so low & ugly He would be the first to propose the raising of it 50 feet higher by Public Subscription & He would begin by Subscribing 500 Bravo —

He then by a side wind answered the Question by the means of wishing me to say, whether among all the things which we had seen in the Castle what I would select for myself not as to value but as to rarity & merit My answer was that my feeling could not be induced to covet any one object but the 40 or 50 Cannelettes Pictures, the Duke then said there is an opinion for you ____

the whole is a miserable piece of Bungling & unworthy of the Enormous Expenditure that made it I am much pleased that His grace viewed the Castle for He says now He is very happy with what He has & is doing at Hamilton Palace

Perhaps you will have observed in the Chancery reports of the newspapers _ in the Goods of the late Earl Rochford an application about a will but there is not the least Fear, His Grace is quite secure ____ last night I walked out among the Moles but is all a

false Alarm there will not be a revolution here at present [damage to letter] like a gagging Scheme to cover the Princess Blunder about reform

Humpy was quite a Sancho in Brussels & was sent here out of the way I have not heard that the Antwerp Tower is damaged

His Grace is at Escudiers Hotel in Albemarle Street as usual

I am Sir with

Gratitude your Devoted &

Obed^t Ser^{vt} Rob^t Hume

Robert Hume to Robert Brown, dated London, 17 November 1830 (HA, Bundle 1906)

London Nov^r 17 – 1830

To Robert Brown Esqr

Sir

His Grace the Duke of Hamilton has requested that I would as soon as possible deliver to you the Account for the Dutchess^s Apartments & the Gallery I am anxious so to do but I must defer it until I am at Hamilton which I expect will now be within 12 or 15 days when I shall be prepared to give you the Accompt which you are in need of

We are all in Confusion here for some days past as you know, last night the Ministers all resigned therefore for some days to come I think it will continue

I am happy to say the Duke is quite well and I hope you are

I remain Sir Your Very Respectful

Serv^t

Robert Hume

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated London, 1 December 1830 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, f.123)

[...]

The Duke is unwell with a severe Cold and Hoarseness but seems fully Determined to proceed with his Works

[...]

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated London, 4 December 1830 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, f.125)

[...]

I am sorry to say the Duke has a severe Cold & his Eyes very weak He has not been out for 3 or 4 days past _ [...]

John M. Leighton's description of Hamilton Palace in *Select Views on the River Clyde. Engraved by Joseph Swan, from drawings by J. Fleming. With historical and descriptive illustrations, by John M. Leighton, Esqr.* (Glasgow, 1830), pp.39-41

HAMILTON PALACE.

It is a reverend thing to see an ancient castle not in decay, or to see a fair timber tree sound and perfect; how much more to behold an ancient noble family, which hath stood against the waves and weathers of time.

LORD BACON.

HAMILTON PALACE is at present receiving an addition and enlargement, which will render it one of the most magnificent private residences, and assuredly the finest specimen of classic architecture in the kingdom. A considerable portion of the old house has been allowed to remain; but the oldest part, erected in the year 1591, has been removed to make room for the new building. That part of the old building still remaining, which was formerly the principal front, was erected, we believe, about the beginning of last century. It consists of a centre, and two deep wings projecting in front at right angles, thus forming three sides of a square. The general effect is heavy, but rather grand, and would, no doubt, be considered very superior at the period of its erection. Had the old structure been altogether removed, the Architect would certainly have been enabled to produce a building more complete and perfect as a whole, than the Palace can now be; but it would have been almost a subject of regret had this been done, and so fine an old structure taken down; particularly as there seems no reason to think that the effect of the new building will be injured by the dissimilarity of the old. The two fronts cannot by any possibility be seen in one view, even angularly, but must always be examined separately; and it does not appear to be absolutely required that the opposite fronts of a building should present the same style of ornament, when this is the case. That unity of effect which is essentially necessary in classic architecture, seems to be sufficiently preserved, when, as is the case here, all that can possibly come into one view is complete in itself, while the dissimilarity of the separate portions affords variety, which when judiciously used is always agreeable.

The new part of the Palace, of which the front is shown in the engraving, was begun in 1824, and is now nearly completed externally. The designs were furnished by

David Hamilton, Esq. Architect, Glasgow. The principal front, which has a northern aspect, is 263 feet in length, and 60 feet in height. It is divided into three stories or floors; a rustic basement story, the principal floor, in which are the public apartments, and a chamber floor above. The elevation of this front exhibits, supported on a rustic basement, an exceedingly splendid example of the Corinthian order, taken from the remains of the Temple of Jupiter Stator at Rome, one of the most enriched and correct of the ancient specimens of that order, which the rude hand of time has left us to admire and imitate. We believe that of this once gorgeous temple, three pillars and a portion of the entablature are all that now remain. Mr. Hamilton has, with great judgment, selected this style for the Palace, as its susceptibility of ornament and decoration is more in character with such a mansion than any other he could have chosen, and its light and airy graces are peculiarly suited to the low situation in which it was to be erected.

In its length the front is broken by three projections, one at each end, and one in the centre, which gives variety and effect to the elevation. From the centre projection, the Portico, under which is the grand entrance, stands boldly out, rearing aloft its magnificent columns, with their enriched Corinthian capitals, and supporting an equally enriched entablature and pediment. The Portico consist of two rows of six columns, one behind the other, by which the depth and grandeur of effect is greatly increased. The pillars are thirty feet six inches in height, and three feet two inches in diameter, each formed of an entire stone. In the tympanum of the pediment, the family arms are carved in bas relief. This splendid portico rests on a projecting part of the rustic basement, and in front there is a grand entrance stair, which ascends right and left into it. The projecting portions at each extremity of the façade are ornamented by double pillasters on either side of a window, which on each floor lights this part of the building; and the receding portions, on both sides of the portico, have four windows on each flat, well proportioned and ornamented by cornices, pillasters and trusses. The whole elevation is surmounted by a very rich entablature and projecting cornice. At the west end of the building is the kitchen wing, the front of which extends 100 feet in length. The gateway to the kitchen court is ornamented by four pillasters having Attic capitals, and a dintell corniced pediment, under which there is a lofty archway opening to the court within.

The mere extent and height of the north front, of itself gives it an air of magnificence and grandeur; the richness of the entablature and the pillasters, the just proportions of the windows, and the elegance of their cornices and pediments add to

this; but the splendour of the Portico, and great stair arrests and rivets the attention of the spectator, and excites even feelings of the sublime. The principal ornament however of this building, after all that can be said of its individual beauties, and they are great indeed, is the admirable proportion of its various parts, and their subordination to each other; so that instead of attracting separately, or standing forth, as if each looking for individual and particular admiration, they blend their beauties and create one harmonious and perfect whole. Notwithstanding the extent of the façade on either side, so well proportioned is it to the Portico, that the dignity and effect of the latter, is neither diminished nor injured, but on the contrary heightened by the grandeur of the other. Nor does the Portico present the appearance which it too often does in modern architecture, seeming as if it had nothing to do with the rest of the building, for it is here an integral portion of the whole. Neither does it diminish, or render insignificant, the other parts, but rather seems to shed a portion of its grandeur over them. This unity or harmony of effect, when obtained, is the highest perfection in all the fine arts as well as in architecture; and without it, beauty of parts or elegance of detail are as nothing. Without having any intention of being at all invidious, we could point out works of Artists of high name, where a want of attention to this grand principle, has ruined the effect of what might have been, and what may after all by many be considered splendid buildings. In Hamilton Palace we at once feel that this high quality in the Art has been attained, and it requires not the aid of technical knowledge to make us do so. As we feel an unharmonious discord in music, so do we feel the want of harmony in the parts of a building. The untutored mind feels the effect of discord or harmony, either in music or architecture, and is proportionally pleased or displeased: the man of taste feels only more intensely, because he knows the cause why he is so affected.

We regret that we cannot speak as to the internal arrangements of this splendid mansion, for as yet, little or nothing has been done in this part of the work, but we may be assured that the same taste and talents, which have been so successfully exerted on the external appearance, will not be likely to fail here. As to the decorations, the well known taste of his Grace the present Duke of Hamilton, makes it certain that they will be worthy of the house. There will we believe be seven or eight public rooms of large dimensions, and of elegant proportions; and a suitable number of suits of bed-rooms, dressing rooms &c. There will thus now be more ample scope for displaying to advantage, the magnificent collection of paintings, which has so long distinguished

Hamilton Palace among the mansions of the Scottish Nobility, and made it an object of high interest with every lover of the fine arts. It is pleasing to learn that this collection, will receive a most invaluable addition in the private collection of his Grace, to which he has long been employed in making additions, during his various visits to the continent, and for which he will now for the first time have suitable accommodation. We feel delight in entertaining the idea, that while this Ducal Mansion, will hereafter be considered worthy of the study of rising Architects, the liberality of its owners will make its halls a place of study, for a future race of Scottish Painters, who will here be enabled to contemplate the works of the master minds in that imaginative art, without the expence and trouble, of visiting distant lands.

[...]

Copy of Robert Hume & Son's bill for decorating the Long Gallery and the Duchess's Apartments in Hamilton Palace, dated 25 January 1831 (HA, Bundle 665)

Copy

His Grace the Duke of Hamilton & c⁻, & c⁻, & c⁻,
1831 To Robert Hume & Son London __

January 25th To Scraping off & Carving out all the
Old Paint repairing Stopping
rubbing down preparing Painting
& Gilding with fine double Gold
the Lobby Sitting Room Bed Room
Boudoir & Dressing Rooms Called
the Dutchess' apartments in
Hamilton Palace _____ £1600 __
To Making Designs Drawings and
Models in London & at Hamilton
and Executing the Plaistering Paint –
ing Colouring & Gilding & Cleaning
& 5 times Varnishing the Gallery
Completed _____ 2800 __
To Discharging Repairing P[?up^g.]
& Gilding 16 Whole Length Portrait
Frames _____ 225 __
£ 4625 —

Draft letter Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 2 February 1831 (HA, Bundle 1917)

Hamilton 2^d Feby 1831

My Lord Duke

I enclose you copy of the Acco^t which M^r Hume left here and if he has not left Edinburgh perhaps you will get him to send me the Acco^t for the Glass door of the Duchess' Cabinet and also the Acco^t. for painting the passage and Lobby, Bath room Maids room and Water Closet immediately behind the Duchess's apartments which I would add to the charge of £1600 made for Her Grace's apartments and get M^r Hume to discharge the whole expense to him for that wing of the Palace at once _ because if that is not done now you will get into some confusion about it afterwards _ I have paid Wardlaw & C^y in full for their painting of the ground floor and Bed room floor of that wing & would therefore wish to do the same with M^r Hume if you approve of it _

I did not get the Acco^t. of the Tribune as M^r Hume said he had to ornament the doors and to paint part of the walls of Stone colour _ Being uncertain whether the old oak Stair case had been finished to your satisfaction and the Lobbies contiguous I did not ask for the Acco^t of painting and varnishing that part of the building, but if you consider that finished, perhaps the Acco^t. should be given in by M^r Hume at this time and settled also _ The Tribune _ the Dining room _ Library and Billiard room Acco^{ts}. will be rendered of course by M^r Hume as they get finished

[...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Holyrood, 2 February 1831 (HA, Bundle 1917)

[...]

I see by your letter that M^r Hume has half ruined us with his accounts. The sum paid to him is enormous, but I hope that we are now approaching to the end of this terrible expenditure. You have done well and I thank you sincerely for having insisted upon having his accounts, and settling them as far as it is possible progressively as we proceed. This is the only way of keeping matters in a regular form.

[...]

Draft letter Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 4 February 1831 (HA, Bundle 1917)

[...]

I agree with your remark with respect to the [illegible, altered word: probably expence] of M^r Hume's operations here but you are by no means approaching the end of this expenditure so nearly as you seem to think _ There [is changed to are] already in hand and no part of [it changed to them] paid for _ the Dining room which Mr Hume estimates to cost to him _____ £4000

Billiard room & Library _____ 1000

Tribune _____ 1000

£6000

besides there is to pay for the two Accounts mentioned in my last viz for the Middle passage & behind the Duchess rooms and the old oak Stair case and Lobbies which will come to a considerable sum _ Then there are the Bed rooms in the east end of the new Building to be begun estimated by Mr Hume to cost £4000 _ and the entrance hall God knows what _ To meet these demands and a heavy balance to Douglas the Plumber as well as to carry on the operations under Connel and the Carpenters within the year will be no easy matter for your Grace and you would do wisely to consider whether or not the Gilding at least ought not to be postponed for sometime untill it is seen where money is to be got [? to/for/from] to pay for it _ On looking at my books I find that I have paid since Martinmas last upwards of £5000 on account of the Palace and that has been as you know principally by borrowed money and is for a space short of three months and Should we proceed upon the same ratio the other nine months including payments to Douglas may cost £12000 or £15000 _

[...]

10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Holyroodhouse, 4 February 1831 (HA, Bundle 1917)

[...]

Hume is gone from hence as I told you before & probably fixed in some place between this & London, without being able either to go forwards or return backwards ____ I will write to him for the accompts you require and tell that he must furnish them forthwith, & I see no reason why the tribune expense should not be sent likewise & I shall tell him so _

[...]

The 10th Duke to Robert Brown, dated Holyroodhouse, 6 February 1831 (HA, Bundle 1917)

[...]

I will write to Hume & tell him that he must send the accompts you allude to _ It is desirable to finish one thing before we begin upon another _ I am not pleased at the inclination Hume always shews to postpone his accompts ____ Some of the gildings & paintings I will postpone: the expence is too great ____

[...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Holyroodhouse, 9 February 1831
(HA, Bundle 1917)

[...]

I am to thank you for the statement of my debts; it is an alarming one, but we must now absolutely continue to diminish it —

[...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Holyroodhouse, 12 February 1831
(HA, Bundle 1917)

[...]

You will probably in the course of a fortnight receive some pieces of carpetting that I ordered in your name to be forwarded to Hamilton Palace from a carpet=dealer in Leicester fields London _

Some paper was ordered to be sent from London to paper the new rooms three months ago; if I recollect right, I think you told me, either that it was arrived, or that you had received advice of its having been sent off _ Can you give me any account of it __

Yesterday Thierry sent off some boxes of furniture from hence that have been here these twenty years; order them to be put in the back part of the Hall (unless you can find a better place) untill I arrive, when they shall be unpacked under my orders _ There are still some more here that by degrees should be sent to Hamilton Palace when a good opportunity offers itself ____

[...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Holyroodhouse, 17 February, 1831
(HA, Bundle 1918)

[...]

I believe I told you before that application had been made to Mr Ness concerning the working and cutting of marbles prior to the receipt of your letter.

It appears Mr Ness Having found out that I was the person who desired information upon this subject, estimated such labour at an exorbitant rate, Mr Dalziel not knowing any thing about me has given a much more moderate statement, I send them both to you herewith inclosed.

[...]

John Connell to Robert Brown, dated Hamilton Palace, 2 July 1831 (HA, Bundle 1927)

Hamilton Palace 2^d July 1831

Dear Sir

I understand from M^r Leighton that the Duke wants to know how the works are going on at the Palace & New Stables at Present, The following Statement will inform His Grace of what has been done & doing since He left the Palace __ I have now got all the walls forming the inside of Stable Court finished including the wall facing the Town which is built to the hight of the Roof the same as the rest of the Court, The outsid walls of South & North fronts are up to the hight of the window Soles of Second floor & some of the upstart Architraves for the windows in North front are seting up to day, And all the rest will very soon follow, I would have been farther on with the Stables by this time but was considerably retarded by having to send a Number of the Masons to the [illegible word: ? decking] &c &c in Entrance Hall & Also cutting the holes for the Stair Railing in East Stair Case, A good part of said Railing is now fixed up and M^r Bairds man expects that he will have it compleatly finished in about three weeks, _ The Ceiling of the Portico is now finished & the Scaffolding mostly taken down, It has now a Splendid appearance, _ M^r Ramsay has begun to the flooring of the Dining Room and has about two thirds of it laid down, _ I know very little difference of the Scagliola work since the Duke went away, but you are aware that it is one of th[e or o]se hidden Mysterious things that Vulgar eyes are not permitted to Pry into, Perhaps the Strong heat of the Weather &c &c at present may be the cause of retarding M^r Rutter's operations _ M^r. Rand[a or e]ll is getting on pretty well withe the Ceilings of the Rooms in East end of the Palace & I think will have them all finished in about three or four weeks, _ M^r Leek is going on with the Plaster work of New Stables and has got four of the Groom's Rooms finished & a good part of the rest of the Stables are in progress, _ I have got all the Rustic work & every Stone in the Palace from Overton quarry well Soaked with the best, Linseed Oil and all done in the very best order, _ I hope His Grace has now finally made up his mind about the Entrance Hall, but I shall be Truly sorry if he adopts any Plan either for the Ceiling or the walls that is not in strict Accordance with the Purest Classical taste, It being quite in connection with the outside Portico, where very properly all Barbarous and whimsical Taste has been carefully excluded, _ The Duke of course

will exercise his own Judgement in this Matter, but the sooner I am informed of what is fixed upon the better as the quarry will be [bared or bored] and ready for cutting Stones in a few days, And we must be careful to cut out the largest Blocks which may be wanted first, as far as the quarry will Produce them, The Pilasters & smaller Stones will be got among the larger & longer ones __ I now begin to think long for your coming home however you need be in no hurry as every thing is going on well I am

Dear Sir

Your Mo^t Ob^t

Humble Serv^t

John Connell

Robert Brown Esq^t

Note: The letter is addressed to 'Robert Brown Esq^t Factor / To His Grace the Duke of Hamilton / &c &c &c / London'.

Alistair Macleod to Robert Brown, dated Broadford, 8 July 1831 (HA, Bundle 1927)

Broad ford 8 July

1831

My Dear Sir

Refering to my former Correspondence about the Marble _

I beg to inform you that I have [illegible word: ? piad i.e. paid] of the workmen [? aluded] to as not Settled with for carrying [? remainder] of Marble from the Quarry & Shipping the Same ____ The [? Claim and illegible word] was for upwards of £16 _ but which I got reduced to £12 _ 14 for which Sum I drew on you yesterday payable 10 days after Sight within the [illegible word: ? House] of Ja^s [? Na]tion & C^o Bankers Glasgow to which you will please attend _

I formerly noticed that Lord Mac Donald instructed me to Charge for the Quarrying of the Blocks of Marble I gave to the Duke in order to save time & the Expençe of Quarrying ____

We cannot look for the original cost which came to some Hundred Pounds ____ I trust however you will not consider £60_ too much _ I have not powers to fix the amount but if you write me as to the above I shall bring the matter to his Lordships notice and I beg that you will write me on the Subject without delay as the [? pamt: ie payment] must be Settled before his Lordship leaves the Country ____

I am now on my way to Armad[illegible] ____

In hopes of hearing from you _ with your [illegible words]

I remain

My Dear Sir

yours very truly

Alis^t Macleod

Robert Hume to Robert Brown, dated London, 2 August 1831 (HA, Bundle 1928)

To Rob^t Brown Esq

London Augt 2^d 1831

Sir

I hope you have arrived safe again at Hamilton from your Southern Tour I have seen Mr Beckford since your visit to Bath He was very much pleased with the interview ____ My resources are almost dried up & I must beg You will favour me with a remittance as soon as convenient also a payment on account of Plate Glass the amount by the end of next month will be upwards of 700 £ ____ the Dutchess is out of Town on a visit & is recovering fast. the Duke is a little unwell ____

I was sorry you left Town without see[illegible abbreviation for ing, i.e. seeing] Buckingham House or Windsor ____

I am Sir your very

Respectful & Ob[illegible abbreviation] Servant

Robert Hume

Copy of letter from Robert Rutherford to Andrew Mitchell, dated Edinburgh, 14 September 1831 (HA, Bundle 1930)

Copy.

Edin^r. 14 Sept. 1831.

Dear Sir

With reference to our Conversation on Monday, I now send Extract Decree of Declarator of Improvements at the instance of the Duke of Hamilton Ag^t. [altered letter] C. J. Hamilton Esq next heir of Entail in the Estate of Hamilton, dated 25. Feb^y. 1830 constituting his Grace Creditor to the Succeeding Heirs of Entail for the Sum of £21349.19.7½ being ¾ of the Sum of £28453.6_1.6/12 laid out in improvements on the Palace _ and for £293.17. being ¾ of the Sum of £391.16. expended on the Estate in order that you may prepare a Bond and Assignation in Security in favour of Your Client for £5000 _

In order to shew You how matters stand I may mention that on 21. June 1826. the Duke obtained Decree Ag^t. Lord Arch^d Hamilton for.

1. As ¾ of the Sum expended on the building _ £10040. 9.1.
2. As ¾ of the Sum expended on the Estate _ _ 3854. 6. 8/-
£13,894.15.10⁸/-

Of this Sum You have received Assignations in favour of Your Clients to the Extent of £10,000, which leaves a balance unappropriated of £3894.15.10⁸/.

This Decree is in Your Custody _

By the Decree now Sent the Duke is Creditor _

1. For ¾ of the Sum expended on the building £21349.19.7½
2. For ¾ _ _ _ _ _ Estate _ 293. 17. - „ „
Together _ _ £21.643.16.7½

Of this Sum there has been Assigned

1. To M^{rs}. Smith _ _ _ _ _ £5000 _ „ _ „
2. To D^r. & M^{rs}. Stewart _ _ _ _ _ 4000 . „ - „
9000 - „ - „

Leaves £12,643.16.7½

And I may further add that on 2 June last the Duke farther obtained Decree for ¾ of the Sums then further expended amounting to £10391_12.10.½ So that he has an ample fund of Credit on this Score, being at present above £26000 unappropriated _ I would

therefore propose that there should be assigned to Your Clients the Decree 1826 so far as it is available and also the Decree 1830 now Sent _

[...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated London, 21 September 1831 (HA, Bundle 1930)

London

Sep^r y^e 21st 1831 –

My dear Sir

The servants accompts, with the little note of the Cook's journey to London will serve I hope to keep these ma[t]ters properly seperated from any accompts of my own

—

Thiery is a sad loss to us; I am now busily looking out for another to take his place ___ I am glad to find that you augur well of M^{rs} Hastie; I hope she may turn out equal to the situation ___

My former letter will have informed you that the glass & the oak carvings are to be sent as soon as possible _ I am displeased and dissatisfied at their having been delayed so long ____ Hume too is to be at Hamilton Palace: Heaven knows when I shall be able to get there myself ____

The French windows I suppose will arrive shortly after this letter let them be unpacked directly & placed in Ramsay's care ___ You will shortly receive another large caise with the Duchess's Pianoforte _ It too must be unpacked with great care directly, and placed in the Duchess's room _ Neither the tuner nor anybody else must be allowed to touch the instrument ____

Nothing but the bill is in everybody's mouths, & we are waiting for it in the Lords with great impatience – There is a most powerful opposition to it –

The Duchess is now here; she sets off tomorrow for Easton to join her Son__ I cannot leave this _ With regard I remain

Yours &c &c_

CH&B

R^t = Brown Esq^{re}

Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 6 October 1831 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 39, f.51)

[...]

The French windows the pictures and the Plate glass have all arrived in safety but the silk has not come to hand.

We have engaged a Steam Vessell to drag your Coal from Redding to Edinburgh on the Canal by which a considerable saving of expence will take place _ our new Coal pits are promising to produce a very superior article but we will require all these advantages to withstand the powerful competition of the Marquis of Lothian and Sir John Hope as the Dalkeith Railway is now affording them an opportunity of bringing a plentiful supply of Coals to Edinburgh.

[...]

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated London, 7 September 1832 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, f.141)

London Sept^r. 7. 1832

To W^m. Beckford Esqr

Sir

This comes with the Ivory & Glass liner it is delicate in Colour and Chaste in Form, and when your Supreme Flowrs are contrasted in Colors and disposed with Taste I think the result will be, not unworthy of the Graces __ The Duke has arrived at the Palace and is delighted with the Staircase Ceiling which is nearly finished I expect to be going there very soon _ 2 or 3 Weeks at the utmost the Dss is expected there in 2 or 3 Weeks and no doubt many others as soon as Her Grace is there

[...]

Robert Hume to William Beckford, dated Hamilton Palace, 3 February 1833 (Bod, MS. Beckford c. 22, ff. 143-4)

Hamilton Palace Feb^y. 3^d
1833

To W^m. Beckford Esqr

Sir

It would have been much less distance and no doubt more entertaining to to [sic] have been at the Paris Sale of tid bits than be Idleng here, to this time nothing is done the Ball having been quite business enough on hand at once - to morrow I hope will be a day of Business with me & Mr Brown when I have done with the Paymaster General I shall ask for my credentials to start upon a Special mission on my way to Town His Grace of Divine Right & Passive Obedience has requested that I should take Clumber in my way for the Purpose of a Talk upon his intended grand Ceiling which if I can make a good bargain with Him I will undertake to do before a [? ern]verse Occurs I think the Duke will leave here in a day or Two for Town He staying a day at Clumber on His way, He has a Callous Lump as big as an Egg within side of his right Knee which brings Him to Town. He says to have it cut off it is Troublesome to Him He cannot Ride which makes Him a little Lemon Tempered with some, thank God I am excepted _ the Hasty Ball pleased much considering the short notice and the Omnium Gatherem muster of genteel Scotch Lairds & Glasgow Gentry Enlivened with a few Scarlet Coats Dancing & Reeling with Punch a la Romaine (Mars Outside Bacchus within) _ One of the paragraphs you enclosed to me to hand to the Dutchess seemed to have been written for the Occasion of course I have not heard the pleasure they were read with they were truly Signs of the Times

I shall not loose a Minute on the Road to Town to attend to the Capetts and Old Sh[ur or ire]y and to have the pleasure seeing you and hearing some of your pungent creations again _ the Marquess is pretty well and Her Grace much better than she was last week _

I am your very Grateful and

Devoted Servant

Robert Hume

George Ramsay to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton Palace, 2[?1/6/8]
February 1834 (HA, Bundle 665)

Hamilton Palace 2[?1/6/8] Feb.^y 1834

My Lord Duke

I have to inform your Grace that three packingcases have arrived here this morning from London, which I have unpacked, N1 containd the Giltmold^{es}, for panneling in Dinningroom, & the bronze sliders for window curtains of Do __ N2 containd 2 candelabres with two verdanteak bases N3 containd a clock, & Glass case, which I am sorry to say, the back & one of the ends are all cracked, the circular head front & other end is quite sound the back & end can be got repaced in Glasgow _ I think the reason of its being broken is in consequence of the box not being full enough stuffed of hay, and from the shaking of the cart __ __ I have set all the contents of boxes before fires in marquess rooms for today for fear of any damp & shall remove them up to old Staterooms tomorrow & have the clocks set a going _____

the great Iron gate came last week & is put up in its place in policy wall on the Bothwell road __ the lanterns for east staircase is come too, & will be put up soon _ when I put up scaffolds for doing Great Picture in said staircase __ I have removed all the marble boxes from old stables to marble room at new stables __ & the masons are taking up the pavement from old stables & bussy working it for the mens [? do or &] __ I have moved my carpenters from lofts above with all their luggage over to loft above new stables.

My shop over the old coachouse I still retain, as there is fire in it, for really I cannot do my work that I have taken in hand without fire in my workshops __ the Gilders are finished with library today & have all gone on dinningroom ceiling, there is 11 Gilders & 5 Painters on it now I think It cant be long by the way ____ I intend to begin my busness in library beginning of the week, the first Job is to get forward porphry chimney piece ____ & when the marble men are here at that Job I intend to have marquess chimney pieces put up too _____

I have order:d Paper & carpeting for marquess rooms & are getting out Bronze moldings for do & likew[ise] bronze rods & rings for window curtains _____

it is 8 days since I orderd fires to be daily kept in all Lady Dunmors rooms, in purpose to have them dry for painting _ we can not to do the work any kind of Justice begin to paint them for 8 or 10 days yet __ I have got out some beautifull teakwood vaneers for Great

doors of Dinningroom & hope to be able to make an excellent Job of them _____ So far
as I know every thing goes on well at the Palace

I have the hono^r, to be

My Lord Duke your Graces H,B,L, Serv^t

Geo Ramsay

George Ramsay to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton Palace, 22 March 1834 (HA, Bundle 665)

Hamilton Palace 22 March 1834

My Lord Duke

I had the honour to receive yours Graces letter of the 10 Ins^t, & every thing therein specified shall be punctually attended to ___ The charteroom is all grounded & first coated in plaster, which we must leave off for two or three weeks untill dry _ I have got up my scaffolding in east staircase & are bussy with great picture plaster frame, and are fixing up the Lanterns there too, the 3 top ones are fix:d the other 3 will be done in course of next week, after the plaster frame is done and all the dust clear:d out of the staircase, I intend before taking down my scaffolds, to have the lanterns painted in a dark bronze as sujested by your Grace ___ we have had up the damp pavement & stone skirtings round old Dinningroom, & are relaying them the skirtings to stand quite clear of the wall that a small current of air may be admited behind them which I think will compleetly cure the damp there ___ I have taken down the tinplate flues from Passage leading to dinningroom & got the holes mended up but have left the furnace standing in bathroom ___ M^r. Murray is just about finished with the carving of Glass frames they are to come forward at top. as directed by your Grace ___ I have told him not to Gild them untill I send him word as they are all the better to stand & dry a while

M^r Murray says he will have all the gilt bordering for Library & Billardroom finished in 14 days _ the Gilt moldg,^s to go round pannels in dinningroom have been sent down here 4 weeks ago by M^r. Hume — the marble chimnys are both fitted up in marquess rooms, and the Porphy chimney in Library is brought forward 4 Inches & am happy to say without the Smallest accident ___ are bussy now fitting up my woodwork over & above said porphy chimney ___ I think M^r. Humes Gilders & painters will finish their work here next week ____ after I. have got my woodwork all fixed over fireplace in library, I intend to clean out all the rooms, and then give another coat of varnish over all my woodwork. when after standing about 14 days I hop it will be fit to polish _ I hop to have great teakwood doors in their places by the first of May ____ I have found a person who has painted me two or three verry fair Specimens of Indiateakwood he says he will do the woodwork in waitingroom in imitation of teakwood, in four weeks, and at the same price as wainscot _ so I intend to let him begin to it as soon as Humes people goes

away – if not otherways directed by your Grace__ I have kept up a good heat in Lady Dunmors rooms for 4 weeks past they are now in fine order for painting

M^r Brown puts me off by saying I must let Humes Painters away before bringing in any others into the house — the crimson cloth for Dinningroom window curtains is not yet come to hand, M^r Patersen said to me when I orderd it, he thought it would be by the first of april, I told him not to hurry it faster then they could make it & do it all manner of Justice ____ I shall want green stuff for window sunblinds ____ Viz^t, Dinningroom Library & billardroom windows, will require thirty four yards, & must be five foot width — marquess rooms. & Lady Dunmors rooms will require thirty six yards. & must be four foot nine Inches wide ____ I shall want 30 squares of Glass for Lanterns in east staircase. I suppose I must make moulds & send up to your Grace to g[et] them for me in London as they will be by [? far] cheaper there than here — Struthers has finished the library & billardroom window curtains & brought them in to me 14 days since _____ every thing goes on well at the Palace so far as I know

I have the honor to be

my Lord Duke

your Graces Humble serv^t

Geo,Ramsay

P,S, M^r. Gray is comming out here on monday to take his dimentions for Ironwork of Chaterroom & to go on with it directly, on the same terms I stated to your Grace

Joseph Dawson to Robert Brown, dated Carron, 16 June 1834 (HA, Bundle 1974)

Carron June 16th., 1834

Sir

We wrote to you on the 1st. Feb^y with a Statement of our Account___ amounting to £5019 . 11 ., 9^d for Furnishings to the Colliery of his Grace the Duke of Hamilton, & have since been expecting to hear from you with a considerable Remittance. We beg again to remind you of this Matter, and, no Payment having been made since July 1830, to urge on you the absolute Necessity of the whole, or at least a very considerable part, of our Account being immediately paid. ____

For Carron Company

I am Sir

Your most ob^t__ Ser^t__

Jos. Dawson. Manager

Rob^t Brown Esq^r }
Hamilton Palace }

The 4th Duke of Newcastle to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Clumber, 28 November 1835 (HA, Bundle 901)

Clumber

Nov^{br} 28.

1835

My dear Duke

Your letter received this afternoon shall not remain long unacknowledged _ I will not forego the pleasure of co[ngra]tulating you as a Brother Knight, which however I must add you ought to have been long since _ I wish that all who wear the blue were as worthy of it as the Knight elect _ You will see with regret the death of another K.G. the D of Beaufort _ His place will be ill supplied by his unworthy Son

By this night's Post I learn that all the animals are safely arrived at Hafod with the exception of one cheviot ewe which was so lame that it was obliged to be left at Ashton _ My man tells me that they are an excellent lot and selected with great care & judgment _ For an Arran heifer I learn that I am indebted to you & I now express my best thanks for your kindness _ I am told that it is a particularly good animal & peculiarly suited for its present abode _ It will be kept as a choice article with the greatest attention _ I am quite sorry that I did not see them before I left Wales _ M^r. Brown will have the goodness to transmit to me the bill of costs – The Drovers must have executed their duty admirably _ I am excessively obliged to you for all the trouble that you have so kindly taken for me _

When I last wrote to you I omitted to mention that Hume has shewn himself in his true colours, of which you ought to be apprised _ He sent me his bill about the end of June or beginning of July _ when I looked at it I found it most exorbitant _ I consulted a builder & he told me that he never saw such a bill, & merely on looking over the bill without seeing the work he gave as his opinion that much more ought to be deducted, but that he might safely say that 25 per C^t might be deducted as what a Jury would award _ His charge is above £1400 – Hume told me before beginning the work that it might cost me about 5 or 600 £, this I would swear to _ The work was finished somewhere about Feb^{ry} or March _

Before I left London Hume called twice & desired payment of his Bill _ I sent word to him the second time _ that his bill was most exorbitant & that I could not pay it without investigation _

Soon after I left Clumber for Wales, my valuer from London, a known man, looked over the work most carefully & I eventually received his report, making a deduction of about £500, which he did evidently giving Hume every chance & advantage _ thus wishing to be within the mark wherever there was a doubt, which in many cases there was _ but he added in conclusion the work is done most improperly, it is not sound and firm _ many parts have slanted, cracked & given way _ studs &c have not been put in where they were absolutely necessary & I would not pay any part of the bill untill the work has been put to rights, repaired & left in a substantial & workmanlike manner _ In the mean time Hume wrote to say that if he were not paid that he should demand payment, & was very saucy & radical _ I told him what my valuer had reported & offered to pay him the amount of his valuation when he had put the work into a substantial state of repair _ This brought an insolent reply from him saying that he was a loser by the work, that he should not wait for payment but should see me in Court _ About a fortnight since I rec^d. a letter from his Pettifogger M^r. Tho^s. A'Beckett informing me that M^r. Hume demanded payment of his Bill '& interest as it had been so long outstanding' _ if not immediately paid he had directions to appeal to a Jury _ In reply I assured him that I would only pay the amount stated by my valuer, explained to Tho^s. A'Beckett the state of the case & put it to him whether it were possible that a Jury could decide otherwise than in my favor _ I should suffer the case to go before a Jury if he thought for to take it there _ I never could think that Hume was serious & that he would be fool & knave enough to carry the case into Court _ However he so decides _ as I yesterday had a letter from Tho^s. A'Beckett desiring to know the name of my lawyer & that he was instructed to bring an action against me _ You will therefore be disgusted with a view of the report of the case "Hume versus the D. of Newcastle" I am convinced that a greater rascal & more insolent knave than the said Hume would be hard to find _ I think he will find himself in the wrong for once _

I have thought it right to bore you with this summary detail, that You may be upon your guard & be well aware of the nature of this transaction _ My opinion is, on no light grounds, that £800 would much overpay the cost of the work, giving large profits

Ever my dear Duke
Yours very truly & affntly

Newcastle

[...]

James Farie to Robert Brown, dated Fraime, 4 May 1836 (HA, Bundle 1993)

Fraime 4th May 1836

My Dear Sir

The coal trade is now in such a state that I doubt the old practice of taking the Lordship from the output if the Cambuslang coal will not give the Duke that share which he is entitled to, formerly it has been in his favour when the price rose or fell according to the quantity on hand, when a large stock brought on a fall, the Dukes share was taken from the price before the fall, whatever it might be afterwards, but now that the price depends more on the Colliers working, than the stock on hand, it may happen that a rise may take place, on a strike or a threat to do so, with a considerable stock, in that case it will be against the Duke this has already taken place, but for the last four years it has been unfortunately for me, a matter of indifference, whether the Lordship was taken from the output or the sale, being both greatly below the fixed rent paid, but in future I would suggest that the Lordship should be taken from the sale as the fairest in estimating the produce, and which I think is now more likely to be in favour of the Duke than taking the Lordship on the output, a hardship may arise however in a year when the Lordship on the sale does not amount to the fixed rent, altho' there may be a great stock on hand, in that case I would consider it but fair that two years should be joined, which will probably be more for the Dukes Interest, as well as my own, than the price should be reduced to insure a sale, if such an event shall occur I have no fear of its being equitably adjusted, and therefore if you approve of taking the Lordship from the sale it ought to commence when there was no stock as in the week ending on the 26 March last, and the [illegible word] being settled with regularly every fortnight it will be more convenient to state the quantity sold each fortnight in place of a week,

If you agree to this charge be so good as let me know as soon as convenient so that I may order the account to be kept accordingly

I am My Dear Sir

Yours truly

James Farie [...]

George Ramsay to Robert Brown, dated Hamilton Palace, 8 September 1836 (HA, Bundle 1997)

Hamilton Palace 8 Sep^t, 1836

M^r. Brown

Sir I had the honour of a letter from the Duke last night requesting me to send him a rough sketch of new Staircase &^c with any remarks I might think proper to make on said new buildings _ I wrote him this morning to say the Staircase was newf=d & before my letter reach:d London the Stair would be almost finished & any remarks of mine would be too late __ he ads in a Post Script, it has been hinted unto me that some Persons have been behaving improperly in regard to seeing the Palace: if that is the Case the house should be shut up altogether, excepting to very Particular people & those well known: Pray say so to M^r. Brown from me, & he will give positive directions to that Effect __

I am Sir yours respectfully

Geo Ramsay

To Robert Brown Esq^r,

Hamilton

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 10 September 1836 (HA, Bundle 1997)

[...]

I wrote your Grace yesterday on the subject of purchasing the Lease of the House from M^r Cochrane 12 Portman square to which I refer and the more I think of the matter less cause I see for your purchasing it particularly as I observe from what you say in your last that you must mortgage even your property at Hamilton Palace for the price, or part of your Estate in Lancashire in which last case the Marquis must necessarily become a party to your Bond _ I look upon changing Securities for large sums unnecessarily, as dangerous and expensive things _ Your present Creditors in Manchester are wealthy people, who appear to give you no trouble _ and are you sure that the new Creditors, into whose hands you will fall if you make a change, will be equally safe _ No doubt so long as M^r Ranken has the controul of the debt to the extent of £80000 or £90000 you might be safe in his hands, but the Creditors may employ other Agents and take advantage of your situation, in which case you would be for a time at least at their mercy - The Mortgages over the Lancashire Estate ought only to extend over the Estate itself as you was not the debtor, but I recollect that contrary to my opinion you gave your own personal security in addition to the land in two of the Mortgages but I do not recollect which of them, whether for Lord Archibalds money Lady Dunmore or the Duchess of Somersets _ In one or two of the Mortgages I think you did not become personally bound and if any of them were now to be transferred, it is probable the new Creditors will insist upon having your personal security added _ Then your Grace will consider that you owe a very large debt on your personal Security alone in Scotland, in different sums to a number of Creditors _ and if they were to get any hint that you were giving large personal Bonds in England which might ultimately interfere with their interest in your real and personal property in Scotland, I am afraid it might be the cause of putting you to some inconvenience, if not injurious effects _ I never can bring my mind to think you are safe untill you sell a considerable quantity of land in Lancashire and bring your debts within a moderate compass.

In conclusion with regard to the House _ you ought to divide the price you pay for it by the number of years to run of the Lease and add every year proportion to the

interest that you would pay for the borrowed money and if I guess right you will find the two sums will very considerably exceed yearly the £1000 of rent you are now paying -

If you had money to spare this is the County to lay it out in just now _ M^r Houldsworth has let 200 acre of his Minerals which is not a tenth part of their extent in Coltness, to an Iron Comp^y at the low rent of 6^d p Ton and the coal rent (exclusive of the Iron rent) in that field of 200 acres M^r Leighton states to me will come to £2860 a year and if that undertaking succeeds it is not unlikely that he may let other portions of the Minerals on his Estate to equal advantage _ so there is no saying how valuable that purchase of Coltness will become _ If Lord Belhaven could only be equally [? Intimate] in regard of his Minerals he may make a good income out of his Estate yet.

I have the [illegible word: ? hono[u]r] &

R. B.

[...]

William Dyce to John Denham, undated, but datable to 1836 on the basis of the references to the tapestry cartoon and book illustrations (NLS, MS. 8887, ff.76-9)

Wishaw near Hamilton

My dear Denham

I am living with a peer & in the same house with a member of Parliament so any prattle will cost you nothing _ The good & amiable Lady Belhaven my hostess, (who is a most kind friend) _ invited me here for a day or two chiefly for the purpose of enabling me to make the Acquaintance of the Duke of Hamilton who as possibly you may have heard is the magnus apollo of the Scottish Peers in matters of Taste, & for ought I know of the English Peers too _ Part of the splendid Palace of Hamilton which has been building for the last ten years & is yet unfinished, the Duke proposes having painted in Fresco; & as I am a little of a daub in that way Lady Belhaven wished to get me a commission from the Duke. We have not succeeded as yet however _

By the way the Duke at dinner yesterday mentioned a circumstance regarding the purchase of the Lawrence collection of Drawings which you will I have no doubt think with me most creditable to the Whigs _ In order to ensure the purchase of the drawings by the government which the duke urged most strongly, be offered to Lord Melbourne in case the purchase (after they had made it) should be cried down by the mobility as a piece of extravagance, to take them off the hands of government at the sum of £20000!!! Can you believe it possible with such a guarantee, that government should be so foolish as let a collection slip through their hands, which they admitted could never again be made _ It appears now however that they intend buying the Raffaelles & the Angelos' at nearly the cost of the whole collection. _

There is a most noble assemblage of matters of art at Hamilton _ The palace is perfectly crammed full of pictures many, most indeed of high class _ In the portrait gallery which is 125 feet in length, there are 5 or 6 Vandykes & a Reynolds all whole lengths _ Here is also Rubens's famous "Daniel in the Den of Lions" _ But I must not attempt a description of a collection of pictures, as I think of all descriptions [it] is the most stupid _

Since I last wrote, I have gained a prize (tho' a very small one) for a cartoon for Tapestry It is a large watercolour drawing (partly body colour) covering a space of 108 square feet, that is to say the picture is 9 feet by 12. The price was offered by the Board

of “Trustees for Manufactures”, who wish to restore the art of tapestry weaving in Scotland ____

I must leave off as it is almost dinner time & I have to dress _

With kind regards to the Lady who I hope is well

I remain

yours faithfully

William Dyce

I have got a subject for exerting my powers in Etching _ my friend Sir Thomas Dick Lauder has employed me (or rather his publisher has), to make illustrations to a series of Tales just coming out _ I have done one of the illustrations which has given satisfaction á merveil[? le]. I shall write you soon again _ as I have at present like the author of Hudibras broke off in the middle _

Note: In 1836 Dyce and David Scott shared the prize offered by the Board of Manufactures for a tapestry cartoon; Dyce submitted *The Judgement of Solomon* and Scott *Lady Macbeth Leaving the Daggers by the Sleeping Grooms*. The same year Dyce began work on illustrations for Sir Thomas North Dick Lauder’s *The Highland Rambles*, which were published in 1837. For further information see Marcia Pointon, *William Dyce 1806-1864: A Critical Biography* (Oxford, 1979), pp.28-40.

James Veitch to Robert Brown, dated Hamilton, 29 August 1837 (HA, Bundle 6271)

Hamilton 29. August 1837.

Dear Sir

I have been applied to very often of late by M^r William Henderson Mason Hamilton and also by the Individual (whose name I forget) who performed the wright work in the New Buildings here, to know when there was a prospect of their accounts being paid. They also complained most bitterly of the serious inconvenience arising from having been so long without their money _

I therefore take the liberty of addressing a few lines to you on the subject, and shall be most happy to concur with you in taking any measure which may be found necessary for raising money _

A proposal has been made by M^r Dykes the procurator Fiscal to pay a rent for part of the Lobby if he were allowed to partition it off from the stair case.

A meeting should be called at your earliest convenience, as it is not only unfair that the Trades men should be kept without their money so long but I should also fear they will not remain quiet much longer.

The greater part of the Commissioners have taken so little charge of the matter, that I fear without some active exertions on the side of those who have generally attended all meetings, matters would be allowed to remain as they are till an indefinite period.

I remain Dear Sir

very faithfully

yours

JaVeitch

Robert Brown Esq^r. }
&c &c &c _ }

Gray (probably James Gray) to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Edinburgh, 16 June 1841 (HA, C4/128)

Mr Gray begs to hand his Grace the Duke of Hamilton the Sketch of the Grate he promised when he was last in Hamilton palace together with the Sketch of a French grate pillar ~ Perhaps they may be of service in assisting his Grace's views regarding the State room apartments

York Lane Edinburgh

16 June 1841

Robert Hume to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 14 August 1841 (HA, Bundle 753)

To His Grace

London Aug^t 14. 1841

The Duke of Hamilton & c

My Lord Duke

I was out of Town when your note of the 11th inst^t was delivered which caused the delay in my not answering sooner

I now beg to inform Your Grace that some years since when you settled my accounts, that I then destroyed all Papers Memorandums Accounts & Sketches that had reference to the Palace Rooms or to the fitting up or furnishing of them

Gratitude to Your Grace for nearly 40 Years Favours & Friendship to my Father & myself impels me to say that I shall be most happy If I can assist Your Grace in the Completion of the Tapestry Apartments as to the Painting Gilding & Furnishing _

Previous to Submitting any Opinion on these matters I should be glad to see your Grace to have your directions as to the Materials you wish to adopt and the degree of Expencc you will admit of

I well remember the Rooms and the Ceilings doors & Chimney Pieces but I have not the dimensions having heard that your Grace is coming to London I shall be glad to wait upon you as to the wishes expressed in your note

I am Your very Devoted

& Obed^t Serv^t. Robert Hume

Memoranda about the 10th Duke of Hamilton's financial support for his son, the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, dated 7 January 1843 (HA, F2/1042/31)

7 Jan^y
1843

Memoranda for His Grace the Duke of
Hamilton and the Marquis of Douglas.

The Marquis of Douglas has had an
Annual allowance from His Grace for some
years past of £2500
Whereof paid by Mess^{rs} Hoares . . £2000.
and by M^r Brown 500. £2500

As on 1 Jan^y 1843 Mess^{rs} Hoares pay in advance £ 500
and on 1 April 1843 do . 500
And M^r Brown as on 1 Jan^y 1843 pays . do. 250
N.B. These allowances cease after the above dates _ 1250

The Marquis of Douglas by his Contract
of Marriage with the Princess Marie of
Baden will receive on 15 May 1843 £3750. _
And on 11 November 1843 3750. . . .

In advance 7500

Beside _ His Grace in the year 1843 makes
a present to the Marquis by way of outfit
proposed to be paid in Instalments _ of 4000
Amount in the year 1843 £12,750. . . .

Memoranda about the 10th Duke of Hamilton's financial support of his son, the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, dated 26 June 1843 (HA, F2/1042/29)

26 June

1843 Memoranda for His Grace the Duke of
Hamilton and the Marquis of Douglas

The Marquis of Douglas has had an annual
allowance from His Grace for some years past of £2500. . _
whereof paid by Mess^{rs} Hoares quarterly £2000.
and by M^r Brown half yearly on 1 Jan^y
and 1 July _____ 500. 2500 .

M^r Brown as on 1 Jan^y 1843 paid _____ £ 250. _
and Mess^{rs} Hoares paid as on 1 Jan^y 1843 _ £500
and as on 1 April 1843 _ 500

1000

These allowances ceased after the above dates £1250. . _

It is understood that His Grace agreed to make a
present to the Marquis in 1843 by way of outfit,
proposed to be paid by instalments, of _ £4000.
whereof the Marquis has been paid by
Mess^{rs} Hoares on 24 Jan^y 1843 ____ £1600
and on 7 April 1843 _____ 2000 3600 . .
leaving a balance to be paid him of _____ £400 . _

The Marquis of Douglas by his Contract of Marriage
with the Princess Marie of Baden received
from His Grace as on 15 May 1843 _____ £3750 _
and on 11 Novem^r 1843 _____ 3750.

In advance _____ 7500 .-
£7900

These half yearly payments of £3750 by the Duke to the Marquis will continue during His Graces life.

The Princess' portion of £33,000 or thereby will fall to be secured over real property in England or Scotland, and if her Trustees would take a Transference to one of the Mortgages over the Dukes Lancashire Estates of £30,000, it would be an eligible Security._ The Princess having a right to the extent of £1000 yearly for Pin money out of the interest of her portion, she would then draw the same from the Lancashire rents and the Marquis will draw the balance of that interest.

Copy of letter from the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale to Robert Brown, dated
Edinburgh, 12 January 1844 (HA, Bundle 1421)

Copy Letter The Marquis of Douglas
To Robert Brown Esqr _ Hamilton

Edin^f Jan^y. 12th /44

Dear Sir

I am delighted to hear that enquiries are being made after portions of my fathers estates in Lancashire, nothing would give me greater pleasure than to learn that the Estate had been disposed of either as a whole or in 3 or 4 large lots _ I have so frequently expressed to you my decided opinion that the best thing that could happen to my father or myself would be the paying off the £125,000 of debt _ If the whole Lancashire Estate could be sold and the sum of from £340,000 to £360,000 realised, then I think money might be laid out with advantage in the purchase of land in Scotland _ I am very anxious indeed to concentrate property in one locality _ with regard to Eaglesham you are of course a better judge, than I am as to whether the purchase would be a good one _ Pray assure my father and be quite convinced yourself, that I am fully ready to enter into any scheme likely to promote the liquidation of debts, and most anxious to follow out his wishes in the business. Pray lose no time in encouraging any people inclined to nibble at the Lancashire Property _ Let me hear from you again on this subject &

Believe me

yours sincerely

(signd) Douglas & Clydesdale

To R. Brown Esqr }
Hamilton }

The Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Holyrood House, 21 January [1844] (HA, Bundle 1421)

Holyrood House

Jan^y 21.

My dear Papino,

We seem to have entirely mistaken each others notions, with regard to the addition at Brodick, I have had all along but one idea predominantly, a wish to add so much to the Castle as to make it a fit residence for my wife & myself, with the power of inviting a few friends _ She has fortunately fallen into my notions with regard to Brodick & is as anxious as myself, that we should be enabled immediately to commence building operations _ In yr letter to Mamina received this evening you mention having written to H.H. at Rio to ask his consent _ I always thought that Captain Hamilton's sanction was quite sufficient. However, as a permission is required from another world I think perhaps it might be more advisable, that I should borrow £5000 _ & make it my own personal debt _ it would save you trouble & enable me to do what I have so long wished to accomplish namely, make Brodick what it ought to be according to my notions _ As you have never shown much disposition to inhabit Arran yourself my dear Father I do not think I am asking too much when I ask you to allow me to follow out (my wife &) my own inclinations in that Sheltered Spot _ Marie is most anxious that we should be enabled accompanied by the Earl of Angus, (& Arran) to begin building immediately. We have already consulted G. Graham & therefore could hardly wish to see any plans but his followed out _ His plan is merely Marie s own idea expanded and like a good husband _ I wish no other _ Pray therefore my dear Papino make an effort & without reference to Hamilton Hamilton Rio, && allow me to set to work in my own way _ making all the money I lay out my own debt _ When Hamilton Hamilton[']s Sanction comes, you can give me a little help _ I need not say in all this, I [[?] wish] to consult you & be guided by yr experience & advice. And now my dear Papino having said my say I only add that I really think my request is a most natural one, and as my wife is if possible more desirous to become the Chatelaine of Brodick than I am to become its keeper, I feel certain in addressing you, I am not only consulting an indulgent Father, but a preux Chevalier _ I cannot (therefore as my wife unites cordially with me) anticipate any thing but yr consent _ she has not come so far to meet a refusal in such a

proverbially hospitable country as Scotland _ I feel sure you will fulfill her wishes, with great pleasure ____ & now my dear Papino with Maries best [? love] Believe me

Yr most aff^t Son

Douglas

William Woodburn to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Palermo, 25 January 1844 (HA, C4/763)

Palermo 25 Jan 1844

My Lord Duke

Before leaving Rome I saw two fine Porphyry Columns of great rarity and also two of Verde Antique the particulars of which and price are Contained in the enclosed Note which induced me to intrude a Notice of these objects thinking they might probably be worthy your Attention. I have no interest in this Affair other than if I could be useful in any further information you might require, the Person Carlo Trebbi via Condotti 67 Rome who took me to see them, I think well of his Integrity and can furnish the address where these objects are to be seen, if I could be further useful in anything or being honored with your command either directed for me to Torlonia or Freeborn British Consul it would add to the pleasure of my present Tour - with the hope that all the Noble Family at the Palace are enjoying good health.

I have the honor to remain
with the highest respect
Your Graces most obedient and
Obliged humble Servant
Will^m Woodburn

His Grace The Duke
of Hamilton & Brandon

&c & &

Note: A letter from Carlo Trebbi to Woodburn about these items, dated 18 January 1844, and another letter relating to two columns of 'alabastro antico verde' are registered as C4/763/1 and C4/763/2 respectively.

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 14 February 1845 (HA, C4/102)

(Copy)

Hamilton 14th., February 1845

My Lord Duke,

I have just now received your Grace's letter of this date. — I have spoken to M^r Hume, and have engaged him to draw up a Specification, and Estimate of finishing the new State Rooms at the Palace, in respect of painting and Gilding in the very best manner, and then to go to Edinburgh and see if he can fix a bargain with M^r., Hay for the execution of the work, according to the Specification;- and should he succeed in his mission, I have asked him if he will undertake to come to the Palace as often as required to inspect the Work while in progress; and to take it off the Contractor's hands at the conclusion of the Job; and when finished to his satisfaction.

These things M^r Hume has promised to do, and I shall be glad to know if these arrangements meet with your Grace's approbation. —

I have the honor to be with the greatest respect,

My Lord Duke,

Your most Obedt. Humble Servant

(Signed) Robert Brown

Robert Hume to Robert Brown, dated London, 2 March 1845 (HA, C4/104)

London March - 2^d. 1845

To Robert Brown Esqr

D^r. Sir

His Grace the Duke of Hamilton has confirmed the Agreement for the Painting & Gilding of the State Rooms at Hamilton Palace by M^r Hay to be completed within five months –

I have just left the Duke & Dss who are pretty well. but very busy

I have had a Severe Cold in my Eyes & Swelled Face. I hope you are quite well

Your very Respectful &

Ob^t Serv^t Robert Hume

The Duke wishes M^r Hay now to proceed with the work ____

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to William Grant, dated Bath, 9 September 1845 (HA, Bundle 6308)

Copy.

Bath Sept^r.. 9th.. 1845.

Your letter of the 6th instant I have received _ you did most right to send to Carroll for more of the Pictoxide paint _ I have desired him to send some more to Hamilton, sh^d he not already have done it _

I am glad to find the Ceiling of the tribune &c _ has been properly repaired; but will never look well whilst those crooked doors are there _

No hurry about the looking = glasses take great care in receiving & placing them _ The Iron-gates had better remain untill my arrival, when I will decide how they should be hung _ The carriage entry gates should not be open unless upon particular occasions _ Harvie ought to see that there is no injury done there untill the gates are off his hands he is responsible _

The stone pillars at all the gates should be oiled & properly attended to _ The introduction of various cess = boxes applied to the waste pipes, as represented by you, appears to be a necessary work, & I approve of it _ neglect at any of the waste clossets might create sad ruin to us _ But this must be done (as the consequences may be of the greatest importance) under the direction of a responsible architect & plumber _ I do'nt choose to take the responsibility upon myself, because I do not fully understand the business, & perhaps you had better not alone put yourself forward as answering for the consequences. _

In regard to your having anything to do with any other buildings than the Palace, I should suppose that you would feel, that you could not occupy yourself about the one without neglecting the other; & I sh^d. have thought that your own family would have had the first claims upon your purse _ of this you & your family are the best judges _

Pray keep everything in good order; I shall be at the Palace next week _

Should M^r. Brown have anything to say to you upon the subject matter contained in this letter he will do so

I am

(Signed) C H & B.

M^r. W. Grant

Hamilton

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Bath, 10 September [1845] (HA, Bundle 6308)

Bath Sep^r: the 10th

My dear Sir – Delays _ delays _ without end _ nor can I prevent them _ At length however the moment is arrived _ Tomorrow we leave Bath _ But as I must be three or four days; say untill Tuesday (on which day I hope to start) you may direct once more to me in Portman Square _ I mention this that you may, in the event of having anything to say to me, that may have escaped your memory, still have an opportunity of conveying it to me _ Or if there is anything that I should do in London, or settle before coming to Scotland, you will thus have time to remind me of it _

Enclosed I have sent a letter for M^r: Grant, which perhaps you will be so good as to give him, after having previously considered it _ Should you have any observations to make, of course you will do so _

I can get nothing from M^r: White as yet; the accompts are not made up yet either for The Duchess or myself _ The demands have encreased so much upon the business here, that the Duchess has resolved upon making a sale of all the property, if she can affect it, excepting this house _ and the objects of art &c &c curiosities _ Those, to a great extent, she chuses to preserve _ I do not expect much will be made of the sale; but at least the out-goings will be reduced to a narrow compass, & _ more than enough, I expect, than will be requisite to pay off all The Duchess's debts _ So far so well _ Hereafter we shall see what is to be done _ but of this when we meet _

I am all hurry & confusion; whilst the state of the Duchess's eyes quite breaks my heart _ When we are settling any matters together; every now & then, when she has any thing to examine, she is unable to see what is placed before her eyes _

With regard I remain my dear Sir your truly attached

CH&B

Rob^t Brown Esq^r

H: P: _

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Portman Square, 15 September 1845
(HA, Bundle 6308)

Portman Sq^r

Sep^r 15 = 1845_

My Dear Sir _ The pleasure, you express in your letter of the 12th instant, at my removal from Bath, as a preliminary to my arrival at Hamilton, is most gratifying to me __ I am now preparing for my departure from hence, & shall be at Hamilton for certain, either on the 20^h or the 21st of this month, without fail _

I set off on friday or saturday next _ It has grieved me, not a little, to have been absent upon some occasions, when my presence might have relieved you from considerable anxiety & some trouble; but unfortunately I could not do otherwise __

I will not neglect your suggestion: I will write to M^r White & endeavour to obtain from him the Salisbury & Bath accompts __

I hope I shall be able to get them; but he is not very prompt in his proceedings __ The Salisbury rents seem to be a mere trifle; the Bath business is a pure loss; & nothing but a partial sale can relieve the Duchess __

I will say nothing to Rankin at present about his accompts, as your propose our writing to him when I am at Hamilton __

The favourable state, in which the Country (from your letter) appears to be, is most satisfactory _ Smith gives an excellent account, too of our Suffolk proceedings; I enclose his letter to me herewith for your perusal __

Hume has promised me to set off for Hamilton about the 18th instant; so that I shall be at Hamilton to meet Hay & Hume: I will desire Hume to fix the day on which he will arrive __

The County is much obliged to you for the trouble you are giving yourself in putting into execution the poor's law _ What would the gentlemen do without you ? ? __

I have had a letter from Sir Will^m Maxwell, in which he urges me much to let him have a Glasgow Bursary for a certain young man [. . .]

The Duchess has desired me to send you the enclosed note __

I remain, with regard, my dear Sir

Your attached &^c &
C H & B

Robert Brown Esq^{re}
Hamilton Palace

The 10th Duke and Duchess of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Portman Square, 15 September 1845 (HA, Bundle 6308)

The following letter is written by the 10th Duke but is signed off, beginning with the word ‘yours’, by the Duchess, who also annotated the cutting.

Portman Sq^d
Sep^r 15 _ 1845 _

Dear Sir

I send you herewith the first advertisement, announcing the sale of the Lansdown tower & adjacent lands & & _ I have been brought to this painfull step, by the outgoings attached to this property _ You will receive this intelligence as a proof of my confidence in you; and (think over the matter) should you have any advice to give me; from you (I know it will be) the advice of a friend _

yours w^t. sincere & grateful regard

SEHBC:

Robert Brown Esq^r

The advertisement is attached to the left and has been annotated by the Duchess: ‘Keene’s Bath Jour / :nal Sep^r. 15th. 1845’. It reads:

LANSDOWN TOWER. – This splendid structure, with its surrounding grounds, is about to be submitted to public competition by Messrs. English and Son. This will be the most interesting sale that has taken place in this city for many years. The Tower and its contents are the very acme of elegance that wealth, under the direction of refined taste, could attain; and the whole of the property advertised having been recently improved in every way by its late owner, is altogether the most eligible, perhaps, that any gentleman of kindred mind could possess. The sale will, doubtless, be looked forward to with exciting interest, and attract visitors from all parts of the kingdom.

Robert Brown's Salary: Charges and Balances 1824-45 (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Records of T.J. & W.A. Dykes, Executory Papers of Robert Brown)

Salloreys _		charged.	Ba ^{l...} s.	Total
Martinmas	1824	— £650 —	£300 —	£950 —
	25	— 665 —	335 —	1000 —
	26	— 665 —	335 —	1000 —
	27	— 665 —	335 —	1000 —
	28	— 705 —	295 —	1000 —
	29	— 710 —	290 —	1000 —
	30	— 720 —	280 —	1000 —
	31	— 720 —	280 —	1000 —
	32	— 720 —	280 —	1000 —
	33	— 680 —	320 —	1000 —
	34	— 680 —	320 —	1000 —
	35	— 730 —	270 —	1000 —
	36	— 730 —	270 —	1000 —
	37	— 880 —	120 —	1000 —
	38	— 880 —	120 —	1000 —
	39	— 905 —	95 —	1000 —
	40	— 905 —	95 —	1000 —
	41	— 905 —	95 —	1000 —
	42	— 905 —	95 —	1000 —
	43	— 905 —	95 —	1000 —
	44	— 905 —	95 —	1000 —
	45	— 905 —	95 —	1000 —

Note: The balances from 1824 to 1845 add up to £4,815, but the 'State of Accounts twixt His Grace The Duke of Hamilton [...] and Robert Brown [...] As at 10 November 1850' gives the balance at 10 November 1846, 'as per accounts docquetted by the Parties', as only £2274 15 5 ¹⁰.

Bill from H.E. Goodridge for work on the Hamilton Mausoleum from December 1845 to
12 December 1846 (HA, F2/1125)

His Grace The Duke of Hamilton K.G. &c

To H E Goodridge Arch^t _

1845

Dec ^r	To <u>share of Expences</u> [? travel] from Hamilton, [? to] inspect foundations of Mausoleum, introducing alterations, entering into fresh agreement with the Contractor and conferring on the style & character of the proposed Mausoleum	}	£ s d 8 „ 10 „ _
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1846.	To preparing a <u>Design for a Mausoleum</u> with Plans Elevations, Sections, & Perspective views, <u>with</u> <u>alterations at Hamilton</u> and preparing a <u>Second</u> <u>Design</u> with Elevation &c [...]	}	105 „ _ „ _
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1846	To preparing Working Drawings for Basement Story, with superintendence of execution with Survey & Valuation of extra Work 5 ^p Cent in £1000 _	}	50 „ _ „ _
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May 1846	To <u>Share of Expences</u> [? travel] from Hamilton ____	}	10 „ 10 „ _
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Dec ^r 12 th	To <u>D^o</u> _ <u>D^o</u> . _ attending to measure & value the Extra work _____	}	6. 10. _
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To Postages Parcels &c _____	}	_ „ 15 „ 6
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£ 181 „ 5 . 6

Copy of letter from William Leighton to Charles Ranken, dated Hamilton, 11 January 1849 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1848-50, pp.125-6)

Charles Ranken, Esquire

Hamilton 11 January 1849

Solicitor

Greys Inn

London

Dear Sir,

The Duke of Hamilton has desired me to acknowledge the receipt of your Letter to him of the 8 inst^l., and to say, that he will, if you think it necessary, send you full Notes of his objections to M^r., Goodridge's Account in the course of a few days. __

You have been already informed that by the Original Verbal Agreement between His Grace and M^r., Goodridge, the Cost of the New Library was to be £2,000, for which Sum M^r. Goodridge was to Complete the whole work, and to engage and pay the Workmen for executing it _ beyond this His Grace did not interfere. nor directly sanction any thing, but from time to time gave M^r., Goodridge money by Drafts on Messr^s. Hoare to the amount of £4.200, until disputes arose between M^r.. Goodridge and his Contractors. _ The latter then made application direct to His Grace for payment, and he gave orders, that the whole of them should be settled with, which was done, but not through M^r. Goodridge. _

In place of the Expence being Confined to the Stipulated Sum of £,2,000, it is found to be about three times that amount and M^r. Goodridge has now given in an account of his own Charges, which may be stated thus. _

For Commission _____ £300. „ _ _

For time at Hamilton, including £9. 9/

for sundry small matters connected
with the Painting of the Duke's

private Cabinet _ 135.10

For time in London _____ 31.10

For time attending at Bath _____ 6. 6

For time occupied in Travelling	88. 4
For Travelling Expences including £11 for those of his Son _____	178. 16. 6
For Design of Carpet _____	4. 15
For Postage & ^c _____	3. 10
	<hr/>
	£748. 11. 6
For Commission on arching below the Old State Rooms _____	50. „ . „
	<hr/>
	£798.11 6

You will therefore see that he not only Charges Commission upon the whole Expenditure at the rate of five per Cent, which you seem to think he would be found entitled to, but he also makes other charges which more than equals that Commission _
Now under the whole Circumstances do you think that M^r., Goodridge would succeed in establishing his claim for any part of these extra charges. _

His Grace does not care so much for the Money, but is naturally displeased at being subjected to so great an Expence, beyond what he was led to believe by the representations of M^r. Goodridge, and is therefore inclined to Resist any demand for that Gentleman's own trouble that he may not be strictly & legally liable to pay. _

Be so good as let me hear from you on this subject and I am &^c

W.L.

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Charles Ranken, dated Hamilton Palace, 22 January 1849 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1848-50, pp.135-6)

Charles Ranken Esquire

Gray's Inn

London

Hamilton Palace

January 22,,^d 1849

I have received your Letter of the 15 instant, and thank you for it, but you seem to have misunderstood one part of the business with M^r Goodridge, and that is, the Accounts of the Tradesmen, employed at the New Library. _ These by your advice, I desired to be all settled; and although I consider myself to have been deceived, and to have paid more than I ought, consequent on the imperfect mode in which M^r Goodridge Conducted the business, yet being settled, I do not mean to revert to them. _ These Accounts in place of £2,000,, now amount according to the Statement given in by M^r. Goodridge to £5,606.18.7, of which he got £4,200 by drafts from me on Messrs^s. Hoare, and the sum of £1466.16.8, was I understand otherwise paid by my orders, direct to the Tradesmen themselves, without coming thro' the hands of M^r., Goodridge. _ Seeing therefore, that this had been done, I do not raise any question as to the extra Expence, but what I dispute is the charges made by M^r Goodridge for his own trouble, after having subjected me into such expence beyond what he originally agreed upon. _ These Charges which amount to no less than £798.11.6 you will find stated and detailed in M^r. Leighton's Letter to you of the 11th.. instant, and with reference to your observations regarding them I shall Submit their justness and fairness to any two London Architects, that you may select, if M^r. Goodridge agrees to refer his Claims to such a tribunal. _ And having said this much, I shall now leave the matter in your hands. _

There is one thing however which I should mention M^r Goodridge oftener than once stated that no charge would be made on account of his Son's being here, but you will find in his claim an item for that notwithstanding. _

I send herewith Copy of a Letter I received from another Architect who happened to be employed by me from which you will see that he conducts business in a very different manner _ All is plain and clear with him. _ Had M^r Goodridge adopted a

similar course, I would have been saved both expence and trouble, and he would not have subjected his conduct and qualifications to be called in question. _

I am &^c

C H & B

Robert Hume to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 15 March 1849 (HA, Bundle 683)

To his Grace

London March - 15 - 1849

The Duke of Hamilton &^c & &

My Lord Duke

I regret to say that I find myself guilty of negligence. (to my own injury) in not having made out. my Account but if Your Grace knew only a tenth of the Vexations & great misfortunes I have experienced I am sure you would excuse me I have been subject to nervous Rhumatism these last - 12 months and am now beset by some wicked Lawyers who after 7 years silence have attacked me to refund the £5000 which I received as part of My Debt from Lord Huntingtown = I lost a very large Sum last year by the False Swearing of Lord Morningtons Steward (in Essex). who now is about to be Tried for Perjury & Forgery = his Master L^d. Mⁿ. is reduced to a Second Floor Lodging with a Beef Steak & Porter and cannot pay his Rent ___ his Fiendish Spirit is not yet repentant _

I am constantly thinking of Your Grace and the Duchess who I grieve to learn has been suffering so severe an Illness and who I hope now is in a fair way to recovery of Health

—

at present I do not hear of any fine Goods or Works of Art coming On for Sale the Miniatures of Stowe are very . So . So. I believe they have kept back many of the best, their affairs are in the most abject state really hopeless ___ Lord Chesterfield has been selling a few Pictures privately Lord Oxfords Sale in Herefordshire . I am told by his Lawyer is not of any importance The Capitalist is afraid to buy Land. the Land owners afraid of Free Trade and the Bankers & Bank of Eng^d _ afraid of California and every body afraid of Railway Robbers indeed the whole world trembles with Ague and Fever - and no Doctor at hand (an Earthquake would be welcome to many Even King Hudson who^s, reign is Over

I hope soon to see Your Grace in Town by which time I will make the Account to hand to you

Mrs Hume is pretty well and with many thanks joins with me in wishing long Life with Health & Happiness to

Your Grace & the Duchess

Your Devoted & faithful

Obed^t Serv^t & & c__

Robert Hume

Copy of letter from William Leighton to Charles Ranken, dated Hamilton, 27 March 1849 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1848-50, pp.174-9)

Charles Ranken Esquire

Gray's Inn

London

Hamilton 27 March 1849

Dear Sir,

I send herewith, a Copy of the account given in by M^r Goodridge of his own Charges for business Connected with the New Library at Hamilton Palace: and the Duke has desired me to reply to your Letters to him, inclosing Copy of one from M^r. Goodridge to you, by making the following observations. _ It is right however that I should begin by stating that no written agreement exists between the Duke and M^r Goodridge, and that the business was Commenced on Verbal engagements, promises and assurances., made by the latter. _

You will observe that M^r., Goodridges claim amounts to no less than £798.11.6, or nearly one half of the Sum for which he at first undertook to do the whole work, and which induced the Duke, unfortunately to embark in the undertaking. _ The account is made up by not only a charge for Commission, at the rate of five per Cent on the Outlay, amounting to £350 but also, of charges for attendance at Hamilton &^c. and Travelling Expences, amounting to an additional Sum of £448.11.6. In other Cases, where a Commission of five per Cent is charged, it is understood to include every thing, that per Centage being the highest rate that is ever demanded, and in a Letter to His Grace (a Copy of which was Confidentially sent to you formerly) by another Architect _ that Gentleman says in reference to his charge, "It will only be as I before stated, five per Cent on the Amount paid to the Contractors, beyond which I have no farther Charge to make." _ Altho' therefore this is the recognized rule, M^r. Goodridge seems to think that he should be exempted from it, by making extra additional Charges for time occupied at Hamilton and else where, Amounting to £261.10/, exclusive of Travelling Expenses.

He says that he made Nineteen Visits to Hamilton _ of these no accurate check has been kept, but he made many Visits, frequently upon his way to, and from Kincardineshire, where he had another job. _ It is difficult to say what he did on

several of these occasions, intended it is supposed to correct mistakes, Committed by inaccurate measurements that he had taken, and indefinite directions that he had given on previous Visits:— but such Corrections do not appear to have been made, as he sometimes arrived at the Palace from Bath late at night, made a Cursory inspection of the work by Candle light and went off early next morning. _

On these grounds his demands appear doubly exorbitant, but, unfortunately they do not form the whole objections to his claim. _ There yet remains to be stated the following facts, which, if they do not go the whole length, go far at least to deprive him of a Considerable part of his demands. _

He undertook that the whole work should not Cost above £2,000, but the expence of it now rendered by him, Amounts to £6405.10.1 _ The Library was to be finished in December 1846, _ whereas it was not Completed till near the end of 1848, _ or about two years after. _

There was a Stipulation, by which the exterior appearance of the Palace was not to be interfered with, and a particular promise was required by the Duke, and made to him, that the horizon line of the Roof should not be injured _ Nevertheless, Sky-light Windows have been put in, raised above the Roof, and appearing like those in a Manufactory, while, an unseemly bulge has been made in the flat Slating. _ Besides, several Chimney Tops have been taken down and a New one erected, not Corresponding with the others in the building, while even this New Chimney is Considered by Tradesmen to be erected upon an insecure and insufficient basis _ All this has been done in direct opposition to the orders of the Duke _ who wrote _ “The work of my whole life, can not, must not be defaced. _ I will not allow a New Chimney to be built or propped up between the present (I suppose) end of the Library, and what is to become the end of it, taking the whole he has a Chimney at his disposal, and to that alone I Consent. _

A Hot Water-Heating Apparatus was erected in such a way that the Duke was under the necessity of applying to M^r. Perkins the Patentee, who was brought from London to inspect it, and who at once Condemned the whole as being dangerous and insufficient by a Report that he made, a Copy of which is inclosed. _ In Consequence while £40 was paid for that which was done under the directions of the Architect, and which was totally useless, the expense of another erection had likewise to be defrayed. _

Granite Chimney pieces were to have been put up, and Pictures to have been hung over them, but from the inaccurate Measurements taken, neither the Grates that were ordered for the Chimnies, nor the Pictures intended to be hung above them were found to fit. _ One of the Grates had to be returned, but not before a fruitless attempt was made by M^r. Goodridge to force it in, – and failing therein. – Strange to say, he ordered the Moulding in front of the Marble Slab to be Cut out, rendering it necessary that a New piece should be inserted, – and which, if it serves to hide the defect to a certain degree, does not repair the injury _ A New Grate was after all requisite, and it is not known when it was ordered by M^r. Goodridge, but it only arrived in September 1848. _ The Manufacturer therefore, has little Cause to Complain for not having been paid, as scarcely more than Six Months have elapsed since the delivery of this Article. _ Four portraits were by M^r. Goodridge's suggestion to be placed in the four Angles of the Library, and Measurements were taken of Marble recesses above the Chimnies, adapted to receive them, but when these portraits were to be fixed, in their recesses, it was found that all the Measurements had been inaccurate excepting one _ three of them had therefore to be pieced and patched up, and when he Came to the Palace the last time finally to fix them, _ not knowing how to remedy his former errors he went away without doing any thing, saying that he left it to the Duke's good taste to adapt them _ And again, it has since been found that the flue behind one of these recesses is only one brick thick, so that the Picture _ the Portrait of the Duchess of Hamilton in the recess [_] is so near to the flue, and so exposed to the heat of the New Chimney, before alluded to, that it is already injured and will have to be removed, or the flue must be altered or Condemned. _

In February 1848 _ M^r Goodridge stated his Contracts with M^r Sang the Artist at £550 and Messr^s Chapple and White at £950, but in consequence of the indistinctness of his bargains, with which the Duke had no Concern _ His Grace was threatened with a law suit, was called upon to pay, and has paid the former £732 and the latter £1200, _ thereby sustaining a loss of £432, with the trouble and inconvenience of Settling M^r Goodridge's irregular Contracts, which ought to have been clearly defined, and settled by himself. _

M^r. Goodridge says, that, the great increase of Outlay, can be Satisfactorily explained _ “enlargement, fire proofing and alterations and additions by the Duke's desire [”] _ He chose to lengthen [sic] one end of the Library a few feet to make it

Correspond with the opposite end, in opposition to the Duke's positive wishes, but this additional expense, at his instance not the Dukes, could not at the most exceed £500. – The fire Proofing was paid for separately, and is not included in M^r. Goodridge's outlay _ he therefore has nothing to say on that Subject _ and altho' some alterations may have been made by His Grace's desire _ all of these were not to augment outlay, as they went to limit expense, by suppressing a Superabundance of Ornaments of every sort and Kind, always objected to by the Duke, and Censured by the Marquis, _ this you will see from the Copy of a Letter written by His Grace to M^r. Goodridge, which is also herewith sent. _

The great increase of expenditure can be more easily accounted for, by M^r. Goodridge's doing and undoing occasioned by unascertained accurate dimensions, and orders given, recalled, and given again, without the necessary previous examination and Consideration, as well as from the want of Specially defined Agreements with the Contractors, for all which he as a professional man ought to be accountable _ And although he seems displeased at the words "Contracts" and "irregularities" being applied to his proceedings, he can hardly expect proceedings will be termed regular which have ended like his in results so much at Variance with professional Assurances, and professional engagements, even tho' not sanctioned by any Written obligation. _

He says he was entitled to Charge for the time of his Son, when at Hamilton "at the rate of 1½ guineas per week, having no Clerk of the works _ Now, it so happens that M^r. Goodridge's Son (unknown to the Duke) came to Hamilton on the 7th. August 1847, but His Grace was only informed of it by a letter from M^r Goodridge on 10 September _ in Answer to which, His Grace wrote _ "his being at Hamilton is it not a New item of expense _ Your occasional Appearance I should have thought sufficient" _ After remaining some time, his Son left Hamilton and M^r. Goodridge gave an Assurance that no Charge whatever would be made for him _ never adverting to a Clerk of the works. _ But, as regards the want of a Clerk of the Works, he seems to have forgotten that altho' he was repeatedly and positively forbidden by the Duke, and had promised not to interfere with any of His Grace's people, yet he Contrived Surreptitiously to get the Services of the Duke's Clerk of works at the Palace, who, whilst paid separately by the Duke for attending to his business, was unknown to His Grace employed by M^r. Goodridge. _

I have already adverted to the Grates that were ordered by M^r Goodridge from the Coalbrookdale Company _ the account for these it is said amounts to £90.18/_ and if that account is Certified by him as being in accordance with the Agreement he made with the Company, the money will be remitted. _

In Concluding these observations I am desired by the Duke to subjoin, that although he Cannot withhold his Complaints, nor be silent upon his disappointments arising from M^r. Goodridges Conduct _ nevertheless, he does not wish to quarrel about a few pounds, more or less, in Settling the Account when he has Shewn that he is not the dupe and is not blind to what he deems the imposition that has been done. Yet, M^r. Goodridge met with a sad misfortune when on the Railroad returning from hence to Bath, which has clothed in Sympathy all feelings of resentment. _

I am &^c W.L.

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Charles Ranken, dated Hamilton Palace, 3 May 1849 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1848-50, pp.196-7)

Charles Rankin Esq^{re}

Grays Inn

London

Hamilton Palace

May 3^d. 1849

I have received your Letter of the 14th.. ultimo, Containing a detailed account of your interview at Bath with M^r., Goodridge, and after the assertions that he has made to you, (which I will not characterize as they deserve) it is impossible for me to make any reply, as I can hardly admit a Syllable of their accuracy. _

That he should in Conducting the work here, pretend to have acted under my authority, and that of the Duchess, _ whose name is always called in advisedly, for his purpose is too ridiculous: when neither the Duchess nor myself until we were menaced with Law Suits, knew the persons employed, or what was the work doing, and as to any orders of mine increasing the Outlay _ I never but once or twice interfered at all, and then only to repress the unnecessary expense of exuberant Ornaments and decorations

I complain less of the extravagance of M^r. Goodridge's Charges, than I complain of being made his dupe, _ and thro' his instrumentality - led into a much greater expense than he at first induced me to believe, whilst, at the sametime, he broke his word with me in every engagement he bound himself to, _ Contrary to every stipulation, he altered and disfigured the roof of the Palace, by placing sky light windows on the top of it, which he engaged not to do _ he made a most unseemly bulge in the Slating, which he was not to deface _ he took down several Chimney tops, and erected a New one, in direct opposition to my orders, and he placed it upon a brick wall built on an Iron bar, an insufficient basis, now pronounced by Tradesmen to be dangerous, and therefore, ordered to be strengthened by an Iron pillar, in the middle of the room below. _ He caused a Heating Apparatus to be erected, which was totally useless, the Water pipes running under the floor and thereby exposing it to the danger of Fire, whilst, the whole Apparatus was Condemned by Perkins the Patentee, as his letter shews _ the floor laid under his directions is of inferior wood _ the planks badly united together, and more in keeping with a Common Inn than the place it occupies. _ By taking inaccurate

measurements, he sent Grates, which were ordered and returned three times, and in attempting to place them, and Conceal his error from me, he actually Cut a Notch in, and disfigured the front of the Marble Slabs. _ By similar inaccuracy in his measurements, the recesses for the Pictures would not receive them, and in consequence, alterations have had to be made at Considerable expense,. while, one of these Pictures has received much injury,. arising from the imperfect Construction of the recess, and its exposure to the heat of the Vent. _ Contrary to my wishes, and indeed of my orders, a Superabundance of Ornaments and Painting have been executed, under Contracts not properly defined, thus giving rise to disputes and altercations with the Tradesmen, which I was left to settle, and thereby sustained trouble, as well as Considerable loss. _

I complain of these things that have been done by M^r. Goodridge _ which manifest his inability & inaccuracy _ If he does not admit them, he alone is blind to them _ I will not bring professional Architects to inspect his work, on account of the Duches's name having been so improperly introduced by him. _ Let him persist in his infallibility - he will enjoy it by himself, and as for me, rather than enter into any farther discussion with M^r. Goodridge, if you will only save me in future, and settle his account definitely in any way you please, I shall not only subscribe to it but feel obliged to you

(Signed) C H & B

Copy of letter from William Leighton to Charles Ranken, dated Hamilton, 21 August 1849 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1848-50, p.246)

Charles Ranken Esq^{re}

Grays Inn

London

Hamilton 21 Aug. 1849

My dear Sir.

I beg to send prefixed a Dft of this date, in your favour, by the Agent of the British Linen Company here on Messr^s Smith Payne and Smiths for Seven Hundred and Sixty two pounds 10/_ to enable you to settle M^r., Goodridges Claim against the Duke of Hamilton _ as arranged by you. _

I will thank you to send me an acknowledgement for this Remittance, or M^r. Goodridge's discharge on a regular Stamp, stating therein that the money has been paid by my hands.

I remain &^c

W. L.

Copy of letter from William Leighton to Charles Ranken, dated Hamilton, 6 September 1849 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1848-50, p.250)

M^r. Charles Ranken

Grays Inn

London

Hamilton _ 6 September 1849

My dear Sir,

The Duke of Hamilton has desired me to acknowledge the receipt of your letter to him of the 1st,, instant inclosing M^r. Goodridge's discharge for his professional Charges, in connexion with the New Library &^c. at the Palace here. _ His Grace feels much obliged to you for your attention to this matter, and is glad to think that it is now finally settled. __

There is another business however, which remains still to be adjusted with M^r. Goodridge, and of which I have no doubt he will be able to render a satisfactory State. _ This is an Account of the expenditure of the Money that was advanced to him, from time to time, by His Grace, for the purpose of paying the Contractors for the Work at the Library. _ From a State formerly rendered by M^r. Goodridge, he appears to have got through Messrs Hoare & Co the Sum of £4,200, the whole of which does not seem to have been at the time expended by him, but there were some Accounts still to pay, which he may have probably since settled. _ If you will therefore be so good as ascertain from him how this matter stands and whether there are any ? and what Accounts ? are still unpaid, we can get the whole of this vexatious business finally adjusted. __

I am sorry to give you this trouble, but since you have got through one part of the business, I must beg you will take up the other, so as to bring the whole to a close _ and I will be glad to hear from you. __

I am &^c W : L :

Copy of letter from William Leighton to Robert Hume, dated Hamilton, 1 October 1849
(HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1848-50, p.266)

Robert Hume Esq

65 Berners Street

London

Hamilton 1 October 1849

Dear Sir,

I now beg to send prefixed a Draft of this date, in your favour, by the Agent of the British Linen Company here, on Messr^s Smith Payne & Smiths London for Four Hundred and Seventy two pounds 10/_ _ as the Balance of your Account against the Duke of Hamilton from 10th., February 1845 to 7th., December 1848, Amounting to £1272, 10/, of which His Grace has already paid you £800 to account, and I will thank you to send me a regular stamp receipt stating therein that it is the Balance of your Account for the above period, and that the money has been paid by my hands.

I am &^c

W.L.

'State of Accounts twixt His Grace The Duke of Hamilton Brandon and Chatelherault K.G. &c. &c. &c and Robert Brown Esquire Hamilton As at 10 November 1850', dated Hamilton, 10 January 1851 (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Records of T.J. & W.A. Dykes, Executory Papers of Robert Brown)

As at 10 November 1850

Balance due by The Duke to M^r Brown as at 10 Nov.

-ember 1846 as per accounts docketted by the Parties	£2274 15 5 ¹⁰
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Interest thereon to 10th. Novem^r 1847 one

year 5 p Cent	£113 14 9
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Annuity for the year to 10 Nov^r 1847 due to M^r

Brown under The Dukes letter dated the	_ _ _	1000 <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>
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25 day of December 1823 _____

Sum	_ _ _	£3274 15 5 ¹⁰
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Interest thereon to 10 th Novem ^r . 1848 _____	163 14 9
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Annuity for the year to 10 th November 1848	_ _ _	1000 <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>
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Sum	_ _ _	£4274 15 5 ¹⁰
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Interest thereon to 10 th . Novemb ^r 1849 _____	213 14 9
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Annuity for the year to 10 th Novem ^r . 1849	_ _ _	1000 <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>
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Sum	_ _ _	£5274 15 5 ¹⁰
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Interest thereon to 10 th . Novem ^r . 1850	263 14 9 ²
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Annuity for the year to 10 Novem ^r 1850	_ _ _	1000 <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>
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Sum	_ _ _	£6274 15 5 ¹⁰
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Interest	754 19 ²	
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Deduct Income Tax _____	22 <u> </u> <u> </u> <u> </u>	
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732 18 7 ²

Balance due by His Grace to M^r Brown

<u>as at said 10th November 1850</u>	<u>£7007 14 1</u>
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Hamilton 10 January 1851 The above State of Accounts betwixt His Grace The Duke of Hamilton &^c and Robert Brown Esquire as at Tenth November Eighteen hundred and fifty having been carefully examined by the Parties and found to be duly and accurately stated _ the same is hereby approved of as a final State of Accounts up to said Tenth November Eighteen hundred and fifty _ The Balance due to M^r Brown as at said date being Seven thousand and seven pounds fourteen shillings and one penny Sterling

Hamilton Brandon & Chatelherault

Robert Brown

'Mutual Discharge Betwixt The Duke of Hamilton Brandon & Chatelherault and Robert Brown Esquire', dated Hamilton, 20 January 1851 (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Records of T.J. & W.A. Dykes, Executory Papers of Robert Brown)

The Parties following Viz^t,, The Most Noble Alexander Duke of Hamilton Brandon and Chatelherault &^{co},, &^{co},, &^{co},, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and Robert Brown Esquire residing at Hamilton Considering, That by Factory and Commission bearing date the Fifth day of February One thousand Eight Hundred and Twelve, The said Noble Duke, Then Factor and Commissioner for the late Archibald Duke of Hamilton and Brandon his Father Nominated and Appointed the said Robert Brown to be his Factor and Chamberlain over the whole Lands and Estates belonging to the said Noble Duke, and his Father, lying within the County of Lanark, Isle of Arran, and County of Bute, and that in virtue thereof, the said Robert Brown entered upon the management of the said Estates, uplifted the Rents thereof and had various other actings and management for behoof of the said Noble Duke_ That his Accounts were from time to time duly rendered, and docquetted and approved of by the said Noble Duke, and that by a State of Accounts made up betwixt the said Noble Duke, and the said Robert Brown, from the Tenth day of November One thousand Eight Hundred and Forty Six to the Tenth day of November last, and docquetted by the said Noble Duke and the said Robert Brown, on the Tenth day of January Instant It was declared that the said State of Accounts had been carefully examined by the parties, and found to be duly and accurately stated, and the same was thereby approved of, as a final State of Accounts up to the said Tenth day of November last, One thousand Eight hundred and Fifty, and that, the Balance as at that date due to the said Robert Brown, amounted to the Sum of Seven Thousand and Seven Pounds fourteen Shillings and one penny, as the said State of Accounts bears_ And now seeing That on the date hereof the said Noble Duke has granted and delivered to the said Robert Brown, his Promissory Note, payable at one days date, for the said Balance of Seven Thousand and Seven Pounds fourteen Shillings and one penny, and that it is right the parties should grant the Discharge underwritten, In favour, the one of the other Therefore on the one part The said Noble Duke does hereby Exoner, acquit, and Discharge the said Robert Brown and his heirs and Successors, of all his actings, Intromissions and Management as Factor and Commissioner foresaid, either during the Lifetime of the late Archibald Duke of Hamilton and Brandon, or since the

said Noble Duke succeeded to the Dukedom and Estate of Hamilton, hereby Confessing and Declaring that the said Robert Brown has faithfully accounted to him for all his Intrusions, and that he is well satisfied and content with all his actings and management as Factor and Commissioner foresaid_ And, on the other part, the said Robert Brown in respect of the above Discharge and of the said Promissory Note per Seven Thousand and Seven Pounds fourteen Shillings and one penny, now delivered to him, hereby Exonerates and Discharges the said Noble Duke, and his heirs, and Successors, of all Claim and Demand competent, or that might be competent, to him, against the said Noble Duke for payment of Salary, reimbursement of Outlays, or otherways, down to the said Tenth day of November last, hereby Confessing and Declaring that the said Noble Duke has fully satisfied and Discharged, subject always to payment of said Promissory Note, all Claims and demands competent to him against His Grace or his forefathers, down to the said date, which Discharge the said Parties Bind and Oblige themselves and their forefathers reciprocally to warrant to the other, and his forefathers, at all hands, and against all mortals, as Law will. In witness whereof these presents written on Stamped Paper by Roger Aytoun [? Bennet or Bound] Clerk to Mess^{rs}., Rutherford and Herries Writers to the Signet are Subscribed by the parties, as follows viz^t., By the said Noble Duke at Hamilton Palace the twentieth day of January One Thousand Eight hundred and fifty one years, Before these Witnesses David Robertson Souter, His Grace's Auditor. and John Willmore Groom of the Chambers at Hamilton Palace. and by the said Robert Brown at Hamilton, on the same day. Before these Witnesses William Leighton, Factor to His Grace at Hamilton, and John Litster his Clerk_ The Testing Clause after the word_ "Viz^t" being Written by the said John Litster. _

D Robertson Souter Witness

Hamilton Brandon & Chatelherault

John Willmore ____ Witness

Robert Brown

W^m. Leighton Witness

John Litster, Witness

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Portman Square, 8 March 1852
(Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Records of T.J. & W.A. Dykes, Executory Papers of Robert Brown)

Portman Sq^E

March = 8 = 1852 =

My good Sir

I should have written to you long ago, had not my hand as well as my head been unequal to the task, for these some weeks past ___ I have had a violent attack of influenza; but however, by following my own prescriptions & shunning the Doctor & the Apothecary, I am now tollerably well; altho' I am forbidden to go out of doors, as long as these fatal zephyrs continue to blow from the North & North East _

[...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Portman Square, 13 March 1852, with a postscript dated H: P: [i.e. Hamilton Palace] 12 March 1852 (Mitchell Library, Glasgow, Records of T.J. & W.A. Dykes, Executory Papers of Robert Brown)

[...]

I am going on in point of health as well as possible, & recovering a little substance (I was left with nothing but skin & bone) but I am advized not to stir out whilst these fatal winds from the N. & N: E: continue to blow _ but you know years count & have already counted more than my share _ I am with regard

Your very old friend

CH & B

Rob^t Brown Esq^e

H: P: March 12 = 1852 =

P: S: Counting grass puts me in mind of coming to the end of my calculations _ Recollect, & I tell my friends, that my desire is, that I should be placed, after my death, in my basalt=sarcophagus in the nitch I have designed in the mausoleum _ If you should have any enquiries upon this subject, after my demise, made to you _ You are hereby, not only authorized, but desired to declare, that you knew, that it was my intention to be so interred, & that I counted upon the most implicit attention to this my injunction – to be carried into effect by my family _ Amen

C H & B

Rob^t: Brown Esq.^{re}

Hamilton Palace

Scotland ____

Note: The dates 13 March 1852 on the letter and 12 March on the postscript are correct. They obviously conflict and the two different locations – almost 400 miles apart – make it impossible to explain the clash as a simple mistake.

Letter from the Glasgow architect John Baird about the black marble staircase in Hamilton Palace, published in *The Builder*, 9 January 1869, p.27

THE STAIRCASE IN HAMILTON PALACE.

Sir, – Allow me to correct your correspondent “J.S.R.,” in some of his statements about the staircase in Hamilton Palace, “built entirely of black marble.”† He says that this “is not the principal one in the palace, and that it was erected by the late duke.” It was erected by the late duke’s father, viz., Alexander, the 10th Duke of Hamilton, who made the latest additions to it, and it is the principal staircase in the palace; but to one not acquainted with, and getting perhaps a hurried look through, the house, such a mistake might easily arise.

The older portion of the palace forms three sides of a quadrangle, the entrance-hall being on the ground-floor, with the entrance-door in the centre of the inner face, facing the east. On this floor, also, were the principal rooms. The addition faces the west, and this became and is now the main front of the palace. In the centre of this front, and on the first-floor level, is the new entrance-hall, approached through a portico on the same level, and reached by a double flight of steps, somewhat like Blenheim. All the state-rooms are on this level, alongside the new entrance-hall to the north, and its use is this. Should visitors be set down at the western entrance, instead of ascending by exposed outside stairs leading to the portico, in wet weather, they go inside at once, to a lower hall, communicating with the old one on the same level; and if arriving by the old entrance, the black marble stair becomes the main approach to the principal floor, the steps being only carried up to this level.

The staircase, instead of being of black marble, is lined with a warm-tinted and beautifully veined freestone; so also is the new entrance-hall. The latter magnificent apartment, the floor of which is laid with coloured marbles, is the whole height of the principal and bed-room floors; while the staircase has the additional height of the ground-floor.

The masonry of these two apartments is of the most exquisite kind. Not only the faces of the stones, but the top and bottom beds and end-joints also were polished; and instead of this being done in the usual way by rubbing them with the polisher, the parts to be polished were laid on the polisher, and in this way rubbed until they were perfectly true.

The steps of this stair-landing, balustrade, and skirtings, are of polished black marble, as also are the jambs of the doors at either end of the landing, the one leading into the new entrance-hall, the other into the state bed-rooms. The landing is supported by two Atlantidae, I forget whether of bronze or marble. I think, speaking from recollection, that the steps at the centre flight are 8 ft. long, and the return ones 6 ft. The steps are moulded on the back and all polished. The balusters are carved, and stand on a moulded base, raking with the steps.

With regard to the cost of this staircase and stair, I think no one could possibly give a guess. The freestone was from one of the duke's own quarries. The workmen were in his own employ and paid by the day. The workmanship had to be of the best, and the men were allowed their own time. As the lower portion of the walls of the staircase is chamfered rustic work, and every arris had to be perfectly true, no idea can be formed of the cost of this part of the work. The steps, plats, and balusters were contract-work, and I think were executed in London. I cannot believe in a single baluster costing 27l. for the polishing; but the entire cost of one might reach that sum or even more.

To satisfy your correspondent "K.K." as to the date of erection, I may state that I was engaged at intervals at the drawings for this staircase and other parts of the house, while in the office of the late David Hamilton, of Glasgow, who was architect to the duke (see his obituary notice in the *Builder*, vol. i., p. 537) from 1837 till his death in the end of 1843, at which time it was not quite finished.

I suspect "J.S.R." has mistaken the stair known as the duchess's (also a very fine one), for the principal stair. It is so to the bed-room floor, but it is not the principal stair in the palace.

JOHN BAIRD.

Note: A request by 'K.K.' for information about modern staircases of ebony, ebonized wood or black marble had been published in *The Builder* on 19 December 1868, on page 933. The motif at the end of the first sentence of Baird's letter refers to *The Builder*, XXVI, p.948.

Appendix 12: The Use of Black Marble in Hamilton Palace after 1825

John Macpherson to Robert Brown, dated Portree, 15 July 1825 (HA, Bundle 1818)

Portree 15th July 1825

My dear Sir

I am this moment fav^d with your esteemed letter of the 8th current and I shall forward the Specimens of the Skye Marble by the first opportunity to Glasgow & I am sure Lord Macdonald will feel most happy that it meets the Duke of Hamilton's approbation. _ I expect his Lordship here next month when I will submit your letter to him. _ The colour of the Marble is exactly as you describe, white with grey veins _ and we have got some elegant chimney pieces made of it in Armadale Castle which are much admired _

I shall be most happy the first time I go south to pay my respects to you as an old friend _ Indeed I am very anxious to see Hamilton Palace & the surrounding Country. _

I remain

My dear Sir

yours most truly _

John Macpherson

R Brown Esq

& & &

Hoare's Bank to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 5 September 1826 (HA, Bundle 1830)

My Lord

London 5 Sept^r 1826

We were duly honor^d with your Grace's Letter; and in obedience to your Commands, have shipped the Ten Cases of Marble, on Board the [illegible ship's name] Captain Anderson, consigned to Mess Bell Renie & Co at Leith of which we write, by this Post, to apprize them, __ We beg leave to add for your Grace's Satisfaction, that from the Representation which we made concerning the contents of the Cases, that, but one of them was opened at the Custom House, here _

We have the Honor to be

My Lord

your Lordship's most obedient

and very faithful Servants

Henry Hoare, & Co

To

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

& Brandon

Receipt from James Dalziel for eight pounds for a black marble chimneypiece, dated Edinburgh, 4 November 1828 (HA, F2/1064/8)

£8 St^g Edinburgh 4th Nov^r 1828

_____ Recieved from M^r. Quinet the Sum of Eight
 _____ Pounds Sterling being the Amount of my Acc^t_
 _____ for a Chimney Piece of Black Marble _

James Dalziel

Note: The Edinburgh marble-cutter James Dalziel is listed at 35 Leith Walk in the *Post Office Annual Directory for 1824-25* and at 37 Leith Walk in the directory for 1828-29. He lived at 41 Leith Walk in 1824-25 and at 6 Shrub Place in 1828-29.

Hoare's Bank to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 9 November 1829 (HA, Bundle 1884)

My Lord

We beg leave to acquaint your Grace, that our Shipping agents, have just sent us notice, that the vessel, containing the [? Four] Columns of marble is arrived in the River; and that they will forward them to Hamilton Palace pr Leith, as usual; agreeably to your wishes

We have the Honor to be

my Lord

your Grace's most obedient

and very faithful Servants

[illegible] Hoare & C^o

London 9 Novem^r 1829

To

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

James Gray to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 10 November 1829 (HA, Bundle 1884)

Edin^r 10th Nov^r 1829

Sir

As I think by this time the Duchess's apartments in Hamilton Place [first 'a' of 'Palace' missed out] will be finished with the painting and am therefore intending to send off the Grates by the Carrier to get them put in. The Painters expressed a wish when I was there to have them put in at that time, but I clearly saw that the polished part would have been destroyed; and as I wished to show my work in a proper state, I think that the delay will meet your approbation.

I will feel particularly obliged by your giving directions to the workmen to see that they be carefully taken off the cart, and put into a dry apartment

My workman will be there on Thursday to get them put up, and I myself on Friday

Your attention to this will much oblige

Sir

Your Mo Obedient Servant

James Gray

York Lane }

Tuesday }

Bell, Rannie & Co. to Robert Brown, dated Leith, 21 November 1829 (HA, Bundle 1885)

Leith 21st Novemr 1829

Dear Sir

We beg leave to inform you that we have received from London, for His Grace the Duke of Hamilton & Brandon six cases of Plate glass, & Mess^{rs}. Hoare & C^o.. advise us that they have forwarded by Smack, two cases of Marble Columns, all which we will have the pleasure to forward in the usual manner to Hamilton —

[...]

David Hamilton & Son to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton Palace, 21 December 1829 (HA, C4/711)

Hamilton Palace 21st. Dec^r., 1829

My Lord Duke

we hereby bind ourselves to have all the Work of the Door Peice along with the two Chimney Peices for the Gallery.” ready for being put up by the first week of February 1830”. and will commence to put them up as soon after that time as directed

David Hamilton & Son

Note: The letter and signature are in different hands.

Copies of letters sent from Robert Brown to Alexander McLeod and David Hamilton, dated Hamilton Palace, 12 September 1830 (HA, Bundle 1903)

Hamilton Palace 12th Sept^r 1830

My Dear Sir

Some time ago Lord M^cDonald very kindly gave Permission to the Duke of Hamilton to quarry some Marble out of his quarries in Skye, but untill now His Grace has not availed himself of this indulgence at last the Bearer M^r Laurence is now sent to Skye in order to Procure the Marble wanted by the Duke and it will oblige me if you can give him facilities in procuring workmen to assist him and a Vessel to carry the Marble to Glasgow I need not add that I will see the men Paid their wages and any other expence incurred settled I hope you will forgive me for Putting you to this trouble and in return let me assure you of my readiness to attend to any concern of yours in the South whenever I can be usefull to you I am

My Dear Sir

Yours Faithfully

Alex^r M^cLeod Esq^r

Factor of Skye

P.S. If Lawrence can engage a Vessel in Skye I hope it will be on moderate terms such as is Paid for Kelp freights to the Clyde

Hamilton Palace 12th Sept^r 1830

Dear Sir

You will receive herewith two letters which you will give to M^r Laurence, one from the Duke to Lord M^cDonald and one from myself to D^r A. M^cLeod his Lordships Factor _ my letter to D^r M^cLeod is requesting him to help Laurence to workmen & a Vessel to bring home the Marble

The Duke and M^r Connell have made a Calculation of the quantity of Marble for the Low Hall and the entrances and they calculate that 50 Tons will be wanted to pave the same _ M^r Lawrence will [? therefore] cut out of the best of the quarry Particularly where it is of the whitest colour the above quantity in Cubes of from 18 to 20 inches each or in Pieces of 3 feet 4 in^s by 20 in^s in order to be sawn up into Pavement of from 18 to 20 in^s square _ should a good block or two of large size be found fit for being converted into herths & be easily got M^r Lawrence may send the same up with the [? Sloop] that brings the rest

You will be so good as give M^r Lawrence a little Money and if He requires some more D^r M^cLeod can draw on me for the men's wages due _ I send my Letter to M^r M^cLeod open which read over and seal before giving it to Lawrence _ I am

My Dear Sir

Yours truly

D. Hamilton Esqr

Alexander Macleod to Robert Brown, dated [Saitue ?], 4 November 1830 (HA, Bundle 1906)

[Saitue ?] _ 4^h Nov^r. 1830

My Dear Sir

I deferred answering your fav^r. of the 12th Sept^r by M^r. Lawrence untill I could say definitely as to the Marble

The Quantity wanted by M^r Lawrence is ready to Ship but the only Sloop I could get at the time will not carry above 45. Tons which She is now taking in _ the remainder will be Sent by first opp^y [i.e. opportunity] to Clyde _ The freight of the Sloop engaged is 12/ p^r. Ton which is the lowest I could get _____

In order to give every facility to M^r. Lawrence in procuring the Marble I gave him the quantity wanted in large Square Blocks which had been some years ago Quarried for Lord MacDonald _ & he had only to make a few cuts in them to bring them to the Size wanted _ M^r Lawrence agreed that rather than begin to quarry that he would agree to pay any reasonable Sum for the Blocks as this would be more than Saved by avoiding quarrying I communicated with Lord Macdonald on the Subject and all he Says is, that a reasonable Compensation Should be got for the original Expen^{ce} of Quarrying the Blocks. but no Charge for the Stone _ As M^r. Lawrence could not give me any data as to the Sum that Should be allowed for the Blocks & that I cannot think of Charging the Original Expenditure which has been considerable _ I trust you can give me Some ideas of the thing by consulting Some Experienced people about you who can form a better opinion than I can on the Subject. M^r. Lawrence can inform you of the advantage of having the Marble Quarried to his hands _ To this I beg your early attention _____

M^r Lawrence forwarded me the acc^{ts} to be paid Sundrie people Employed by him amounting to £50.12.3 which I Shall Settle _ I wish however he would Send me a full Copy of the Expen^{ce} as there are Still a few Claims not included in the acc^{ts} he rendered _ as the Marble was not all brought to the Quay before he went off _____

This can be easily adjusted afterwards

I will pay the workmen their acc^{ts} & send their Receipts _ In the mean time you will please pay the acc^t. Stated [? Sery: ?] £50 .12.3 . to M^r. Alex^r. Ferguson [?

Mentet] Broomielaw Glasgow _ which will answer my purpose for the Mon[e]y
advanced to the workmen ____

I am obliged by your enquiry of the [damage to letter] myself & family _ we
enjoy [damage to the letter: probably the word good] health & as yet I am well
pleased with my Situation thoo it is much more laborious than any person could
think _ My principal cause of grievance is that I had to pay about £800 & upwards
for Stock & Furniture which I could not be well prepared for _ If in health I will get
over this in time but will [two illegible words] in the meantime_

Hoping to have the pleasure of Hearing from you Soon____

I remain My D. Sir

yours very truly

Alex^r. Macleod

Note: The back of the letter is stamped 'PORTREE'.

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Holyroodhouse, [Edinburgh,] 17 February, 1831 (HA, Bundle 1918)

[...]

I believe I told you before that application had been made to Mr Ness concerning the working and cutting of marbles prior to the receipt of your letter.

It appears Mr Ness having found out that I was the person who desired information upon this subject, estimated such labour at an exorbitant rate, Mr Dalziel not knowing any thing about me has given a much more moderate statement, I send them both to you herewith inclosed.

[...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Holyrood House, [Edinburgh,]
22 April 1831 (HA, Bundle 1922)

Holyrood House

22^d Apr. 1831

My Dear Sir

Having been considering the mode of finishing the Interior of the Great Hall, I was led to inquire into the value of Skye Marble for that Object. _ I have been led to believe that I can Quarry and transport to Hamilton Palace (in consequence of Lord Macdonald's obliging permission to make use of his Quarries) the said Skye Marble nearly as cheap as the Lanarkshire stone, always understood that it is to be made use of, and built up in Blocks, never exceeding 3 or 4 feet square, in the same manner as the Stone would be. _ Now, I should esteem it as a particular favor, if you would procure me, an accurate Statement of what this Marble will cost, making use of it instead of the Stone. _ I think you will agree with me that if instead of its being as Cheap as the Stone, it were not to Stand me in more than an Additional Thousand pounds it would be well worth my while to adopt it _ The richness in the Appearance of the Marble will far exceed that of the Stone _ Be so kind as to procure the most accurate Account you can of what will be the Outlay on this Marble, that I may determine whether or not I must content myself with the Stone, or make use of the Isle of Skye Marble. _ I know you will be kind enough to procure for me the earliest and best intelligence that can be had upon this matter. _

I should tell you that two or three Cases will be sent to Hamilton from M^r Hume, in the Course of a very few days. _ They contain nothing but a large Chimney Piece _ I think you cannot do better with these Boxes, than place them as they are, unopened, in the Dining Room, as the Chimney Piece is to be put up in that Room _ With regard I remain,

My Dear Sir

Your attached & [illegible abbreviations]

&^c &

C: H: & B:

Rob^t Brown Esq^{re}

Draft letter Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 23 April 1831 (HA, Bundle 1922)

Hamilton 23 Ap: 1831

My Lord Duke

I have rec^d.. your three letters of the 22^d. ins^t.. –

With respect to the one about the transaction with m^r. caddell your orders will be punctually attended to. _

I have ordered M^r. Connell to give me a note of the number of Tons of Marble you will require from Skye to finish the Entrance Hall with the view of making a comparative calculation of the expence of doing the whole with Stone and how soon I learn that the marble is to be procured of sizes to suit I will report to your Grace so as you may decide and give your orders. _ The cases you allude to will be taken care of on arrival _

[...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Holyrood house, [Edinburgh,] 24 April 1831 (HA, Bundle 1922)

Holyrood house

April y^e 24^h 1831 _

My Dear Sir

[...]

I should observe another thing in regard to the Skye marble _ I find that what I got was brought upon horses and mules backs to the shore by a circuitous road; whereas, should I resolve upon making use of the quarry again, the cheap & proper mode of going to work would be this _ To make a road from the quarry to the sea=shore directly: The distance is not above half a mile, & easily would this road be made serviceable; which when made would render the quarrying the marble one half less in expence _ This is the chief matter I suspect to be taken into consideration, as the marble itself is of little value upon the spot & easily quarried _ whilst the carriage must be troublesome & expensive ____ I moreover understand, if once a road is made, pieces of marble of any size might be got, with less difficulty than it would require to take the Stone out of a quarry _

[...]

Detached postscript from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated 28 April 1831 on the reverse (HA, Bundle 1922)

P.S. In the midst of the hurry and business that now must occupy you, I ought not perhaps at present bring before you at all, the business of the Stone or Marble that will be required for the Great Hall. _ M^r. Connell states and I suppose upon good data it will be requisite to have 215 Tons for the work in question, of either material. _ You do not however enter into the detail of the sums it may cost, quarrying the one or the other, nor how far the making a Road from the Quarry to the Sea, which I understand can be done at a trifling expence, will lessen the cost of procuring the Marble _ I should like to have the different items of quarrying, carrying, and working the Marble, more accurately defined. _ But at this moment you cannot attend to these minutiae. _

I am preparing to come to Hamilton, but as yet I have not fixed the moment _ It may be at any time, but if circumstances should require my presence, I shall set off without delay. _

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Holyrood House, [Edinburgh,]
30 April 1831 (HA, Bundle 1922)

[...]

You inform me that Ramsay has boarded up my Rooms and is preparing to put in the Windows. _ I will not allow my coming to prevent his carrying on his work, therefore let him proceed; and tell M^{rs} Anderson that I will sleep up-stairs in one of Lady Susan's Rooms, sit in the present Dining Room, and have the Room Opposite, on the other side of the Hall, covered with a Carpet, that I may turn it into a Dining Room. _ This I think will answer my Purpose, and the other Rooms will thus remain free, in the event of our friends coming to the Palace about the 14th inst. _ [...]

Alexander Finlay to Robert Brown, dated Castlemains, 3 August 1831 (HA, Bundle 1928)

Castlemains Aug^t. 3^d.

1831

Dear Sir

Upon my return from England, where I had been detained for six or 7 Weeks, I was surprised to find Lord Douglas's Quarry at Threepwood worked under the superintendence of a person named M^c.Donald, with 12 or 15 men _ On inquiring at this man, I found that his authority flowed from you _ May I beg the favor of your informing as to the nature of your bargain with Forrest, that I may know how to act in regard to him _

Believe me

Yours [illegible word:? truly]

Alex^r Finlay

To

Robert Brown Esqre }

Hamilton }

Draft letter from Robert Brown to Alexander Finlay, dated Hamilton, 5 August 1831
(HA, Bundle 1928)

This is a neatly written letter with alterations and additions in Robert Brown's almost illegible handwriting.

Hamilton 5th. Aug^t. 1831

Dear Sir

I have been in England since the latter end of May and only returned on the beginning of this week.

We have been in the habit of buying Stones occasionally from M^r Forrest for had for them steps of Stairs and some other purposes during several years past and [^] paid him, _ at certain rates p Ton according to the sizes _ but about 18 months ago he became over and above paying [illegible] so cussedly tardy that I was obliged to send a squad of quarriers to assist him [^] other wise I suppose the stones we wanted would not have been got till this day _ In spring last we applied to him for a parcel of Stones for some inside purposes but not being certain of his turning them out in time I agreed to pay him a sum for the Stones I wanted on condition that he would either put in a proper set of quarriers to raise them whose wages I w^d pay [^] or allow me to send some of our quarriers for the sake of expedition to get them ~~up~~ in time and he being engaged in some of his Statuary operations having preferred our raising the Stone for ourselves to doing the Job by his own men directed M^cDonald our quarrier to carry on the operations himself untill we procured the stones wanted _ Forrest told me that he had agreed with you for the quarries till Martinmas for a the Rent certain rent and that he would settle with you for ~~that~~ ^{that} [^] himself _ but his agreement with me I presume will enable him not only to settle with you but have a reasonable profit to himself.

— The baring of the quarry is carried on under his own immediate inspection but for repay which we became bound to ~~relieve him~~. ____

Hoare's Bank to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 6 August 1831 (HA, Bundle 1928)

My Lord

We have the honor to acquaint your Grace, that our Broker has shipped your 12 Cases of Marble, on Board the Ship Hope, consigned to the care of Mess^{rs}.. Rennie & co of Leith; and We have written to those Gentleman [sic], desiring that the above cases may on their arrival, be immediately forwarded to Hamilton Palace _

We are

My Lord

Your Graces, very obedient
and faithful Humble Servants

^{pp} Hugh Hoare

London 6th., August 1831

To

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

The reverse of the letter is annotated by the 10th Duke with a note for Robert Brown:

August ^y 8^h

D^r Sir

This letter is just arrived from Mess^r Hoares:

I have no time to write by this post, but I send it to you that you may be prepared for the arrival of these cases at Edenbro' & send for them – Yours

CH&B

Note: The writing and frank on the wrapper record that the letter was sent to Brown, at Hamilton Palace, on 8 August 1831.

Alexander Finlay to Robert Brown, dated Castlemains, 8 August 1831 (HA, Bundle 1928)

Castlemains Aug^t. 8th.

1831

Dear Sir

I was favored with your's of the 5th., explaining the nature of your Transaction with Forrest _ It was most irregular and improper in him to allow so extensive an operation without my concurrence, and his only apology was, that I was in England, which was a very insufficient reason, because he could have heard from me at any time in 5 days _ You will oblige me therefore, by giving me information as to the number of Tons furnished to the Duke of Hamilton _
_ Lord D. and his father shewed their wish to oblige his Grace with Stone, but it cannot be expected that he is to do so to an extent, that might prevent his Lord^p. getting a Supply, should he require it for finishing Douglas Castle or some similar purpose _

I remain

Dear Sir

Your's Sincerely

Alex^r. Finlay

To

Robert Brown Esq^{re}. }

Hamilton }

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Charles Street, [London,] 18 August [1831] (HA, Bundle 1928)

Charles Street

August – y^e 18^h

My Dear Sir

I will send you tomorrow or next day my definitive resolution concerning the East stair=case ____

[...]

It is highly satisfactory to me to learn that you have nearly got all the stones that are requisite for the Entrance Hall _

It is certainly now, (the quantity being nearly taken that is required,) not wise in L^d Douglas or myself to quarrel about the business, and I should think, when you make this observation to M^r Campbell, he would immediately make the same observation _

I do not wish to do any thing to injure or disoblige the Peer ____

[...] I have again desired Hume to forward the glass for the windows for if Ramsay is going to put up his Book cases the wet air sh^d be excluded _ as for the Scagliola man; his work will be eternal I believe: I am sadly displeased at his delay, but it is in vain to complain when complaint will be of no avail _

[...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated London (on the wrapper), 23 August [1831] (HA, Bundle 1929)

August y^e 23th

Your letter My Dear Sir of the 19th instant is arrived informing me that the articles of dress &^c for the coronation are sent off – The box will probably be delivered tomorrow – Many thanks for your kind attention to this business __ My good Connell forgets all sorts of things; I told him that the two recesses opposite each other were to [be] filled up with stone Ballusters in the East stair=case _ As the job is begun upon, it will soon be finished, as it is not very considerable __ The idea of iron railing I do not approve of __ How could they think of breaking the wall to open the door I ordered, without first looking in to the flews? _ a plan that, had they not had the plans of all the flews in the Common book, would have immediately anticipated the difficulty, & prevented the breaking of the wall __ Connell & Ramsay seem to have lost themselves altogether __

Some game of course will have to be sent to our friends, as the Marquess did not kill enough to supply them; but some birds might be got from the Straven moors _

I observe you state in your former letter, that stones may be found in the quarry perhaps for the principal stair=case _ If you quarry with advantage from L^d Douglas's quarry, you might get some stones which might serve for the mausoleum _ But it is unnecessary to get stones for the stair=case in question, as it certainly must be made of marble of some kind or another ____

Everybody is mad about the reform bill, but I think people are much less anxious here about it than in Scotland __

I hope you are well _ Beleive me to be with regard

My Dear Sir

Your sincerely attachd

&c

CH&B

Rob^t: Brown Esq^r

P:S: The Duchess is at Leamington, & this days post brought me good account of her __

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated London (on the wrapper), 27 August 1831 (HA, Bundle 1929)

August y^e 27^h -

1831 -

My Dear Sir

Your letter of the 24th is just arrived _ I am satisfied at hearing that mine to M^r Grant will be delivered to him at Glasgow upon his arrival there from Arran _ This coronation & The Duchess's illness deranged sadly all my plans _

This business of Thiery is most inconvenient _ There is however no help for it, & I must endeavour to replace him as well as I can _ The key you mention is this moment arrived, & I hope (not with standing my incaution) we shall find all the plate perfect & regular, when we come to examine it _ All we can do now is to be careful, & insist upon inventories & lists of everything being made & repeated —

You will have seen by my former letter that it never was my intention to make the great stair-case of stone . This renders Lord Douglas opposition to our quarrying of less importance; at all events it would not be desirable to get into a law suit about a thing of this sort, & the less so, as we have I understand already secured all we require for the great hall _ M^r Lockhart I rejoice to learn has been so obliging about his quarry, but I had [? esteemed, i.e. esteemed] his vote & that of his Son's a more friendly act, than his liberty of taking stones &^c &^c – I shall write to him —

Enclosed you will find a letter from one Arthur Frame the stile of it has determined me to answer it, &, if any circumstance enables me, I will give the young man in question a bursary _

I suppose I need say nothing in regard to the stone balustrades for the two openings of the East stair-case _ I take it for granted that job is now in hand – perhaps nearly terminated —

From Ramsay I understand that he is about to put up the chimney piece in the new billiard room; and perhaps he will be placing likewise the porphyry one in the billiard room _ I am in no hurry, but when ever the proper time comes let it be recollected, that it will be requisite to have two black harths for these two chimney-pieces _

It occurs to me that, to get rid of all dirty work upstairs in the East side, it might be desirable to plaister now before the winter (if there is time) the rooms over the large state rooms _ If it is to be done with prudence, pray order it directly; there can be no difficulty about the work, as everything is to be quite plain in the walls, & in the cieling; there will be no fine work, excepting the carrying round the ceiling a cornice like that in the rooms over the dining room & library _ If this is done the painting papering &^c &c can be done at any time without inconvenience to the Duchess ____

You will be glad to learn that the Duchess is better, satisfied with her residence at Lemington, &, I am in hopes, going on towards her recovery ____

Let me hear that you are well, & begin already by time to take care of yourself _ & I must pray; do not expose yourself to all sorts of persons _ There is no cholera at present, but depend upon it we shall have it before next spring in England

Believe me to be with regard

Most sincerely Yours

CH&B

Rob^t Brown Esq^{re}

P:S: I think I have found an iron=gate that will just suit the entrance of the kitchen court porch – pray send me the demensions of it with a drawing _ my gate is in the centre 14^{ft} = 6^l high – 8^{ft} _ 2^l wide & to where the arch springs on either side 10^{ft} = 9^l _

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown dated Charles Street, [London,] 3 September 1831 (HA, Bundle 1930)

Charles Street

Sep^r y^e 3^d = 1831 _

My Dear Sir

I am obliged to you for the drawing of the door=way into the kitchen court; I will not purchase the Iron=gate in question without calculating whether or not I shall save money by the purchase; but I rather think, from the demensions, that it will not suit the place _

[...]

The account you give me of our money transactions would be alarming to me were I not persuaded that you see your way thro them _ The expences of the Palace are enormous, but at least we seem to be looking to an end of it _ & I suppose this year will conclude all expensive operations of every kind unless it is the painting & gilding the interior ____

In regard to the plaistering of the eastern rooms, if they are not begun by M^r Hume's men I think you had better order them to be done forthwith by the Glasgow workmen; but I think we sh^d find different ones, for the last have neglected their business _ Hume, between you & I, wishes to embrace everything & I would not let him do it: perhaps he will say he has had some conversation with me; never mind that, get the work done & say it was a mistake of yours or mine ____ I speak of the Eastern rooms in the upper story above the best bed=rooms just plaistered last year & this summer ____

In regard to the new billiard room, as a stone hearth is put in with the chimney piece I do not think it worth while to alter it, but recollect in the library when the porphyry chimney piece is put up there, a black marble hearth must be laid _ I forget, is there a white marble hearth laid in the dining room? the hearth, I think, was sent down some time ago from London; pray let me know how the matter stands ____

Hume told me [he] had sent off all the carved wood for the book=cases & the glass for the windows; if both are not arrived tell Ramsay to write a letter to M^r Hume to complain & insist upon having everything directly ____

[...]

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated London, 9 September [1831]
(HA, Bundle 1930)

[...]

I will not fail to see Hume, and tell him that the bases & capitals of the Entrance Hall drawings must be made out immediately, with the regular measurements and forwarded to Hamilton Palace, for the use of Connell ____

I am sorry to learn that you think that M^r Hume's men must be allowed to plaister the new bed-rooms: I should have thought (unless they have actually begun the work,) that notwithstanding the materials having been collected, the Glasgow people might have executed this job, otherwise great delay will ensue

You will however settle the matter, as you think most adviseable. ____

There must be some mistake in regard to the carved wood for the Library, and the glass for the windows, to which you allude. _ I understood from Hume that the wood-work was already sent down to Hamilton and that the glass was to be there nearly at the same time. _ If they are not arrived by this time, I shall have most grievously to complain of M^r Hume. _ Pray let me know _

[...]

David Hamilton & Son to Robert Brown, dated Glasgow, 5 January 1833 (HA, C4/100)

Glasgow Buchanan St.. Jan^y 5th/33 __

Rob^t. Brown, Esq

Sir

We hereby offer to furnish and Put up in the State Bed Rooms Hamilton Palace, for His Grace The Duke of Hamilton and Brandon &c. Three, or more Chimney Pieces, according to Model shewn us, in White Veined Marble for the Sum of. (each, Chimney Piece) Eightyseven Pounds, £87 –
in Black, and Gold Marble, One. Hundred. and forty five Pounds, _ _ _ _ _ £145
In Black Marble, Ninty two Pounds. £92

In the above, we bind ourselves to furnish the very best Marble. The first style of Workmanship and all the ornament fully Polished (which few think of but adds much to the expence) Sir

We are, with respect, your obedient Servants

David Hamilton and Son

William Leighton to Robert Brown, dated Port Hamilton, [Edinburgh,] 7 January 1833 (HA, Bundle 1955)

Port Hamilton

7 January 1833 _

Dear Sir

M^r Dallas has paid me Seven pounds 15/4, and I have lodged that sum at the Bank of Scotland, on your Account, the receipt for which is now enclosed. _

I have seen some Marble Cutters, and expect to send out one of them by Paton's Coach to morrow, to see the Models and make an Offer for finishing the Chimney Pieces. _ I can send out another one afterwards. _

[...]

William Leighton to Robert Brown, dated Port Hamilton, [Edinburgh,] 8 January 1833 (HA, Bundle 1955)

Port Hamilton

8 January 1833 _

Dear Sir

This will be handed to you by M^r James Watterstone, Marble Cutter, who has been mentioned to me as an excellent workman, and one who is likely to finish the Chimney Pieces at the Palace, in a satisfactory way. _

He goes out, on the understanding that if his Offer for doing the work is not accepted of, he will be paid his travelling charges. _

I am with much respect,

Dear Sir

Yours Truly,

W^m., Leighton _

Robert Brown Esq . _

John Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Glasgow, 10 January 1833 (HA, C4/717)

Glasgow Januay 10th 1833

Rob^t.. Brown, Esq

Sir

Before leaving town last Saturday for some days I was anxious to send up our Estimate. In the hurried Manner in which it was prepared I made a material Mistake in calculating the Workmanship which upon my arrival here this day I have corrected

The Chimney Piece in Vein Marble will cost £67- 15
in Black, and Gold,122 .10
In Black Marble72 .10

Sir

I am yours respectfully

John Hamilton

ps. The above Chimney Piece in yellow Sienna will Cost One Hundred, and thirty five Pounds

David Hamilton and Son

The reverse is annotated: Yellow Sienna

£135 _

_ 3 _

£405 :

William Leighton to Robert Brown, dated Port Hamilton, [Edinburgh,] 12 February 1833 (HA, Bundle 1956)

Port Hamilton

12th Feb 1833 _

Dear Sir

I find that Watterstone the Marble Cutter has got into difficulties, in consequence of some process being decided against him, and he will not undertake the Work at the Palace, in case his Creditors Should interfere with him. _

I therefore send out M^r Wallace (of Wallace & Whyte) who will hand you this, and he has agreed to give you an Estimate, immediately after seeing the Plans and Models of the Chimney pieces, so that there will be no delay, and if his Estimate is not accepted, he is only [to] get his Travelling charges _ They are considered to be good workmen, and I believe have been employed by M^r Hamilton to do some jobs for the Duke formerly. __ I am with much respect,

Dear Sir,

Yours Truly

W^m., Leighton

[...]

Roger Aytoun to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 7 November 1834 (HA, Bundle 1979)

My Dear Sir

Edin^r 7 Novem^r 1834

I received yours by M^r Bennett regarding the Marble Slabs from Murieston Quarry as to which it was necessary for me to make enquiry

I have now a letter from the Tenant saying that he has a good deal of the proper Rock _ the feacks or Layers of various thickness's from 15 to 6 inches thick & which will cutt of various size's _ but till he knows somewhere about the quantity that will be required he cannot be certain as we have forgot to give the total measurement of the square feet that will be required for the Hall

[...]

Note: 'Feack' is one of many variants of the word 'faik', used in mining and quarrying to refer to a layer or bed of shaly sandstone or limestone. The word 'Marble' is being used very loosely to refer to a fine-grained solid stone that could be polished.

Robert Hume to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 27 November 1834 (HA, Bundle 1979)

London Nov^r 27- 1834

To his

Grace the

Duke of Hamilton & & c____

My Lord Duke

As the Marble Comp^y were desirous that I should recieve the 3 Chimneys _ they having been finished now a long time I have Paid them more than half of the Amount and in a few days am to pay them the Remainder

The Chimneys I hope by this time are safe arrived at the Palace as they were Shipped last Saturday by the Steam Boat for Leith

I herewith Enclose the Amount due for the Chimneys and beg Your Grace will remit me the Amount at Sight as I must pay the Company the Ballance in a few days

I Remain Your Graces grateful

& oblig^d Serv^t Robert Hume

Am^t _ £415,,10,,0

Draft letter from John Connell to Robert Sumner, dated Hamilton, 16 May 1835
(HA, C4/740)

Hamilton 16th May 1835

Sir

In consequence of your communication with M^r William Carroll I send you
the enclosed Plans and dimensions of the marbles that will be required ^ _ The ~~X~~
for 4 of the Doors _ If after this
letter you are in any difficulty or doubt perhaps you will be so good as to write to me
on the subject.

of the whole 35 blocks

The estimate of the expense ^ is £290. _ but as a Side or face more is marked
than is requisite some trifling abatement of course in proportion will be allowed _
Your men to take charge of the packing of the boxes and of the delivery of them at
the wharf and ensuring their safe delivery at Port Dundas, Glasgow.

The work I understand from M^r Carroll can be finished and sent off in less
than four months _ that is by the 1st or 2^d. of September, but if one half could be
furnished in the course of two months it would be a great convenience to my carrying
on this work as connected with the Building without loss of time.

I am

Sir

Your mo: ob S^{er}

~~X Plan & dimensions for the 5th door~~

~~will be sent afterwards~~

Mr Robert Sumner }
Clerk to the Company }
Marble works }
Esher Street }
Westminster }

Robert Sumner to John Connell, dated London, 19 June 1835 (HA, C4/750)

M^r John Connell

Clerk of Works

Hamilton Palace

Marble Works, Esher Street

Westminster 19 June 1835

Sir

Having received a communication from M^r Carroll, I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of the Plans & dimensions of the Back Marble required for the four doors, & to say that the Plans are quite explicit excepting as to whether a chamfer is to be worked, or only a bold arris to be taken off the edges, inside. Should a chamfer be required, you will oblige by saying the size you wish, & also if the length 3 F. 4¹/₂ I marked on the elevation for each piece, is to be strictly adhered to, or whether that length may be departed from provided the joints are square with each other, as by a little deviation from the length the Marble might be supplied of better quality.

The Black Marble Blocks are now arrived & it is expected that the sawing them may be in part commenced next week, but, as regards the time at which a part of the order can be forwarded, much will depend upon how the Blocks may open in point of quality, As far as can be judged from the exterior they promise well. It appears from the plan that the back edge of the Marble does not require to be polished.

In respect to the Marble paving; I am directed to say, that from the size of the octagons required, the thickness should not be less than 2 inches which it is considered would be sufficient. You will oblige by giving a Sketch of a part of the paving & stating if it is to be Veined & Black Marble or of Bastard Statuary & Black, when an estimate of the cost, & about the time it would take to prepare it, will be sent you

I also beg to give beneath the dimension, as understood from your Memorandum to be required for the doorways

Marble for 4 Doors

24 Blocks 3.4½ long 18 ins broad & 9½ wide for Jambs

4 „ 6.6 „ 18 „ „ & 9½ „ for Lintels

6 „ 3.4½ „ 24 „ „ & 9½ „ for Jambs

Marble for one Door

1 Block 6.6 long 24 ins broad & 9½ wide for Lintel

Waiting your commands

I am Sir

Your obed^t Serv^t

Robert Sumner

Clerk to the Company

Note: A copy of this letter is registered as C4/741/1.

Draft letter from John Connell to Robert Sumner, dated Hamilton Palace, 27 June 1835 (HA, C4/741/2)

Hamilton Palace 27 June 1835

Sir

Yours of the 19th currt. came duly to hand, ~~and~~ from it I learn that the Blocks of Marble for the Doors have arrived at London, & look well _ The length of each block requires to be 3 _ 4½ which allows the first block to be sunk ½ inch into the paving. The above length may be departed from a little in order to secure good marble, provided the lengths are so arranged, as the joints square with each other, but the nearer you can get the blocks to 3 _ 4 ½ the better _ A more full drawing of the doors shewing the rounding on the edge of the Jambs and Lintels will be sent you by the Coach in a day or two, which I hope will make every thing quite explicit

As the Duke has not yet finally made up his mind about the mode of Paving I can ~~therefore~~ give you no information regarding it at present

I am Sir

Your mo. ob^t Sert.

M ^r . Robert Sumner	}
Clerk to the Westminster	}
Marble Company	}
Elsher Street	}
Westminster	}

The bottom of the page is annotated in pencil:

$\begin{array}{r} 4 - 11 \\ 2\frac{1}{2} \\ \hline 4 - 8\frac{1}{2} \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{r} 4 - 8\frac{1}{2} \\ 9\frac{1}{2} \\ 9\frac{1}{2} \\ \hline 6 - 3\frac{1}{2} \end{array}$	$\left \begin{array}{c} 9\frac{1}{2} \leftarrow 4 - 8\frac{1}{2} \rightarrow 9\frac{1}{2} \end{array} \right $
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Robert Sumner to John Connell, dated London, 14 August 1835 (HA, C4/747)

M^r. J^{no}. Connell, Clerk of works,
at Hamilton Palace,
Hamilton. _

Marble Works, Esher Street,
Holywell Street, Millbank,
West^r. 14 August 1835.

Sir

I am directed to inform you, that the 2 marble doorways (which were delivered in 8 cases at the Leith & Glasgow wharf for ~~the~~ conveyance by the Steam Packet “Royal William”, Captⁿ. Richardson, to Hamilton Palace, care of Mess^{rs}. Bell & Rennie, Leith) each in 7 component parts, were marked A & E right and left jambs & numbered as exhibited on the annexed sketches, in order that the parts might, with facility, be arranged when they are to be fixed. You will find that all the joints have not been made complete, as there would have been a probability of the edges becoming [paper torn and one word partly legible: flushed] in the conveyance & moving. _ You will much oblige by returning the cases as soon as you have unpacked the marble, for the purpose of the other two doorways which are now completing, being sent off. _

Your first order contained particulars for five doorways (4 being 18” ins. & 1 - 24” ins. deep) as were estimated; but your letter of the 29th. June (after referring to 4 doorways for which a full sized horizontal section of jamb, was sent by you) states that a “drawing would be sent soon for two other doors, the blocks for the Jambs of which will be 3’.4½” long 2 ft. broad & 9½” ins. thick: the lintels will be about ‘6.4” long & the same breadth & thickness as the Jambs.” _ You will oblige the managers by informing them whether they are to consider it as an additional order to the estimate for one or two doorways, making a total altogether of 6 or 7 as they must make their arrangement accordingly. _

As you requested, the sketch for two black marble chimney pieces is herewith returned; the dimensions are extraordinary, the Jambs & lintels it is found impossible to supply as specified, being 1’.4” thick, the black marble imported not exceeding about 11 or 12 ins. at most, in thickness; & the 2 outside slabs being taken

off to obtain good faces, but a sketch is annexed showing how the same apparent substance can be obtained by a double thickness of marble as marked on plans in red; a different method to effect this object is shewn on each jamb plan A and B for your selection. _ with respect to responsibility in conveyance, alluded to in your first letter, the Company do not hold themselves accountable for any damage their marble work may accidentally sustain in transit, but they cause every precaution possible to be taken to prevent any thing of the Kind, by employing the most expert packers & seeing the goods carefully delivered to the vessel; & also putting particular direction cards on the cases. _ The chimney pieces could be expected in about 5 or 6 weeks

I am, Sir, your obedient Servant

Robert Sumner

clerk to the Company

Note: The sketches referred to in the first paragraph are on the second fold of the letter. The sketch mentioned in the third paragraph is not with C4/747.

Robert Sumner to Robert Brown, dated London, 23 February 1836 (HA, Bundle 1990)

Rob^t. Brown Esq^r

Hamilton Palace

Scotland

Marble Works, Esher Street

Westminster 23 February 1836

Sir

I am directed to inform you that 8 Cases N^o 1 @ 8, containing two Doorways of Black Marble, were delivered on Saturday last at the Leith & Glasgow Wharf for conveyance by the Steam Ship Royal William, which was announced to leave on the following morning

The Cases are addressed to His Grace The Duke of Hamilton, Hamilton Palace, care of Mess^{rs} Bell & Rennie Leith.

The doorways have been got up with the greatest care & in the best possible manner & The Managers trust they will arrive in good condition

I am Sir

most respectfully

Your obed^t Serv^t

Robert Sumner

Clerk to the Company

W.D. Carroll to Robert Brown, dated London, 22 March 1836 (HA, C4/742)

Portman Sq^t

March 22nd 1836

Sir

The enclosed Bill, I received yesterday, and I am desired, by His Grace The Duke of Hamilton, to forward it to you, for your approbation _

I am Sir

your most Ob^t.. Serv^t..

W:D: Carroll

To

Robert Brown Esq^t..

Hamilton Palace

P.S. The Partys would be much obliged, for the amount, as thay are poor, and in want of money –

Note: The bill is no longer with the letter, but the back of the letter is annotated ‘M^r Carrol London / with Marble Acc^t. / due Marble & Stone / work^g. Coy. / £442.7/_’

Robert Sumner to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 19 October 1836 (HA, Bundle 6353)

Marble Works, Esher Street

Westminster 19th October 1836

My Lord Duke.

I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of M^r Ramsay's Letter and in reply to say, The Managers are sorry to learn that the polish on some of the parts of the Black Marble Chimney pieces has been injured on the journey. They beg to assure your Lordship that the person who packed the Chimney pieces is in the daily habit of packing Marble for all parts of the United Kingdom & for the colonies, and that the material used for packing in this instance, was the same that is constantly used for the same purpose. The length of time the Marble was in the cases & the damp naturally imbibed by goods on shipboard may have had some effect on the polish, and, should your Grace think it worth while to send any of the parts to London to be repolished, the Managers will have it done with great pleasure

I have the honor to be

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's

Most obed^t Serv^t

Robert Sumner

Clerk to The Company

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

&c &c &c

Hamilton Palace

N, B,

Robert Sumner to Robert Brown, dated London, 6 October 1837 (HA, C4/748)

Marble works, Esher St:

West^e. 6 Oct. 1837

Sir

I am directed to forward you the accompanying copies of Invoices (agreeably with your request) of Marble works supplied to his Grace The Duke of Hamilton, exhibiting a balance of £266.7.0 - due to this Company. _

I am, Sir,

very respectfully,

your obedient Servant

Robert Sumner

clerk to the Company

Rob^t. Brown Esq^{re}.

12 Portman Square. _

Copy of invoices from the London Marble and Stone Working Company to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated 12 August and 12 December 1835 and 20 February 1836, possibly sent with Robert Sumner's letter to Robert Brown dated 6 October 1837 (HA, C4/748/1)

The invoices are on a sheet with an elaborate printed heading beginning 'By His Majesty's Royal Letters Patent, FOR IMPROVED MACHINERY.' The Duke's name and the dates are inserted in the appropriate spaces.

Five Doorways, (to drawings furnished,) of the best, solid, Black marble; clear openings 10'.1 ½" by 4'.11" wide; 4 being 18" ins: deep & 1 _ 24" ins: deep; two faces & a return polished; _

as p. estimate ____ £290. 0. 0

A Doorway as the above one 24" ins: deep _____ „ 72. _ . _

Extra: _ 100 feet run rebate sunk and polished. _

126 __, __, __ sunk backjoint made. _

318 „ ____ rounded edge made. _

Squarings and Jointing. _____ „ 54. _ . 6

£416. _ . 6

Nº. 8 Extra Strong Deal Packing cases; _

put together with stout patent screws, &c £16.0.0

Paid Lighterage thrice to the Leith & Glasgow

wharf; for conveyance p^f. Steamship, addressed

to Hamilton Palace; "to the care of Messrs: Bell

& Rennie, Leith". _____ 6.0.0

Paid wharfage 1.8.6 _ 1.1.6 & 1.10.6 __}

& cartage of returned empty crates ____} 4.6.6 „ 26.6.6

£442.7.0

The bottom of the sheet is annotated by the Duke:

CH&B [with a scrolling flourish]

N:B: I have put my name to this bill, appearing to me, as it does, that it is right;
but M^r Rankin & M^r Connell will be able to ascertain the precise quantity of marble
&^c &c, _ which I cannot do _____

Robert Sumner to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 14 June 1838 (HA, C4/749)

To His Grace The Duke of Hamilton

Marble Works. Esher Street

Westminster June 14. 1838

May it please Your Grace,

Owing to the Deaths of two of the Proprietors in these Works, it has become necessary to collect in all the outstanding Debts, in order to the adjustment of Accounts with the Executors of the Deceased; and I am therefore directed by the Managers to apprise your Grace that there is an Account of the year 1836 against your Grace in their Books unsettled, and to request that under the Circumstances above stated Your Grace will direct its liquidation

I have the Honour to be

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's

Very humble Servant

Robert Sumner

Clerk to The Company

The 10th Duke has annotated the reverse of the letter with a note, almost certainly for his factor, Robert Brown:

N:B:

This is the marble=manufacturers letter that I allude to in mine _ Be so good as to let me know, what time, in reply to this demand, I can venture to promise that the accompt shall be liquidated? I will then write to them in the terms that you shall suggest _

CH & B

Wallace & Whyte to George Ramsay, dated Edinburgh, 9 August 1839 (HA, Bundle 6283)

Edinburgh 9th Aug^t 1839.

Dear Sir

We Send _ Dolphin Pedest[e or a]l 1 Hearth 5 white & 3 Yellow Octogans _ 19 [?] fraction] Squars & m[...]w[?] or]k you will likely get 2 Carts

We will feel obliged if you could let us have £200 [abbreviation for Sterling] to account of Marble laid down at Hamilton palace agreeable to estimate & for which we will furnish a receipt

We have got to hand as much Sienna &c as will cover half of the Entrance Hall the Sienna is very fine

We are Sir

your most obed^t

Wallace & Whyte

Mr Geo Ramsay }

Hamilton Palace }

W.D. Carroll to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 24 October 1839 (HA, C4/772)

Portman Sqr

Oct^r, 24th — 1839

My Lord Duke

[...]

I have told M^r Marshall of the Marble Works, what your Grace has been pleased to say of his conduct, and he seemed much pleased with your Graces Condi[? s]ention _ and I took the Moddle together with your letter to M^r Campbell, in Molborough s^t., and he told me, that he would send your Grace an answer in a Day or two _

[...]

W.D. Carroll to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 29 June 1840 (HA, Bundle 753)

[...]

I only received your Graces Letter respecting the Marble Company, on Saturday too late to [illegible word: ? see with an incorrect continuation, or the word serve] them, but I lost no time in seeing the foreman of the works this morning, and Given to him the inclosed papers and explaining to him your wish & desire, he has promised to pay every attention to it, and appeared much pleased at your Graces explicit & clear instructions, and has promised to write to morrow his best opinion and Judgement respecting the Staircase _ he seemed to feel the loose of poor M^r Ramsay and indeed I regret it much the good kind & honist man _ who I am sure, every one must respect, who knew him

[...]

William Marshall to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 1 July 1840 (HA, C4/115/1)

London Marble Works - July - 1st. 1840

My Lord Duke

The Managers of the Company are anxious to meet your Grace's suggestion of sending a competent Person to Hamilton Palace . for the purpose of arranging with your people . all necessary matters connected with the completion of the Staircase - the Company have in hand. _ Mr Field our Superintendent . will receive instructions to leave London on Saturday next - for Hamilton - which I fear will be the earliest day - he can be spared from the Works here.. and if any thing should occur to cause a longer delay - I will do myself the Honor to acquaint your Grace - of the time he may be expected. _ but the Managers feel that no trifling inconvenience should stand in the way - of his leaving - as from the unfortunate death of Mr Ramsay - which is much to be lamented - and from whose communications - here - he fully understood the nature of the Work - Mr Field may be enabled to remove any of those difficulties - which may occur in the fixing of the Steps - and it is submitted - that should those sent - not be already set - that the doing - so - might now be desirable to be allowed to remain over . until his arrival _ The Company fully relying upon the judgment and experience of Mr Ramsay - did not deem it necessary to send a Person from here to superintend the Work - which otherwise would have been the case - but as Mr Field will shortly have the honor to wait upon your Grace - any further practical explanation he will have an opportunity . of attending to - on the spot _

The Block, out of which the first flat is being cut, is so large . that we have obliged at considerable expence and loss of time to erect new Machinery over it, and I fear that it will take the whole of this Month to complete it for Shipping - upon which latter subject - we shall pay every attention to your Grace's directions - conveyed through Mr Brown - We find upon enquiry that none of the Sailing Vessels - have sufficient breadth of Hatchway to take in Cases - of the bulk required for securing these Flats - and consequently we shall have to ship them - on Deck - at our own risk - The owners declining to take any risk upon themselves in such cases _

In regard to the alteration - in contemplation for reducing the width of the upper Landings - there does not appear to be any difficulty,- should such be your Grace's wish - and Mr Field - will receive any instructions upon this point when he reaches the Palace, and has examined the Situation - for the Stair case - and the Space required. There are 14 of the Short steps worked according to the Model sent by Mr Ramsay The remainder will be completed as desired in the Letter forwarded from Mr Hamilton - your Grace's Architect. _ to whose directions - Mr Field will pay every attention.- It is proposed that he should leave London - by Railroad to Liverpool on Saturday night - and I trust will be enabled to reach Hamilton - at the latest on the following Tuesday. _

I have the honor to be

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's -

Very Respectful Servant

William Marshall

To His Grace__

The Duke of Hamilton

Hamilton Palace__

William Marshall to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 6 July 1840 (HA, C4/115/2)

London Marble Works - July 6th. 1840

My Lord Duke

Mr Field left London - on Saturday morning - and I trust has by this time reached Hamilton Palace. _ As your Grace will probably wish to supply the situation - which the late Mr Ramsay - held - with a competent person - and should such appointment not have already been filled up. _ I take the liberty of saying - that I should feel most happy - in offering my Services - such as they are - to do the duties required in superintending the progress of the Works.. _

I have been forty years actively engaged in Building and acquainted - thoroughly - with all the details - can make Drawings - measure and value the several Works - and am also - a practical Land Surveyor _ but more particularly acquainted with the nature of all Stone and Marble Work. _ I was employed at the building - of both Covent Garden and Drury Lane Theatres - the Military College at Sandhurst near Blackwater _ and the extensive alterations at S^t. James's Palace. _ The Management of this Concern - is an arduous task - and the constant confinement - in so low a situation detrimental to my health _ and this is the only - cause of my desiring a change - should your Grace be inclined to entertain my views - I should feel most happy - in conveying any information required - as to my abilities - and Character of which the situation I now hold is some trifling guarantee _ combined with the Testimonials I can produce _

Trusting that your Grace - will accept of every excuse - for my bringing so humble an Individual as myself under your notice. _

I remain My Lord Duke

Your Graces.

Most Respectful Servant

William Marshall

To His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

Hamilton Palace

David Hamilton to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Glasgow, 23 July 1840 (HA, C4/145)

Buchanan Street Glasgow. July 23 1840

My Good Lord Duke

I was honoured with your Graces letter of the 17th., and has been very anxious to wait upon your Grace ere this time, I have been unable to satisfy myself about the best way of placing the small Pedestals upon the angles of the steps, indeed there is much difficulty in this, in a Stair with the ends profiled and finished with moulded noyings, and cannot be explained without a model, which I am making upon a small scale, This and other things I am getting ready for your Grace, and beg you will be assured I am very desirous of waiting upon your Grace with those things with the least delay possible, and as your Grace desires will give notice of my coming,

I trust you have received M^r Gray of Edinburgh's letter in regard to your Graces Brass Work,

My Good and Kind Lord Duke

I have the honour to be with the highest regard and respect

Your Graces anxiously devoted and humble servant

David Hamilton

His Grace the Duke of Hamilton and Brandon

Note: As usual, the letter has been written for David Hamilton and he has merely signed it, with his normal laboured signature. There is a long list of things to do, in the Duke's handwriting, on the back of this letter, including a dozen issues to raise with David Hamilton.

Photocopy of letter from William Marshall to Robert Brown, dated London, 30 July 1840 (HA, Bundle 6317)

London Marble Works, July 30^h 1840

Sir

With every exertion we could make by putting on double gangs of Sawyers . and working extra hours. it has taken Six weeks to get down. the cuts required. in the Block for the large Flat _ I am happy to say. that it has opened most favorably _ There not being - a defect in the whole surface. It will now be proceeded with, with all possible dispatch - but as we cannot get it ready for the Vessel which leaves . on Saturday week _ I fear that it will not be on its way _ before . Saturday . the 15^h of August . as from its great bulk . the labor is much encreased in every portion of the work. _ I am sorry to say that we have met with so many difficulties in respect. of the procuring the remainder of the Blocks for the other Flats. that the Managers of the Company, (to prevent as much as possible further delay _ and disappointment to His Grace.) have determined _ although . extremely inconvenient as regards . the general affairs of this Concern. to send Mr Field forthwith to Galway _ and that he should take one experienced man - with him . to remain at the Quarries . to expedite. the raising _ and Shipping of the remaining Blocks . which we require . while the weather is favorable . for the transit. ___ I shall thank you to favor me with your opinion . which will be, in future, the best route to send these Cases by . that of Leith _ or Port Dundas _ in the Irish Sea ___ much will depend upon the distance and the state of the Roads . of which you can form a better judgment . than ourselves. ___ In regard to the Packing Cases - you had better make an arrangement for their being sent back _ to the works empty _ it will be a considerable saving to His Grace . as we can use them . to convey . the whole of the Steps _ and at most two Cases . need only be made for the Flats. ___ if kept going to and from Scotland . as the work is ready . they will answer every purpose _ with a little alteration in size ___

To prevent any difficulty hereafter M^r Field is preparing . a small Model . of the Ballustrades . for His Grace's inspection . and which he intends forwarding to Hamilton Palace. before. his departure for Ireland, for the Dukes approval - this being a point which ought to be determined upon - before. the Staircase proceeds any further . / at least . the fixing _ of it _ / as any little alteration can now be made .

without . inconvenience or trouble . to meet His Graces views . in the completion of the Ballustrade . &c _ which could not be so well done after the Staircase. has been carried up __ .

We are pretty forward. with the Flyers and when the First Flat . has been shipped off . they will [illegible words:? follow in succession] _

I am . Sir

Your Very Obed^t Servant

William Marshall

P:S: Information has been received from the Wharf that the nearest place to Hamilton for the Goods to be del^d. is at Port Dundas, 1 mile from Glasgow, & which appears to be the cheapest conveyance that can be found, & with cranes equal to any weight that is required to be [illegible word] p^r The Carron Comp.^{ys}. Vessel.

Robert Brown Esq^r.

Hamilton Palace

William Marshall to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 3 August 1840 (HA, C4/115/3)

London Marble Works.

August 3rd. 1840

My Lord Duke

Mr Field will leave London tomorrow morning . for Galway . to expedite the raising and Shipping . of the remaining Blocks . which we require . To prevent difficulties . he has . made two small Models of the Ballustrade and Handrail for the Staircase . according to your Grace's suggestions . and which he will take with him to Liverpool and forward from there, by Steamer to Glasgow . on Wednesday _ Should your Grace . approve of N^o 2 . with the Square Pedestal on the angle of the First Flat . the ~~fixing~~ _ putting together of which . will require to be prepared for here . or before fixing [-] no time should be lost in communicating your Grace's determination . as in that case provision will have to be made for carrying up the Ballustrades, or at least the Pedestal . will have to be fixed . before the second Flights of Steps can be set . as the first one must be jiggled into the Pedestal _ and the latter secured to the Flat. But Should No 1. Model be adopted . then we have nothing more . to do than to proceed . as we are doing. Mr Field thought it best to draw . these matters to your Grace's notice . that we may have every means . of executing the Work . entirely to your Grace's satisfaction . hereafter _ as well as of giving every facility to our present endeavours, to meet your Grace's views _ of expediting the completion of the Staircase . in the least possible time.

I beg to say that I have communicated to Mr Hamilton . at Glasgow . the particulars of this Letter . to your Grace _

I have the honor to be

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's

Most Respectful Servant

William Marshall

To His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

Draft letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to William Marshall, dated Hamilton Palace, 13 August 1840 (HA, C4/117)

Hamilton Palace

August 13th 1840

Sir

M^r Field regularly sent here the model of the balustrade & hand-rail for my stair-case _ It was unfortunately broken upon the road; but I have had it mended, & it now gives a perfect idea of the two modes of executing the intended job _ I am clearly of opinion that N^o 2 with the square pedestals elevated above the balustrades will have the best effect I should therefore wish the stair to be so executed == I have only to observe, that, in so doing, all the pedestals at all the angles shd be similar (four on each side) the pannels shewing themselves upon each lower side of each pedestal above the hand rails; & the hand-rails should all run diagonally into the pedestals rising above them, & not have the last of each of the several compartments of balustrades cut horizontally; so as to make hand rail to run into the pedestals at right angles _ with this variation from the model I shall be satisfied _ The bottom part of the pedestals simply ornamented with a sort of ball at the bottom as in the model I approve of much ____ I made M^r Hamilton come over here; I shewed him the model, I explained to him these my ideas, & I desired him to write to you upon the subject _ Should this my explanation correspond with what M^r Hamilton writes to you, I think everything will be thus rendered clear & intelligible _ Should you still have any doubts, you have only to apply to me, & I will cause M^r Hamilton to write to you again _ I am not perfectly sure, whether it was your intention (as the model does not rise to the summit of the stair-case) that each landing should have it's seperate pedestal at the angle, and one at the top where the stair terminates upon the passage=landing, leading from one side to the stair-case to the other & uniting the hall & the rooms _ If such is your understanding, all is right; but the having only two pedestals (one on the ground floor. & the other upon the first landing upon the large plat, and then the not repeating them up to the top the two other flights) would be giving a different character to one part of the stair from the other, and create an incongruity which would by no means please me _ It will immediately occur to you, that in placing a pedestal upon the top of the stair-case upon the passage=landing (if I

may term it such) it will, to be in a regular line with the balustrades, project beyond the present intended straight line of this said passage=landing _ To obviate this difficulty I propose making a break, & extending a square sort of projection that will serve as a basis upon which to place the pedestal _

I do not know whether I have made myself clearly understood; I hope I have; & that these observations of mine will not give rise to any unforeseen difficulty

I am Sir [illegible]

CH&B

M^r William Marshall

London Marble Works

London __

Note: No attempt has been made to reproduce the crossings out in this letter. A sketch filed with this letter, entitled 'Elevation of end of Staircase, showing proposed Manner of Terminating Black Marble Skirting', probably dates from this period: see Marshall's letter of 27 August 1840.

Copy of letter from David and James Hamilton, dated 20 August 1840, probably written to William Marshall of the London Marble and Stone Working Company, with two careful detailed drawings and two later quick sketches on the folded sheet (HA, C4/161)

Buchanan Street Glasgow

August 20th, 1840.

Sir,

We have seen the very pretty models of the Stair Rail sent to Hamilton Palace. His Grace has fixed upon the Ballustrade with the intermediate Pedestals, although this is rather in the manner of a wooden Stair, it will have a more striking and picture effect, than simply the Ballusters alone.

There is some difficulty about finishing the Black skirting upon the stone Band at A. as His Grace now does not wish that Band of Marble, it would destroy the harmony of colour, The skirting will finish somewhat in the manner shewn at B and will have no bad effect, there may be a small break at C to overcome the extra projection of the freestone Band, but this will be better ascertained before finishing that part, this and other things my friend M^r., Field will best explain to you.

We see Blocks of Galway going through Glasgow which we suppose are for Hamilton Palace, this is curious, being within ten miles of the place where they are to return to.

His Grace has not altogether fixed upon the pedestals upon the Great Landing, but this likewise you will learn in time.

His Grace wishes the cope to finish with an obtuse angle in this way, rather than as shewn on the model, and without the Truss formation.

We suppose the Pedestal A will be about 11 inches and the Pedestal B about 9 inches.

Sir,

We are your obedient Servants

(Signed)

David and James Hamilton,

The reverse of the copy is annotated, apparently in the Duke's handwriting, 'Hamiltons letter. / Black marble stairs'.

William Marshall to David and James Hamilton, dated London, 27 August 1840
(HA, C4/115/4)

London Marble Works, Aug^t. 27th. 1840

Gentlemen

The Duke of Hamilton having decided upon the Model N^o 2 with the Pedestals, for the completion of the Ballustrade to the Staircase at Hamilton Palace, we have now only to consider the best manner of carrying His Grace's intentions into effect, and as there appears - to be some doubt - as to the prop[? riet]y - of having the Pedestals - continued - on the upper Flats - or Landings .. as mentioned in His Grace's Letter of the 17th. Ins^t. as breaking - in upon the line of Ballustrade - along the passage Landings. I have now to explain fully M^r Fields ideas upon the subject, and to request your opinion upon the Plan he proposes to adopt, should it accord with your judgment . and receive the sanction of His Grace. _

Mr Fields intention was . that all the Pedestals should be 11" Square. so as, as much as possible to equalize the several projections . of each of the Ballustrades which come in immediate contact with the Pedestals _ but by making the two bottom ones 11".. and the remainder only 9". Square. as suggested by you - this will not be the case - as shewn on the plan . enclosed, but to this, he does not see any serious objection.

Although the Model does not shew it, yet he considers it indispensable . that there should be a Pedestal . at each of the Angles . to receive the Cope, and approves much of your idea of introducing a Scroll . at the end against the upper part of the Pedestal _ but he begs to point out a little objection which is the necessary elevation of the upper Pedestal above that part of the Ballustrade which runs along the Gallery . as marked at c. _ perhaps the introduction of a Scroll . similar to others . but flatter . will remove this objection . From the length of the Gallery Landings . he deems it requisite that there should be two Pedestals . on the line to break the joints of the Cope, and releave the sameness . arising from a long line . of uniform Ballustrades .. He recommends that the whole of these . should stand back a little from the face of Landing - as shewn in drawing - and that the Pedestals should not drop through like those at the Angles - as the bottom might otherwise prove a [? desight] - as regards the intended Figures . underneath. He thinks this arrangement would have a very

good effect, and that the projection of the Pedestals would be so trifling - as not in any measure to offend the eye. _ but rather an improvement - by breaking the straight line of Ballustrade and Cope. _ In regard to the termination of the Skirting he thinks it would be rather awkward to run it through at A to stop against c - as it would cut through the moulding of the Freestone Band _ he proposes stopping it underneath - the latter - but leaves this arrangement entirely to your better judgment. _ I believe at present I need draw your attention to no other matter, except as regards the conveying the Marble direct to Glasgow from the port of Galway - We considered all this in the first instance - but we found there was no direct means of transit, and if there had been - other difficulties would have arisen - in erecting the necessary Machinery to cut the large Blocks - and when done - a very considerable refuse - would have remained where it would probably have been - unsaleable - and entailed altogether a much greater expence, than bringing the Marble to the Company's Works, and reshipping - in a finished State - the work to Port Dundas. In fact the very Marble you allude to, as being at Glasgow, was offered to us - in London - but declined on account of the sizes and quality - not suiting our purpose. ___ it was afterw^{ds}. reshipped by the owner - and consigned to Glasgow - there being no demand for it in the London Market _ It is also from an inferior Quarry, to the one we are using. ___

The difficulties we have had to encounter at Galway have been very great - and we have been obliged to send a Man from the Works - to remain - and watch the working of the Quarries, to secure the Blocks we still require, and this being the case - I beg to submit to you - how very desireable it will be - to insure the early completion of the Staircase that the points now brought under your consideration should be soon and finally settled, that our Man - while on the spot - may select such Blocks - as we may require - as regards length and size and quality _ which latter is extremely difficult to procure good _

I have preferred troubling you with these matters instead of communicating direct with His Grace, in answer to His Letter - as you will be able to explain these things more clearly - than I could possibly have done in writing, - and I am sure you will not think it an intrusion - on your kindness - to ask you - to do so - as early as you can with convenience to yourselves.

I remain Gentlemen

Your Very Obed^t Servant

William Marshall

Mess^{rs}. David and Ja^s. Hamilton

Glasgow _

William Marshall to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 27 August 1840 (HA, C4/115/5)

London Marble Works. Aug^t 27^h 1840.

My Lord Duke.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's Letter of the 17.^h Ins^t. _ and having taken into consideration - along with Mr Field the [line over erasure] remarks as to the Pedestals being - continued - at each of the Angles - and also - the information - [small erasure] - conveyed in a Letter from the Mess^{rs} Hamilton of Glasgow - dated the 20^h Ins^t. _ We have thought it best to send a Sketch and explanation by this days post to those Gentlemen - to lay before your Grace - and take your Instructions thereon._ I beg to mention that it is contemplated to continue the Pedestals - at each Angle - to the top Landings and if approved of, also to have two, - at equal distances - on those Landings - to receive and more properly secure the Cope and Ballustrades. We hope to be able to send off the [longer or larger] Flat. and part of the remaining Steps - by Vessel to Port Dundas on Saturday -

I have the honor to be

My Lord Duke

Your Graces .

Most Respectful Servant

W. Marshall

To His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

William Marshall to Robert Brown, dated London, 29 August 1840 (HA, Bundle 6288)

London Marble Works -

August - 29^h. 1840

Sir

I beg to inform you. that - we this day - have Shipped a-board the Vulcan - Andrew Graham - Master _ one large Case. containing the first Flat. ___ and Six Cases _ each containing one. Step _ you will be kind enough - to return the Cases .. early as you can. ___ I write to you. as the Vessel sails this Evening _ that you may send some one. to see. to the unloading _ at Port Dundas _ as we. have stored them all safe - on board - and I trust no accident will happen. to them _ One of our Men will be sent to Hamilton - to see to the fixing _

I am. Sir

Your Very Obed^t Serv^t.

W. Marshall____

Mr Browne

Hamilton Palace

Scotland

Photocopy of letter from James Milne & Son to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 7 September 1840 (HA, Bundle 6317)

Edinburgh 7 Sept 1840

Dear Sir

We are in receipt of your favour of yesterday & have made arrangements to send our man to Hamilton tomorrow & he will let us know when it the statues will be necessary to send the other man after they [^] are set on their pedestals We were extremely sorry We could not send him as was requested today but the man that was out before was away at another job but We have got now another started in his place

We are

Your most obed S^{ts}

James Milne & Son

Robert Brown Esq
Hamilton

Photocopy of letter from William Marshall to Robert Brown, dated London, 7
September 1840 (HA, Bundle 6317)

London Marble Works . Sept. 7^h. 1840

Sir

Welsh

We purpose sending . a Clever Mason named ~~Morgan~~ ^{Morgan} from the works .
tomorrow . to assist in setting the Staircase . as settled . by His Grace . and M^r
Hamilton . when M^r Field . was in Lanarkshire . We shall send off . Six more of the
Steps . on Saturday the 12^h Ins^t. _ and we shall feel obliged . by your having the
Welsh
Cases . returned . early . as you can _ ~~Morgan~~ . will be at Hamilton . on Wednesday
night or Thursday morning _

I am Sir

Your Very Obed^t Servant

William Marshall

Mr Browne

Hamilton Palace

Photocopy of letter from William Marshall to Robert Brown, dated London, 21 September 1840 (HA, Bundle 6319)

London Marble Works - Sept^r. 21st 1840

Sir

I beg to say _ that we forwarded on the 19th Ins^t. - Six more Steps for Hamilton Palace _ by _ the Minerva _ Alexander Watt - for Port Dundas _ and when we receive the empty Cases - we shall have Six more ready _ for Shipment _ I hope you will be equally fortunate with the last, in receiving _ them in safety _

I am - Sir

Your Very Obed^t Servant

William Marshall

To

M^r Browne

Hamilton Palace

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to William Field, dated Hamilton, 28 November 1840 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, pp.68-9)

Mr Field

London Marble Works

Usher Street, Westminster

London

Hamilton 28 Nov 1840

Sir,

Let the Marble Ballusters for the Stair Case in the Palace here, be sent off carefully packed up in a sufficient Box, and forwarded by one of the earliest Steamers to Leith addressed to the Duke of Hamilton here and to the Care of Mess^{rs} Bell, Rannie & Co Merchants, Leith _ I am &c

RB

Photocopy of letter from William Marshall to Robert Brown, dated London, 7 December 1840 (HA, Bundle 6319)

London Marble Works - Dec^r. 7^h. 1840

Sir

We forwarded a Case . containing two of the finished Ballustrades - for the Staircase . for Hamilton Palace - on Saturday last . which were Shipped-a-board the Royal William _ Steamer _ Captⁿ: Richardson - for Leith _ and which I hope . will arrive in safety - and meet with His Grace's Approval -

I am - Sir

Your Very Obed^t Servant

William Marshall

A Flight. of Steps - will be forwarded to Port Dundas on Saturday the 12^h. Ins^t.

M^r Robert Brown

Hamilton Palace ____

Photocopy of letter from William Marshall to Robert Brown, dated London, 18 December 1840 (HA, Bundle 6326)

London Marble Works Esher Street

December - 18^h. 1840

Sir

We forwarded 6 of the Steps - by Steam Vessel - on Saturday last - for Port Dundas - and I trust they will reach you in safety. _ Mr Field has received a Letter from His Grace - and it is very satisfactory to learn - that the Ballustrades are approved of - The remainder - will be forwarded. as rapidly - as we can _ and. having now the certainty of getting possession - of the whole of the Blocks for - the Plats _ we anticipate no further difficulty ____ M^r Field has one of them - now cutting - and four more are in the River _ the remainder on the Quay at Galway - ready to be shipped - soon - as the Season will admit our so doing - with safety - they being too large to get into any of the general Vessels - hatchways we shall have to bring them on Deck ____ We shall have another Flight of Steps - ready - soon after Xmas - and we think - then that Welch the Mason - who was with you before - may then be sent - to go on with the setting _ and we will use every endeavour to keep up the supply - of Work - so as to keep - him fully employed ____ If you will have the goodness to have - the whole of the Steps - carefully unpacked - and return us the Cases - we shall feel obliged _

I remain Sir

Your Very Obed^t Servant

William Marshall

M^r Brown

Hamilton Palace

Lanarkshire

N.B _

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to Thomas Dawson, dated Hamilton, 30 December 1840 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.93)

M^r Thomas Dawson }
 Agent for Carron Co^y }
 Carron Wharff }
 Glasgow }

Hamilton 30 Dec^r 1840

Sir

When you called on me lately and got payment of the Duke of Hamiltons
Acco^t for Freights to the Carron Comp^y; I asked you and you as so good as to
promise to write me on the arrival at your wharff from London of some Cases of
Marble for His Grace – These cases having been shipped sometime ago by one of
your Packets I will feel obliged if you will advise of their arrival at Port Dundas

I am & R. B.

Note: The second line is definitely garbled. The first ‘as’ should presumably be
‘was’.

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to William Marshall, dated Hamilton, 9 January 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.101)

M ^r William Marshall	}	
London Marble works	}	Hamilton 9 Jan ^y 1841
Esher Street	}	
London	}	

Sir

In consequence of your letter to the Duke of Hamilton bearing date the 4 Curr^t requiring an advance of one Thousand pounds to the London Marble Work Coy Esher Street in part payment of their Contract for furnishing a Marble Stair Case to Hamilton Palace _ His Grace has forwarded an order to Mess^{rs} Hoares & Cy Bankers Fleet Street to advance that sum to your Company _ You will therefore present a regular receipt for the money at the said Banking House where the Marble Co^y will receive payment

The last set of Steps for the Stair Case arrived here only 3 days ago _ the Vessel which brought them from London having been long detained on her passage to Glasgow .

I am

Sir

Your [two illegible abbreviations]

(signed) R. B.

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to Thomas Dawson, dated Hamilton, 30 January 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.119)

Mr Thomas Dawson }
 Agent for Carron Co^y }
 Carron Wharff }
 Glasgow }

Hamilton 30 January 1841

Sir

We have received advice from the London Marble Works that four Cases containing four Marble Steps for Hamilton Palace were shipped on board the Dynamene, Robert W[?estester] Master on the 23^d inst for Port Dundas, and I beg you will let me know the moment that they arrive in order that I may send for them

—

I am &c

R B

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to David Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 6 April 1841
(HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.181)

David Hamilton Esqre }

Architect }

Glasgow }

Hamilton 6 April 1841

Dear Sir,

As the two large Plats for the Corners of the Marble Stair Case at the Palace here have arrived, the Duke wishes you to come up to morrow or next day at farthest to inspect the scaffolding and Apparatus which have been constructed for lifting them from the ground and putting them in their proper places, and see that everything is sufficient and no risk run of Accident in the Operations necessary _ I am &c

R B

William Marshall to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 25 May 1841 (HA, C4/115/6)

London Marble Works, Esher Street

May 25th 1841

My Lord Duke

I have the honor to inform your Grace - that - we shipped on Saturday the 22nd. Ins^t. Five Steps - on board the Dyna[? mine] - Richard W[e or a]bster - for Port Dundas and 2 Cases - containing 8 pieces of the Plinth - on board the Royal Adelaide - Captⁿ. Allan - to the care of Mess^{rs}. Bell and Rennie - Leith.. _ and I have further the pleasure to state - that we have now - all the Blocks - from Galway - in the River - required for the upper Plats. _ but we were obliged to submit to the delay and expence of having a Vessel enlarged in her hatchway - to enable us - to get them safely conveyed - on account of the extreme size of two of the Blocks. _ We hope these Blocks - will all turn out favorable when opened - as otherwise we should find great difficulty in replacing them. _ In regard to the Ballustrades - we have been obliged to continue at work upon them - in order to have them ready to fix with the other work - not only on account of the number and time required to select - and saw - the Marble of requisite quality - but also - of the superiority of workmanship required - which employs our best Men - and only one Man can be employed - on each Ballustrade. _ having received the Box containing the Moulds - for the Handrail and Pedestals that portion of the Work - will now be forwarded with all possible dispatch. __

I am further - desired to state to your Grace - that the Directors of the Company - finding that they are now considerably in advance - on this Work, which is daily encreasing - they will be obliged by your Grace - directing to be paid - into their Bankers - Mess^{rs}. St [? one] Martin & C^o.. of 68. Lombard . Street - the sum of £1500. _ which will be placed - to the Credit of the Account. __ when it shall be agreeable to your Grace to remit that Amount. __

I have the honor to be

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's

Very Respectful and

Most Obedient . Servant

William Marshall

To / His Grace__

The Duke of Hamilton

William Marshall to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 26 May 1841 (HA, C4/115/7)

London Marble Works -

May 26th 1841.

My Lord Duke.

From a Letter received yesterday from our Mason . Welch . we fear that there has been some misunderstanding . in respect to the quantity of the String Course or Plinth required _ Mr Field conceived that only . the upper part . of the Steps . would be converted at Hamilton . and that the whole of the Plinth was to be worked and sent from London _ He begs to suggest . that as the lengths are better . and the whole ready for fixing . it had better be used . and the Marble which is not wanted . can be converted into Ballustrades . that is . the remainder of the rejected Steps . which if your Grace . approves of . the Mould can be sent down . and the Ballustrades sawn to size . and sent here for working . in the empty Cases. _ We conceive as the Ballustrades are but 2 [illegible abbreviation for feet] .. 6½ high. and 5½” square . and the spare steps being very good in quality . that they could not be put to a better purpose . than being so . converted . on the Spot _ so that we may have no extra back Carriage . when sawed at Hamilton to the required size.

I have the honor to be

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's .

Very Respectful and

Most obed^t Servant

William Marshall

To /

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to William Marshall, dated Hamilton Palace, 3 June 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.225)

M^r William Marshall

London Marble Working C^oy

Esher Street

London

Hamilton Palace 3 June 1841

Sir

As you have requested a remittance from me at this time to account of Marble work for the Stair Case at Hamilton Palace which the London Marble working Co^y Esher Street are now in the course of furnishing to me, I now forward an order to Mess^{rs} Hoares & C^y Bankers Fleet Street London for one Thousand pounds to be paid to your said Company and for which you will give Mess^{rs} Hoares your Companys receipt and advise me that you have done so. This remittance is in addition to the Thousand pounds your Company received on the same Account from Mess^{rs} Hoares in January last; which two remittances make together Two thousand pounds from me

I am

Sir

H & B.

Micali & Company to Wallace & Whyte, dated Leghorn, 8 June 1841 (HA, C4/126)

Mess^{rs}. Wallace & White

Edinburgh

Leghorn the 8th. June 1841.

On the 13th of May we received your letter of the 1st. with the order of two small pieces of Marble: but notwithstanding all our cares it was impossible to find the quality of the marble according to the sample you sent: we were therefore obliged to write to Florence, where is the Royal Manufacture of Pietre Dure in order to get it.: Only in the last days we received the two pieces which will satisfy you, and which we have packed in one case marked #.2.. of a shippment addressed to M^r David Forbes whom you well know and from whom we beg you to receive it: Mess^{rs}. Macbean & C^o. will pay the sum of Tuscan Livers 15.8.4 as per the annexed invoice.

We hope to be favoured by your new orders while we remain

Your Most ob Ser^t

[? Tha^{??}] Micali & Co

We beg you to inform M^r. David Forbes that
his order is already shipped and to morrow
we shall send him the bill of lading.

1.	Small piece of Marble named „Pinnochiato „	£.
1.	d ^o . d. Lapislazsuli.....	} 12. 13. 4.
	Postage.....	2. 15. _
		Tuscan £. 15. 8. 4

The Duke of Hamilton has annotated the top left-hand corner of the letter, in pencil, ‘about the marble to mend my table ___’

David Hamilton to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Glasgow, 10 or 16 September 1841 (HA, C4/839)

Buchananan Street Glasgow. September [10 or 16] 1841

My good Lord Duke

Could I depend upon my French I would be extremely sorry to put your Grace to the trouble of translation. In your Graces own correct manner somewhat as follows may be said to the French Artiste.

That the Schetch of the Figure sent with its internal Iron Console or Truss for supporting the Figures and marble landing, with the manner of attaching it to the masonry behind it, is satisfactorily comprehended, and will be more so when the figures arrive here,

Note. The marble landings over the figures are hung into the masonry and do not depend upon the figures or Iron consoles, they will hang without this support, the Iron consoles in the figures are only to be used as an auxiliary to oppose any bend downwards in the centre of this long suspended line of marble landing. of course the Iron may be only $2\frac{1}{4}$ instead of 3 as mentioned,

Before finishing the sheath or Terminia the exact height from the pavement to the under side of the marble landing must be most accurate, as the Base of the Terminia should correspond with the Stone Base, it is to be feared, that from the trouble the Artiste has given himself about the difference of French and English measure it may be liable to error. This height should have been had by exact gaging rods, say in four lengths for conveniency in carriage, these put together would be the exact measure, whether French or English, the Artiste should have taken the precaution of carrying those rods with him from Hamilton. or in English feet measure from London.

In case of any mistake does his Grace think it might be of use to prove that the height of the figures are about right, to send over a peice of fine Linen tape of the exact height required, though it may not be a very true measure to depend upon, it would serve to prove how far he had succeeded in his calculation in reconciling the two measures, this last at least it is proper to be afraid of.

My good Lord Duke

I am

truly your most devoted servant

David Hamilton

To His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton and Brandon

If his Grace should think upon sending a tape, Grant and Harvey will manage this for his Grace,

The reverse of the letter is annotated, in pencil, in the Duke's handwriting: M^r Hamilton's / letter Soyer

Note: The letter has been written in a good flowing hand for David Hamilton, and the architect has added his usual ill-formed, laboured signature.

William Marshall to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 21 October 1841
(HA, C4/115/8)

London Marble Works, Esher Street
Westminster. October 21st. 1841

My Lord Duke -

I had the honor to address your Grace - on the 25th. of May - last - since when we have been enabled to forward the whole of the Steps and Three out of the remaining Five Landings - the Two - we have to complete. the Staircase, are in a state of forwardness - and will shortly be on their way to Hamilton Palace - We have also - furnished two Black Marble Dressings to doorways - and a number of the Ballustrades are completed - and others in progress. _ and when the whole are finished - I question not - but the work will give your Grace - entire satisfaction and remain a lasting memorial of your Grace's taste and Magnificence. __ It afforded the Managers much pleasure to find upon Mr Field's return - from Hamilton Palace - that the Works - executed - upto that time - had met with your Grace's Approval __ They were anxious - that he should not only inspect the Work but also answer any enquiries - upon practical questions.

The Managers further desire me to say - that although your Grace's - experience and judgment - in Works of Art, are all well known, and your communications with the Company - highly flattering to their exertions,- yet as the last remittance - was less - than requested,- they feared that the time and labour - occupied - in working, and the expence - in obtaining - selecting and transporting, the Material - requiring peculiar means for its execution as compared with Works of ordinary description - . that the eventual expence of this order - might be, by Your Grace - undervalued _ as regards its magnitude and Character _ I now take leave to remark that upon forwarding the two remaining Landings the Company conceive - that the greater part of the difficult and heavy work, will have been surmounted - and they will now be obliged by your Grace - remitting - them - the further Sum of £2000 _ on account - they having been obliged, in order to obtain - the required Marble - to pay for it - in ready Money and in some cases - in advance, and the like applies to that of labor - which necessarily - in this transaction has been particularly heavy - Under

these circumstances they trust - your Grace - will give their present request a favorable - and early consideration. ____

I have the honor - to be

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's

Very Respectful Servant

William Marshall

To His Grace ____

The Duke of Hamilton

Hamilton Palace

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to the London Marble Company, dated Hamilton Palace, 25 October 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.317)

Mess ^{rs} The London Marble Co ^y	}	
Esher Street	}	Hamilton Palace
Westminster	}	Octbr 25 ^h . 1841
London	}	

Sir

I have received your letter of the 21st of this month, and in consequence of your request I enclose an order upon my Bankers Mess^{rs} Hoares & C^y Fleet Street London payable to you for one Thousand pounds _ In the course of a few weeks you will receive a farther remittance for the like sum. I have the pleasure to inform you that the magnificent pieces of marble that you have sent me arrived safe, and two of them are already fixed in their places I await for the arrival of the other two, when they arrive, I doubt not, from your regularity & obliging attention to this business, that I shall have every reason to be satisfied with them

I am

Sir

your [two illegible abbreviations]

(signed) C H & B

P.S. Be so good as to acknowledge the receipt of this letter, and lodge an acknowledgement with Mess^{rs} Hoares for the sum received.

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to William Marshall, dated Hamilton, 25 October 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.317)

William Marshall Esqr	}	
London Marble works	}	
Esher Street	}	Hamilton 25 Octbr
Westminster	}	1841
London	}	

Sir

The Duke of Hamilton has this day remitted to the London Marble Company Esher Street a draft in their favour on Mess^{rs} Hoares & C^{oy} Bankers Fleet Street London for one Thousand pounds _ on account of marble furnished to Hamilton Palace _ you will receive the order by this post addressed to the said Company with a letter of advice from His Grace.

I am & R. B.

William Marshall to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 27 October 1841
(HA, C4/116/1)

London Marble Works. Esher Street
October 27th. 1841.

My Lord Duke.

I have the honor to acknowledge . the receipt of your Grace's Leter
of the 25th. Ins^t. . enclosing an order . on Mess^{rs} Hoare & Co. . Bankers. London for
the Sum of One Thousand Pounds . on account. of Work done by this Company . for
which . and the promise given . of a similar Sum . being remitted, in a few weeks. the
Managers . feel under considerable obligation.. _ I beg to inform your Grace.
that another of the Landings . will be forwarded in a few days _ and am happy to find
those already sent have arrived in safety _ and met with the approval of your Grace.
_ We have been fortunate in procuring such Blocks – and have every hope . now,
that the Staircase . will be completed . without any Accident to impede its progress .
or cause further delay . as it would be many Months . ere we could replace these
large sized Blocks . were any injury to them . to take place. __

I have the honor. to be__

My Lord Duke__

Your Grace's

Very Respectful Servant

William Marshall_____

To His Grace__

The Duke of Hamilton

Hamilton. Palace__

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to William Marshall, dated Hamilton Palace, 13 December 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, pp.352-3)

M ^r William Marshall	}	
London Marble works	}	Hamilton Palace
Esher Street	}	X ^{br} . 13 1841
London	}	

Sir

I have to inform you that the large black plats. lintil &^c are arrived safe and I must say that they do you much credit _ I am obliged to you

By this post you will likewise receive the sum of £500 . The Draft in your favour for the said sum on Mess^{rs} Hoares & C^{oy} you will present and grant a receipt for

In repeating my thanks I am Sir

Your very obliged

&c &^c

(signed) C H & B

Note: Marshall wrote to the Duke on 15 December to acknowledge the receipt of his letter and the draft for £500. His letter confirms that these were ‘the last of the Flats’ (HA, C4/116/2).

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Hoare's Bank, dated Hamilton Palace, 13 December 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.353)

Hamilton Palace

X^r 13th. 1841

Sir

Be so good as to pay to the London Marble work Company Esher Street, the sum of £500 for me and take the receipt for the same, and debit my Accompt accordingly I am Sir

To Mess^{rs} Hoares & C^y }
 Fleet Street }
 London }

Your very obliged

&^c &^c &^c

(signed) CH&B

sum Five
 hundred pounds

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Hoare's Bank, dated Hamilton Palace, 5 March 1842 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.443)

Mess^{rs} Hoares & Co

Fleet Street

London _

Hamilton Palace

March 5th. 1842

Sir,

Be so obliging as to pay to the London Marble Company, Esher Street, Westminster the sum of five hundred Pounds, take their receipt for the same, and place the Amount to the debit of my Accompt. _ I am

Sir

Your very obliged

£500..0..0

&c &c &c

Signed C. H & B

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to William Marshall, dated Hamilton, 6 March 1842 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.443)

William Marshall Esqre
London Marble Works
Esher Street, Westminster
London _

Hamilton 6 March 1842

Sir

By desire of the Duke of Hamilton, I enclose an order dated the 5th ins^t by the Duke of Hamilton on Mess^{rs} Hoares, Bankers, Fleet Street for £500 in favour of the London Marble Comp^y, Esher Street, in part payment of their Account for Marble sent to Hamilton Palace, and I have to request of you to write to me acknowledging the receipt of this letter and the said order. _ I am &

R B

Note: Marshall wrote to Robert Brown on 8 March to acknowledge the receipt of his letter and the draft for £500 (HA, C4/116/3).

H.E. Goodridge to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Bath, 11 May 1842 (HA, C4/136/6)

My Lord Duke /

I regret it has not been in my power to forward the enclosed drawings of the Staircase earlier, I have ventured to shew a Fire place on the first landing which I consider would be an improvement in effect as well as making a comfortable impression on the mind.. The details will be furnished at large on hearing from Your Grace to that purpose. _ A perspective view also accompanies it that the general effect may be better expressed, it affords me pleasure to state that having today submitted them to her Grace she was pleased to express with M^r. Beckford their joint approval. _ The central Flower for centre pannel of the Staircase ceiling full size. is sent for the Plast[?eire (or variant) or erer] the relief necessary is left to his judgement as he will be best able to execute it so as to accord with the surrounding work; The centre Thistle is however being modelled here under my inspection, the other model I hope arrived safe. -

I cannot but regret the unfortunate circumstance which has induced your Grace to defer the Mausoleum, the [partly illegible abbreviation for drawings] for which had been previously begun, but it will afford time for mature consideration of all its parts so as to avoid alterations, a thing at all times if possible to be avoided. The [partly illegible abbreviation for drawings] of the Basement Pilast[res or ers] with the Floor of the Staircase & Corridor will follow as soon as possible. The Ceiling is decidedly right in the slight [? tints] indicated and your Grace's present intentions but I could have wished more colour throughout and which will be necessary hereafter to restore Harmony. _ The Post is now on the point of leaving which must be my apology for closing so abruptly

My Lord Duke

I remain most respectfully

Your Grace's most obliged ob^t Se^{rt}.

H E Goodridge

Bath 11th May 1842

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the London Marble Company, dated Hamilton,
30 August 1842 (HA, Volume 1260, p.159)

The London Marble C^{oy})
Esher Street)
Westminster)
London)

Hamilton 30 Augt
1842

Sirs

Prefixed I send you an order in your favour of this date by the Agent of the
British Linen Companys Branch here on Mess^r Smith Payne & Smiths Bankers
London for Ninety four pounds 11/6 as payment of an Acco^t due you by the Duke of
Hamilton for freight and duty & charges on Bronze figures from France and I beg
you will have the goodness to acknowledge the receipt as having been paid by me.

I am &

R.B.

H.E. Goodridge to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Bath, 10 September 1842 (HA, C4/136/3)

My Lord Duke /

On Saturday the 2nd Ins^t was forwarded by the Aberdeen Steamer, two casts for your Grace, one being the central part of the flower for the Grand Staircase, which will require to be cut out by the Plast[?eiré] so as to give a dark shadow to the parts; the other is the bracket for the Corridor, I have to regret that so much delay should have occurred before sending them owing to an accident which deprived the modeller of the use of his hands, _

M^r. Field has been with me during the week and explained your Grace's views as to the finish you wish for the Handrail of the Grand Staircase, I cannot but regret your Grace's decision as I feel confident the importance & dignity of so principal a feature will be much injured but anxious to meet your Grace's wishes and to give the best character in my power to it I beg to submit for consideration a revised design in which two plans are shewn N^o 2 being in my opinion far preferable, the Elevations will vary very slightly, the difference consisting principally in the position of the Pedestal on the step, when I have the sanction of your Grace I will forward the proper drawings to M^r. Field, the Pedestal on the landing will partake of the same character as the design now sent. _

My Lord Duke

I beg respectfully

to subscribe myself

Your Grace's most obliged & obe^d Sev^t

Bath 10 Sep^R. 1842.

H E Goodridge

H.E. Goodridge to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Bath, 21 September 1842 (HA, C4/136/8)

[...] Your Grace has evidently furnished a very strong reason why more importance should be given to the Pedestals of the Staircase, from the size of the Caryatides the contrast would be so strikingly obvious that the effect of the smaller pedestal would be to give apparent additional size to the figures which your Grace is anxious to reduce, & the size of the figures would also render the pedestals too diminutive and insignificant, the best effect in my opinion would be the design as last submitted to your Grace after my return from London, I feel assured after seeing the figures in their places (which I think will take off much from their dreaded size) your Grace having a model of the Pedestal in stone full size, will be rather disposed towards my suggestion, but this I leave for the present, _

I have agreeably with your Grace's request called on Mess^{rs}/s English, and read your letter to them in reference to the defects of the Sofa, I certainly recollect your Grace's directions which I told M^r. English, but he says it is in strict accordance with the drawing submitted to your Grace, this I am not acquainted with & could form no opinion thereon, _ [...]

H.E. Goodridge to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Bath, 26 November 1842 (HA, C4/136/11)

[...] I am still anxious to hear the effect of your Grace's bronze's which your Grace will I trust excuse my referring to, being curious to know their effect in their positions, as to size, to judge how far my views of size in reference to the Staircase were correct, it being a point of vital consequence with regard to the whole effect of the Staircase, if your Grace has had the model in stone its full size executed a good and correct opinion would at once be arrived at, it will afford me much satisfaction to find we arrive at a just conclusion in reference thereto _

[...]

H.E. Goodridge to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 7 December 1842 (HA, C4/136/12)

[...] while here I visited the Marble Works, and I find they are anxiously waiting instructions, being apprehensive they may be pressed and ultimately cause disappointment, it appears no decision has been come to by Your Grace in respect of the [illegible word: ?termination] of the Rail, at your early convenience permit me to suggest a decision, to avoid what hereafter may be vexatious, and lead perhaps to the work not being executed so well as could we wished. _ [...]

H.E. Goodridge to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Bath, 24 December 1842 (HA, C4/136/13)

[...]

In referance to the Staircase I am pleased to find your Grace's determines on the position of the Pedestal opposite the Caryatides, but I do not understand exactly the mode, I have been expecting to hear from Field hereon, the two steps will be found to add much to the general effect of the first flight; _ all my doubts are confined now to the want of importance of the pedestals as viewed in connexion with the Caryatides and so handsome a Staircase I hope my judgement in this case may for your Grace's sake prove erroneous, _

[...]

Letter from Wallace & Whyte, dated Edinburgh, 20 January 1843 (HA, Bundle 2089)

Marble Works Shrub Place
Edin^r 20^h Jan^y 1843

Wallace & Whyte beg indulgence of the Duke of Hamilton to say that in the event of Three new pedestals being wanted the panneling might be dispensed with which with the cutting of the Top Slab behind would reduce these to £20 each or so

The panneling will shew but indifferently on black _ & in the situation

[The rest of the page is torn and missing.]

William Marshall to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 28 June 1843 (HA, C4/116/4)

London Marble & Stone Working Company,
Esher Street, Holywell Street, Westminster,
LONDON. June 28th. 1843

My Lord Duke

I am directed by the Managers to say that having executed a considerable quantity of Work for Hamilton Palace _ within the last year or two, _ the greatest part of which, lately sent off - and that also - now in hand, being principally Labor of a very expensive nature _ , and consequently attended with a considerable weekly outlay of Money for Wages &c. _ The Managers will feel much obliged by your Grace - remitting them at your early convenience £2000 ____ on Account. _

I have the honor to be

My Lord Duke _

Your Graces -

Very Respectful

And Most Obed^t Servant

William Marshall

To His Grace

The . Duke of Hamilton. _

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 24 August 1843 (HA, Volume 1260, pp.401-2)

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

London _

Hamilton 24 Aug. 1843

My Lord Duke,

I have this day remitted to Mess^{rs} Hoares the sum of One Thousand pounds on your Grace's Account, in order to enable your Grace to pay £1000 to the London Marble Coy, which should be done this week by you, as they will expect the money by the latter end of it. ____

[...]

Note: The copy of Brown's letter to Hoare's precedes this letter, on p.401.

William George Jacob wrote to the Duke on 31 August to acknowledge the receipt of his letter and to inform him that he had received £1,000 from Hoare's Bank (HA, C4/116/5).

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Hoare's Bank, dated Hamilton Palace, 16 December 1843 (HA, Volume 1260, p.484)

Mess ^{rs} Hoares & C ^y)	
Fleet Street)	Hamilton Palace
London)	X ^{bre} . 16. 1843

Sir

Be so obliging as to pay to the London Marble Co^y Esher Street Westminster the sum of One thousand pounds take their receipt for the same, and place the amount to the debit of my Accompt.

I am Sir

Your very obliged &^c &

/ initialed / C H & B

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to William George Jacob, dated Hamilton, 16 December 1843 (HA, Volume 1260, p.485)

M^r William George Jacob)
Clerk to the London Marble)
and Stone working Co^y)
Esher Street)
Westminster)
London)

Hamilton 16 Decem 1843

Sir

I duly received your letter of the 9^h Ins^t wishing a Remittance by the Duke of Hamilton to the London Marble and Stone working Company and accordingly I now send enclosed His Grace's order of this date for one thousand pounds on Mess^{rs} Hoares & C^y Bankers Fleet Street London who will pay the same on your granting the proper receipt. Please acknowledge the receipt of this letter with the said order contained in it.

I am & R. B.

Note: Jacob wrote to Brown on 18 December to acknowledge the receipt of his letter and the draft for £1,000 (HA, C4/116/6).

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to Wallace & Whyte, dated Hamilton, 29 January 1844 (HA, Volume 1260, p.525)

Mess^{rs} Wallace & Whyte
Marble Cutters
Shrub Place, Leith Walk
Edinburgh,

Hamilton 29 Janry 1844

Sirs _

Prefixed you have a Letter of Credit in your favour of this date, by the Agent of the British Linen Coy here, on their Manager in Edinburgh for Eighty pounds 9/5, as payment of an Acco^t due you by the Duke of Hamilton for Pedestals and Marble Slabs &c for Hamilton Palace in 1843, and for which I will thank you to send me a Stamp Rec^t. for the Amount, mentioning that the money was paid by my hands _ I am &c R B

William George Jacob to Robert Brown, dated London, 16 April 1844 (HA, C4/116/7)

London Marble & Stone Working Company,
Esher Street, Holywell Street, Westminster,
LONDON. 16 April 1844.

Robert Brown Esquire.

Sir

The Directors desire me to express their satisfaction, at finding on M^r. Field's return from Scotland, that the Duke of Hamilton had been pleased to express his approbation of the work executed by His Grace's direction.

M^r. Field continues to keep a number of men upon the remaining Balustrades, Handrails; &c. and expects to be enabled Shortly to make a further sending; but on this matter he refers more particularly to a letter written M^r. Harvie on the 12th.. Instant.

M^r. Field brought to your notice when in Scotland, that the work now in progress is almost exclusively hand labor, and not only of the most expensive description, but cannot be executed with too great rapidity without injury to the workmanship.

I take also leave to bring to your recollection that you were so good as to state you would arrange with the Duke to make a remittance of £1.000 to the Company.

Perhaps if you have not already had an opportunity of doing so, you will now bring the matter to His Grace's notice, or should you prefer it, the Directors will write direct to His Grace on the subject.

I am,

Sir,

Your very obed^t. Servant,

W^m. G^{eo}., Jacob.

Clerk to the Company.

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to William George Jacob, dated Hamilton, 18 April 1844 (HA, Volume 1261, p.64)

M ^r William George Jacob)	
Clerk to the London Marble)	Hamilton 18 Apr ^l
and Stone Working Company)	1844
Esher Street Holywell Street)	
Westminster)	
London)	

Sir

I have received your letter of the 16 Ins^t and I now enclose you by the desire of the Duke of Hamilton His Grace's order of this date in favour of the London Marble & Stone working Company Esher Street Westminster for one thousand pounds on Mess^{rs} Hoares & Cy Bankers Fleet Street London being in part payment of His Graces Acco^t. to them for the Black Marble Stair Case now in the course of erecting at Hamilton Palace, and you will please acknowledge the receipt of this letter and the enclosed order.

I am

Sir

Your [abbreviations for most obedient] Serv^t

R. B -

Note: Jacob wrote to Brown on 20 April to acknowledge receipt of his letter and the order for £1,000 (HA, C4/116/8).

Wallace & Whyte to Harvie, dated Edinburgh, 13 May 1844 (HA, C4/109/1)

Edin 13 May 1844

Dear Sir

We enclose an Estimate for floor of stair which you will please to lay before M^r Brown

We make the Quantity of marble in floor _____ 894 feet

Extra marble where double	176
	<hr/>
	1070 feet

being a Shade under 14/6 per foot encluding work _ which work is equal to 7 years of a man but no single man could do the whole in 8 years _____

As we have still a great part of the Siena marble procured 2 years ago by his Graces' desire we are very anxious to get this Job which will take some of it away & we think our offer will give Satisfaction

If M^r Brown approve[s] we will send a copy of our Estimate to his Grace _ thereby allowing him to keep the one sent, by him ____ Let us here the result as soon as possible & oblige

Dear Sir yours sincerely

Wallace & Whyte

M^r Harvie, Builder

Hamilton Palace

We will send you plan tomorrow by the Coach

Wallace & Whyte to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 13 May 1844 (HA, C4/109/2)

Marble Works Shrub Place

Edinburgh 13 May 1844

Robert Brown, Esquire

Sir

We hereby make offer to furnish Siena Statuary & Black marble for the floor of the Grand Stair at Hamilton Palace _ furnish Boxes, Pack, Pay Carriage and taking all risk _ deliver the same ready to lay, and agreeable to plan approved of by his Grace the Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

The marble to be square jointed as formerly & the thickness generally one & a half Inches & the large centre Slab in front of the Stair 2 inches in thickness The whole of the best material & workmanship for the Sum of Seven Hundred & Seventy five pounds [abbreviation for Sterling] ____ the remainder of Black Slabs to be included

We are Sir

Your grateful Obed Servants

Wallace & Whyte

Note _ the marble not under }
the above thickness }

w & w

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 19 July 1844 (HA, Volume 1261, p.190)

His Grace,

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

K. G. &^c. &^c. &^c.

12 Por[t]man Square

London

Hamilton 19th.. July 1844.

My Lord Duke,

[...]

As Welsh the Marble man sent here by the Marble Coy. is of use in pushing on the staircase. _ I think you had better allow him to remain at it for some time longer. _

[...]

William Grant to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton Palace, 25 July 1844
(HA, C4/141)

Hamilton Palace

July 25/44

To

His Grace the Duke of Hamilton

&c _ &c _ &c _

Your Grace

I most respectfully beg leave to reply to your Grace's letter of the 19 Ins^t. which I should have done before, but I was desirous of first ascertaining from M^r. Wallace that there was neither doubt or fear of getting the large table finished by the time stated by your Grace, & now find that it can be done as desired & consequently am now forwarding it _____

I have also thought it advisable to enclose your Grace another piece of the blue flock paper in case M^r. Carroll has mislaid the original piece sent ____

The dying of the old silk curtains, as well as the making up of green tammy blinds for old State Room Windows, the taking up of the Carpets in same Rooms &c shall be attended to with every care and attention according to your Grace's desire _ The Visit of His Majesty the King of Saxony to your Grace's Palace has kept us rather busy these few days past or the old State Room Carpets should have been up before now, your Grace will of course have heard how much his Majesty was pleased with what he saw _ Also his Highness the Prince Raspigliosi & his Son &c. &c have been here to day & after taking Lunch proceeded to Glasgow, they stated their great admiration of all they saw _____

The information your Grace will require from M^r. Dumus is, that he made a charge for 6 Pieces of Tapestry whereas there were but 5 pieces and of the following dimensions _ 2 Pieces 32 F^t.: 2 In long = 2 Pieces 32 F^t. = 4 In long & 1 Piece 32 f^t. long & all of them 3 F^t.: 5 In wide all English measure _ _ _ _ _

Your Grace's injunctions, to great care being taken of inside & outside of Palace shall be most particularly attended to _ _ _ _ _ I would also beg to suggest to your Grace that while in London, to hasten M^r. Field a little more with regard to

Marble Stair Work, in as much as I suspect that had he have sent more Balustres by this time that the 2 rails of second rise (to the right & left) would have been finished ere now, I understand that one long raking rail for third rise & 8 Balustres are now on the road here _ _ _ _ _ I also beg to say that deeming the only effectual way of keeping the Princess's Rooms clear would be, to exclude the People from them by locking the doors, which I have done, & not only so the Dutchess stairs was deriving no benefit by the continual traffic up and down them, and trust that in my so doing it will meet with your Grace's approbation _ _ _ With permission to hope that your Grace and all the Family are enjoying good health _ _ _

I have the Honor to be

Your Grace's Most Obed^t. and

Obliged Humble Servant

W.. Grant

Wallace & Whyte to Robert Brown, dated Hamilton Palace, 10 August 1844 (HA, Bundle 6296)

Hamilton Palace

Saturday 10 Aug
1844

Dear M^r Brown

Should you be writing to his Grace we beg you to remember us kindly to him in reference to the floor of Stair_ We have a number of blocks of Siena Marble, part of that ordered by us, when his Grace spoke of lining the Wall of Corridore which would suit the purpose They are beautiful marble but rather short for our usual purposes

Any thing his Grace has honoured us with we have endeavoured to make worthy of his Palace both in neatness & durability for instance, the Cinquefoils &c of the Corridore are not veneered but sunk an Inch into the other marble, and in some cases right through it so that they can never break out while the floor lasts, we mean the present floor to be done in the like manner & will be very glad to have the honour of doing the job

Dear Sir

your most Obedient

Servant

S Wallace

Robert Brown Esquire

Hamilton Palace

Wallace & Whyte to Robert Brown, dated Hamilton, 24 August 1844 (HA, C4/109/3)

Hamilton 24 Aug^t 1844

Robert Brown Esq

Sir

We here by make offer in terms of our Estimate of 13th May last to execute the floor of the Grand Stair partly in Sky Marble as directed by his Grace _ but the thickness generally to be one half inch more than stated in that offer for the Sum of Seven Hundred & Seventy five pounds Sterling

We are Sir [illegible]

Wallace & Whyte

William George Jacob to Robert Brown, dated London, 4 November 1844 (HA, Bundle 6299)

London Marble & Stone Working Company,
Esher Street, Holywell Street, Westminster.
LONDON, 4 November 1844

Robert Brown Esq^r.

Sir.

Since I had to acknowledge the receipt of your remittance in April, M^r. Field has proceeded as fast as circumstances would admit of with His Grace the Duke of Hamilton's orders, and the Directors trust that the man at present at Hamilton Palace is fixing the Stairs &c. to His Grace's Satisfaction. A further Shipment will be made Shortly. _

M^r. Field had an interview with the Duke of Hamilton when in Town, and expected to hear on his return. Not having been honored with a subsequent communication his Grace perhaps has not been in London since, and the Directors beg leave to say that they will feel obliged if you will be Kind enough to arrange for another remittance to them of £1.000 on account.

Expecting the favor of your reply.

I remain, Sir,

Your very obedient Servant,

W^m. G^{eo}., Jacob.

Clerk to the Company.

Note: There is a copy of this letter in the Hamilton archive under C4/775.

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 6 November 1844 (HA, Volume 1261, pp.303-4)

Eo.die _ [i.e. Hamilton 6 Nov 1844]

My Lord Duke,

I enclose Copy of a Letter I have received from the Marble Coy wanting £1,000 _ perhaps they will require to get £500 in addition to the £7000 they have got already, but why do they not send the remainder of the Ballusters and the Railing for the top of the Stair _ The Masons are thrown idle for the want of them. __

[...]

William Field to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 11 November 1844 (HA, Bundle 6299)

London Marble & Stone Working Company,

Esher Street, Holywell Street, Westminster.

LONDON, 11 November 1844

My Lord Duke.

In reply to your Grace's letter of the 8th.. Instant, I beg to Say, I have forwarded 2 Cases of marble containing 9 Ballustrades for Stairs; and one pedestal for top Landing, to complete the right hand side; and I will Send ten more Ballustrades next Saturday and make a shipment every successive week.

I am now using every possible exertion, that the nature of the work will admit of. I have at the present time 15 Masons and Carvers, likewise 12 polishers fully employed. There is only one Ballustrade and the top pieces of Rail to work to complete the whole, but as Soon as I can get more from the Carvers hands, more polishers Shall then be employed.

I received a letter from the Mason last week Stating he had but one man engaged with him at present and he wished me to Send him the particulars of the top Landing, that he could be preparing, for the fixing of the Ballustrades & Pedestals, if he Should be in want of work before the Cases arrived the which I have attended to; _ I hope no delay will occur to prevent him finishing the work

I have the honor to be

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's most [o]bed^t. Servant

His Grace

W^m. Field

The Duke of Hamilton

&^c. &^c. &^c.

P.S. Since writing the above, on looking over the work in hand, I find I can Send 20 Ballustrades away next Saturday

The Duke of Hamilton has annotated the top left-hand corner of the letter, presumably for Robert Brown's attention:

M^r: Fields letter _ merely
sent for your inspection

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 26 December 1844 (HA, Volume 1261, p.423)

His Grace,

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

K. G. &c. &c &c.

12 Portman Square

London

Hamilton 26th.. Decem^r. 1844

My Lord Duke,

[...]

The Masons are all working in the inside of the sheads, Cutting the Ballusters and Cops for the surrounding. the north front of the Palace, and Harvie. says that they are making good progress in hewing, the weather being moderate here. _
At present none of the men are employed at building. Altho' some of them are working at the Marble Stair case, having got a supply of Ballusters lately, and are expecting more every day.. __

[...]

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 8 January 1845 (HA, Volume 1261, p.437)

The Duke of Hamilton
12. Portman Square
London

Hamilton 8. Jany. /45.

My Lord Duke

I beg to refer you to the prefixed Copy of a letter from the London Marble Co^y.. wanting money, and I take the liberty of advising you to give them £500. immediately which M^r.. Graeme will remit to Mess^{rs}.. Hoares & Co^y.. in a day or two out of the Coal Sales.

I have the honor to be with the highest respect,

My Lord Duke

Your Most Obt. Hum^l.. Ser^t..

R. B.

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 13 January 1845 (HA, Volume 1261, pp.446-7)

His Grace,

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

K. G. &c. &c. &c.

12 Portman Square

London

Hamilton 13 January 1845

My Lord Duke,

I have given Wilkie orders to put the Locks upon the Doors of the Tapestry Rooms _ & Grant is to get the Hearths ready, for the whole of these Rooms, _ he says that there is a marble slab here, fit to put into the little Room, _ therefore, no hearths will be wanted from Edinburgh. _ They are going on putting up the Ballusters, and Railing on the top of the Marble Stair case, _ Meantime I shall be most happy that your Grace arrives here immediately, to give your own directions, about these Matters. —

[...]

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 26 February 1845 (HA, Volume 1261, pp.487-8)

[...]

All the marble for the Stair case having been sent here by the London Marble Company _ you may now send for their Accounts in order to see what their charges are. _

[...]

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 7 March 1845 (HA, Volume 1262, pp.2-3)

M^r Hay's painters are all engaged at the State Rooms, and the Rails of the Marble Stair Case are put up, and the whole work is to be completed by to morrow afternoon, when the men will leave it. —

I am &^c. RB.

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 15 April 1845 (HA, Volume 1262, pp.52-3)

[...]

The Edinburgh Painters are very busy at the Palace, and expect M^r Hume soon. _ The Egyptian Hall is also in progress, and will soon be painted in Water Colours. __

I wish your Grace would send Carroll to the London Marble Works, and get particulars of their Accounts for _____ £439.3.6

and for _____ 307.2.6

that we may examine them. _ the Article for packing Cases seems high, and so does that for Masons' time. and travelling charges. _ I suppose M^r. Fielding's expences coming here is included in the Travelling charges. _ Perhaps the Company may expect a partial payment of £700. –

I have given Wilkie your orders as to the Hall Tables [...]

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated 24 April 1845
(HA, Volume 1262, pp.71-2)

[...] As to the London Marble Company you had better give them the £700 to
Account (till we have their Bill examined) by an order on Mess^{rs}. Hoares, I will take
care that there is as much money sent up to them shortly as will replace it. ____

[...]

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 28 April 1845 (HA, Volume 1262, pp.76-7)

[...]

M^r Hume, M^r Hay and M^r Wallace came here today, and have been engaged about your business at the Palace. _ M^r Hume and M^r. Hay have been looking after the painting Work in the New State Rooms. _ M^r Grant and M^r Hume have been examining the painting in the Stone Hall, _ and M^r Wallace has been consulting M^r. Hume respecting the borders of the Marble pavement at the foot of the Great Stair Case; and when I was present they were adjusting the curves at the Pedestals of the Stair Rails. __

In the course of some conversation with M^r Hume, and M^r Wallace, as to the probable cost of the Marble Stair Case, they appeared to form an estimate of it, considerably lower than the Charge made by the London Marble Company. _ It strikes me therefore that you should not advance the Company any more money than the £7.500 they formerly got from you (not even the £500 you now propose to give them) until you satisfy yourself that they are not demanding more than they are entitled to. _ at all events, some delay before making farther advances can do no harm, on the contrary, it may be of use to you. __ [...]

James Gillespie Graham to Robert Brown, dated Orchill by Perth, 4 May 1845 (HA, Bundle 6304)

Orchill by Perth

4th May 1845

My very dear friend

I very much regretted having so little of your society on my last visit, as I had many things to have talked over with you, but D. V. I shall ere long repeat my Visit that I may enjoy that pleasure.

I examined the Marble Stair – which is very handsome, _ I shall reserve my opinion of the Gilding till we meet _ but I am much pleased with the Stone Railing which will be a very perfect finish to the Palace.

[...]

Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 29 May 1845 (HA, Volume 1262, pp.108-9)

His Grace,

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

K.G. &^c &^c &^c

12 Portman Square

London

Hamilton 29th. May 1845

My Lord Duke,

I have received your Grace's letter of the 26th.. _ and I am rather surprised, that after the caution I gave you in my letter of the 28th.. April about withholding any farther payments to the marble Company, you should since have gone and made two payments of £500 each, to them. without consulting any body on the subject of their charges, in their Account, for the Marble Stair Case at Hamilton Palace. –

Your Grace must be aware that it is easier to hold than draw and that if you were to get into a dispute with the Company, and they found liable to make restitutions to you, out of the money they have got, it might cost some trouble to recover it. __

[...]

William George Jacob to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 3 July 1845, with a letter written by the Duke to Robert Brown, dated London, 4 July 1845, on the second fold (HA, C4/116/9)

London Marble & Stone Working Company,
Esher Street, Holywell Street, Westminster.
LONDON, 3 July 1845

My Lord Duke

On the 26th.. May last, I had the honor (agreeable to Your Grace's wishes) to transmit you a detailed account of the work executed for Your Grace at Hamilton Palace, which the Directors doubt not has met your approval.

As the amount still outstanding is considerable, say £1.293.2.11, the Directors take leave to express to Your Grace that it would be very agreeable to them to receive a Remittance at Your Grace's early convenience.

I have the Honor to be,
My Lord Duke,
Your Grace's most obed^t. Servant,
W^m. G^{eo}., Jacob.
Clerk to the Company.

To /

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton,

&c. &c. &c.

Portman Square

July 4th 1845 =

Dear Sir

I have just received this letter, on the opposite side of this sheet of paper, from the Westminster marble & stone company _ To my utter surprize, it would appear by their statement, that I am their debtor, to the amount of upwards of a thousand pounds _ When I paid the last two Sums of £500 each, which you thought was going too far, I thought there was only a remaining claim of about £500 _ The matter assumes a different character now altogether, & I must have miscalculated their accompt _ Their papers are in your hands; will you be so good as to examine them, & after having made that examination, you will be enabled to give a satisfactory reply to this letter _ I have to request your friendly assistance, & in that confidence I shall make no reply to these gentlemen myself whatever – With regard

I remain My dear Sir

Your [illegible abbreviations]

CH&B

Robert Brown Esq^r

Hamilton Palace ____

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 7 July 1845 (HA, Volume 1262, pp.136-7)

Hamilton 7th.. July 1845.

My Lord Duke,

In reference to the Marble Company's letter to your Grace of 3rd.. Instant and your letter to me of the 4th inst. I am surprised to find that the Company still state a Balance against you of £1293_2_11_ Their Account furnished to your Grace in April last, made out the Balance against you to be £1793.2.11 and on the 28th of April I advised you not to pay them any more money untill their Account was examined _ However on the 2nd May you write me saying you had given them £500. more and again on the 26th May you write me that you had paid them another £500. and sent me the Company's receipt inclosed for that sum dated 22nd May _ Now I infer from these two letters of your Grace that you paid on or immediately before the 2 May £500, and on the 22nd May another £500 and I wish you would look into your bank book with Messrs Hoar & C^o to see if you are debited with these two sums, because if you are the Marble C^o. have omitted to credit you with one of them __ On the 17th January 1845. the Company your balance £1793.2.11

And they ought to have deducted payment on

2nd May _____ £500

And payment on 22nd May _____ 500

together 1000 .

And made the balance now due £793_2_11 in place of £1293_2_11.

Was there any bargain or Contract made by your Grace with the Company to regulate their Charges because it will be necessary to have a copy of that should any discussion arise as to their over charges _ Before writing to them I should like to hear from your Grace with a Note of the two last payments you made to them thro Messrs Hoar & C^o. and as to the nature of the bargain that was made for the Marble Stair Case. I send you enclosed a copy of the original Acct. rendered by the Company Striking the Balance on 17th January 1845 £1793.2.11

[...]

Hoare's Bank to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 10 July 1845, with a letter from the Duke to Robert Brown, dated London, 11 July [1845], on the reverse (HA, C4/116/10)

My Lord,

We have the honor of your Grace's Letter, and to acquaint you, that from the 1st, Jan^y 1845, your account is charged as follows: viz.,

20 Jan^y 1845 to London Marble Co £500. _

24 May _ „ _ to D^o „..... £500,

and remain,

my Lord,

your Grace's most obedient

& very faithful servants

Charles Hoare, [? & Co]

To

His Grace

London 10 July 1845

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

Portman Sq^e

July 11th.

Dear Sir

The marble Company is right & I am wrong _ I payed to them (as you will see by Mess^{rs} Hoares statement in reply to my letter) only £500 in the month of may last _ nothing has been payed since _ How are we to settle the business? Write to them yourself _ [illegible] &

C:H:&B:

[To]

Robert Brown Esq^{re}

William George Jacob to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 1 August 1845, and the Duke's letter to Robert Brown, dated London, 2 August 1845, on the reverse (HA, C4/124)

London Marble & Stone Working Company,
Esher Street, Holywell Street, Westminster.
LONDON, 1 August 1845

My Lord Duke

I take leave to refer Your Grace to my letter of the 3rd.. Ultimo, since which time, not having been favored with any communication on the subject, I am desired to request the favor of your acquainting me when it will be agreeable to arrange the account.

I have the honor to be,
My Lord Duke,
Your Grace's most obedient Servant,
W^m. G^{eo}., Jacob.
Clerk to the Company.

To

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

&c. &c. &c.

Portman Sq^{re}

August 2^d: 1845

Dear Sir

I received yesterday evening this little observation interrogatory from the marble company, which is not very pleasant _ After the large sums I have paid them, I should have expected more patience & more courtesy _ ° What must we do? It is impossible that I can be silent, unless you tell them the reason, or give some explanation _ I thought, from your letter that you thought, I should not pay them without further investigation _ Are you still of the same opinion _ [illegible] &c

CH&B

Rob^t: Brown Esq^r.

H= P=

Wallace & Whyte to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 1 September 1845 (HA, C4/109/4)

Edinburgh 1 Sep^t 1845

Robert Brown Esquire

Hamilton Palace

Dear Sir

We beg leave to hand you our Account for the Marble Floor of the Stair _ We think it a good job and are certain it is a strong one, the mean thickness being about $2\frac{1}{8}$ inches

M^r Harvie (unknown to us) ordered extra marble for the door Steps _ We think him right in what he has done for it could not have been laid so well afterwards _

We have charged it at 6/ which is under the price of marble at one inch in thickness while it is two inches thick and should his Grace not approve of this addition we will take back the marble deducting it from our Acc^t

We will be glad if you find it convenient to send us a remittance to Account as we have a large sum out one way & another

we are Dear Sir

very Gratefull Your obedt Servts

Wallace & Whyte

William George Jacob to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 1 September 1845, with the Duke's letter to Robert Brown, dated London, 12 September 1845 on the reverse (HA, Bundle 6308)

The London
Marble & Stone Working Company,
Esher Street, Holywell Street, Westminster.
1st.. September 1845

My Lord Duke

I had the honor to address Your Grace on the 1st.. Ultimo, to which I beg to refer you, and I am now desired to request the favor of Your Grace's reply at your early convenience.

I have the honor to be,
My Lord Duke,
Your Grace's most obed^t Servant,
W^m. G^{eo}., Jacob.
Clerk to the Company.

To

His Grace
The Duke of Hamilton
&c. &c. &c.

Portman Sq^E
Sep^t. 12th 1845 –

Dear Sir

Since I wrote to you, neither have I done anything, nor have I heard anything concerning the Westminster marble works _ Upon my arrival here last night, I found this letter, and I send it to you; at the same time, requesting that you will tell these good people, that, after having examined their accompt it will be settled – With regard

I am &^c
C H & B

Rob^t Brown Esq^{re}

‘Scroll letter’, Robert Brown to the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, dated Hamilton, 18 October 1845 (HA, Bundle 6309)

Hamilton _ 18th October 1845

My Lord Marquis

[...]

I have nothing new to tell you, that will be interesting The Duke is here, and wonderfully well, taking his horse exercise as usual _ he has at last, I may say, finished the Palace, _ he has had the State Rooms splendidly painted and gilded and his Tapestry is hung up. _ the painters and gilders have been paid nearly £2,000 _ the Marble Stair Case & pavement is completed and paid for, excepting a disputed Balance to the London Marble Company, which I hope His Grace will get clear of. ____ The Concrete foundation of the Mausoleum on the Templehill, beyond Hamilton Burn, has been laid, and the Crypt is Contracted for at a Moderate sum, and will be completed by the month of March next _ therefore the final resting place of your Family will be ready for the reception of the Old Coffins, with their Contents, of your Ancestry by Whitsunday. _ I expect that the Duke will be able to pay off part of the Workmen employed about the Palace very soon. ____

[...]

Copy of letter from William Leighton to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 13 August 1846 (HA, Volume 1262, p.473)

[...]

M^r Brown has got the papers connected with the Westminster Marble Compy's Account locked up: – I am endeavouring to get them from him, and expect to be able to send them to M^r Rutherford in a day or two. –

[...]

William George Jacob to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 4 September 1846 (HA, C4/116/11)

The London
Marble & Stone Working Company,
Esher Street, West-end of Holywell Street,
Westminster, 4 Sept^r 1846.

My Lord Duke.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your Grace's letter of the 3rd.. Instant, and agreeably with the intimation therein, M^r. Rutherford has favored the Company with a call, and received such explanation, as will no doubt be satisfactory to Your Grace on receiving the report of that Gentleman.

M^r. Rutherford having suggested that a Discount should be allowed on the immediate payment of the Balance, I am desired to draw Your Grace's attention to the circumstances connected with the work for Hamilton Palace, and to observe that in accordance with your desire the same was executed by the most experienced Masons and Carvers that could be procured _ and a part of the work being of extraordinary dimensions, Machinery was specially prepared and erected for its execution regardless of expense, and which Machinery will in all probability be useless for future orders. _ Besides which much of the work was performed by hand labor, which, as Your Grace is well aware, is paid for weekly, and in the performance of this part, the first rate workmen were employed, and the Company have the satisfaction of knowing that the result cannot be surpassed, and is rarely equalled.

I request Your Grace's permission to remark that it was agreed to by Your Grace that during the progress of the work, considerable sums should be advanced to cover the Company's disbursements for Material and Wages, and that it is only from the circumstance of such arrangement having escaped Your Grace's attention, that the Company is now in a position to require from Your Grace the present settlement, and which the Directors confidently rely Your Grace will direct, with Interest from the 15th.. March 1845, at which date the work was completed.

I have the honor to be,
My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's

Most obed^t. Humble Servant

W^m. G^{eo}., Jacob.

Clerk to the Company.

To

His Grace,

The Duke of Hamilton

&^c. &^c. &^c.

Invoice for the Black Marble Staircase at Hamilton Palace from the London Marble and Stone Working Company, dated 1845, with attached receipt dated 7 September 1846 (HA, F2/1001/4)

Invoice of Sundry Black marble fittings for the erection
of a Staircase, & Dressings to Doorways; &c. at
Hamilton Palace, commencing May 1839 to March 1845.

To preparing Sundry fittings to form Doorways, including
molded architrave moldings; & 4 Sets of Jambs & Heads
to heighten sundry doorways; the whole polished complete . . . £ 289 17 11
Preparing 5 Steps to form lower flight with returned ends
molded, & underside of same stopped with molded soffit; &c.

52 Steps with molded fronts & one end returned, with
molded soffits; the whole highly polished; &c 1.906 . . .

8 Landings for the several parts of Staircase, molded
& polished 1.827 11 2

3 pieces of Black marble to form treads for Corridor.

2 _ d°. ____ do. _ Slabs to make good to Landings; &
3 pieces of molded Stringing; the whole polished; &c.
Complete 82 5 7

[...]

To preparing 158 Black marble Balusters

„ „ 16 Pedestals

„ „ 12 lengths of Handrails

including the alteration of lower flight of Steps; _ the
whole elaborately carved & highly polished; &c.. . . . 4.429 6 5

„ 1½ in: Black marble Table; face, front edge & ends
polished. 11 16 .

„ Sundry Packing Cases for the several deliveries of
the above Works £275. 19. 5

„ Cartage, Lighterage, &

Wharfage, including			
Insurance	„	<u>163. 4. 1</u>	439 3 6
„ Mason's time; Travelling Expences; &c. in fixing			
the above work		<u>307 2 4</u>	
			£9.293 2 11

1841	Jan ^{ry}	.. 12.	By Cash	£1. 000. _ . _	
	June	8.	„ „	„ 1. 000 . _ . _	
	Oct ^r .	27.	„ „	„ 1. 000. _ . _	
	Dec ^r .	14	„ „	„ 500. _ . _	
1842	March	8	„ „	„ 500. _ . _	
1843	Aug ^t .	29	„ „	„ 1. 000. _ . _	
	Dec ^r .	16	„ „	„ 1. 000. _ . _	
1844	April	19	„ „	„ 1.000. _ . _	
1845	Jan ^{ry}	17	„ „	„ 500. _ . _	„ 7. 500 _ _
					<hr/>
				Balance due	_ £ <u>1.793. 2 11</u>
				To Balance brought down	_ 1.793 2 11
1845					
	May	22	By Cash	£500. _ . _	
1846	Sept ^r .	7	„ do.	„ <u>1.293.2.11</u>	<u>1.793 2 11</u>

Received the Balance of the above
account _ as p^t. Stamped receipt
for the London Marble
and Stone Working Company
W^m. Geo^{es}., Jacob.

A stamped receipt has been attached to the bottom of the invoice, covering the last nine lines (i.e. after 7. 500 _ _). It reads:

Received 7th .. September 1846,
of His Grace The Duke of Hamilton,
One Thousand two hundred and
ninety three pounds, two shillings
and eleven pence, Balance of account
for Black marble Staircase fixed in
Hamilton Palace.

For the London Marble
and Stone Working Company

£1.293.2.11

W^m., G^{eo}., Jacob.

Detailed account of the Black Marble Staircase from the London Marble and Stone Working Company dated 1845 (HA, F2/1001/3)

Detailed account of Sundry Black marble fittings prepared for the erection of Staircase, dressings for doorways &c &c Commencing May 1839 & finished 15th. March 1845 including all charges for quarry expences, designs, drawings, modelling &c &c __

Sundry Dressings to Doorways.

To	preparing two jambs & head to form doorway with rebate run in Same the whole polish ^d	£		
	Complete for fixing _____	66	1	—
„	do do to form doorway with architrave moldings run on ditto & fitted with Splayed linings the whole polished Complete for fixing _____	69	14	7
„	_ do _ Single head, gutted to pass under Lintel with molding formed on Same Complete	28	8	—
„	_ do Ten lengths of Architrave moldings for doorways the whole polished Complete	45	14	4
„	do Two Sets of Square heads & jambs and Two Sets of Circular do to heighten four doorways including rebated, Square & Circular moulded Work The whole highly polished & fitted together for fixing Complete _____	80	—	—
	[...]			
To	preparing 5 Steps forming the first flight of Staircase with molded risers & Returned ends & Soffits &c polished Complete for fixing _____	205	—	—
„	do four pieces to form Circular returns to the above	19	10	10
„	do 52 Steps forming the Several other flights finish ^d with molded risers, returned Ends & molded Soffits the whole highly polished &c _____	1701	—	—
„	3 Landings for first flight & two quarter Spaces			

	finish'd with molded risers, Soffits & polished			
	Complete _____	671	12	—
„	5 Landings forming Corridor finished with molded			
	Edges & joggled joints &c Complete	1155	19	2
„	3 lengths of heads to fill in spaces on Corridor with			
	molded Edges & face polished	45	—	—
„	2 Slabs to make good to Landing polished on the face	19	5	—
„	3 lengths of Skirting with sunk face & polished on do.	18	—	7
[...]				
To	preparing Sundry lengths of Handrails for Staircase			
	molded & polished Complete	439	3	6
„	do 18 pedestals for the above elaborately Sculptured			
	and highly polished	652	12	1
“	do 158 Balusters chastely carved & highly polished _	3318	—	—
„	1½ Black marble table, the face, front edge & Ends			
	polish ^d	11	16	—
„	Workmens time attending at Hamilton to fix the			
	aforementioned Works including Travelling expences,			
	lodgings &c	307	2	4
„	Sundry packing Cases £ 275. 19. 5			
„	Cartage & lighterage incl ^g			
„	Porterage &c on ret ^d Cases 83. — . —			
„	Paid Booking, wharfage			
	& Insurance _____ 80. 4. 1	439	3	6
Total		£ 9293	2	11

List with prices relating to the Black Marble Staircase, undated but on paper watermarked 1845 (HA, C4/116/13/2)

158 Ballusters	@	£20	=	£ 3160	„ . „ -
16 Pedestals	@	40	=	640	„ - -
12 Lengths of Hand Rail.....	@	_ 50	=	600	„ - -
				<u>£ 4400</u>	
52 Steps.....	@	£36	=	£1872	}
5 D ^o Ress'g	@	- 10	=	50	}
8 Landings	@	£228	=	_ 1824	}.....3846 „ _ „ _
5 Stabs for Landing				82	
Black Marble Table				11 „ 16	„
Packing Cases, Cartage Wharfage &c				439 „ 3	„ 6
Masons Time &c.....				307 „ 2	„ 4
				<u>£9086 „ 1 „ 10</u>	

Note: The above list is well laid out and written with care. The Hamilton archive also contains a working note (C4/116/13/1) with the same numbers and prices, '8 Landings £240 1920' crossed out, the £1872 and £50 totalled to £1922, the bill after 3846 totalled to £8246, and the following sum to the left of the black marble table and packing cases etc:

36
52
 72
180

On this list '5 Stabs for Landing' appear as '5 Slabs for Landing'.

William George Jacob to Richard Rutherford, dated London, 7 September 1846 (HA, C4/116/12)

The London
Marble & Stone Working Company,
Esher Street, West-end of Holywell Street,
Westminster, 7th Sept^r. 1846.

Sir .

I have the honor to hand enclosed a Stamped receipt, according to your wish, for £1.293.2.11 _ received this day on account of His Grace The Duke of Hamilton.

I am,

Sir,

Your very obed^t. Servant.

W^m. G^{eo}., Jacob.

Clerk to the Company

_ Rutherford Esq^{re}.

Union Hotel

Cockspur Street

Copy of letter from William Leighton to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated 12 September 1846 (HA, Volume 1262, p.492)

[...]

I hope M^r Rutherford will be able to get the Marble Company's Account settled in a reasonable way. There is no other business that I can recollect of connected with this that he can do in London at present. _

[...]

Invoice made out to the 10th Duke of Hamilton from the London Marble and Stone Working Company, dated London, 22 April 1848, with note dated 15 May 1848 (HA, Bundle 660)

The invoice is on the usual, elaborately printed paper used by the London Marble and Stone Working Company, with the date 22 April 1848 inserted on the third line. It reads:

A Shelf of the best Sienna marble;
edge molded and polished; to replace
one broken in fixing. and
Fixing the above at Easton Park,
Wickham Market, Suffolk.

Half Cost £ 3 10 .

Amount of Invoice delivered £83.18.10

March 17 C ^r . By 2 Cases returned	<u>1. 4.10.</u>	<u>82 14 .</u>
		<u>£ 86 4 .</u>

The note simply states:

With the Directors respectful Compliments.

London Marble Works

15 May 1848.

Appendix 13: Letters relating to the Scottish Sculptor Patric Park

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Murthly Castle, 19 April 1830 (HA, Bundle 1897)

Murthly Castle 19th April 1830

My Dear Sir,

It is with extreme diffidence, I sit down to discharge a duty, I have delayed so long; although, that delay, proceeded not, from any unworthy forgetfulness of your kind & flattering attention to me, so undeserving of it; but, I only waited, till, I became more acquainted with the Place, and got a little on with my employment; when, I could give you a more correct account of myself, and my proceedings, than I could have done writing with first impressions.

The next day, after, receiving your kind notice; I set off for Edinburgh, and after a cold, (and, (especially to me who had never left the comfort of Home before,) desolate ride, arrived in that City, when I immediately called on M^r. Gillespie Grahame, who, received me attentively; and directed me to come again next morning; when after some conversation about my destination, he gave me a letter to M^r. M^cDonald the Sculptor, with whose Splendid Works I was quite enchanted, I Spent a long time with him & came away with great reluctance; He was working at a noble group of Two figures, the subject, taken from Homer; Thetis arming her Son Achilles, a Stupendous production, the male figure being upwards of eleven feet high, I admired exceedingly his finished Group a Ajax bearing off the body of Patroclus; and I could not decide whether the Gigantic form of the Greek, was equalled, or excelled, by the figure of the Prostrate Trojan; struggling, as it were, in the Last agonies, to oppose the further progress of his Conqueror; indeed, I never received more true delight in my life, from any exhibition, than in viewing and admiring the works of M^r. M^cDonald, and the vain wish, arose in my mind, if, I was only able to arrive at such excellency, in an art, which, I am enthusiastically attached to; but, which I am afraid will prove too severe for my small stock of abilities. after Spending a week in Edinburgh, viewing these, and other curiosities, after M^r. Grahame's direction, I departed for Perth, the Snow lying to the depth of several inches; and arriving there at night, in such a scene, it is no wonder, situated, as, I

was, that, I should feel a little disappointed, in the appearance of the place; even, at this moment, I can remember, the bitter feeling of desolateness, which struck me, a stranger, in a strange place, Friendless, as I thought, and forlorn. These are feelings though, which, I suppose every one must experience at entering Life; but they affected me particularly being naturally of sanguine disposition. always giving myself up to imagination and of course seldom find any expectations I may have formed realized. It was fully a fortnight after I arrived, ere, we began, and indeed there was nothing of much importance, till about the middle of March, when, I began to execute the Shafts of the Columns, which, are ornamented with Drapery & Groups of fruit & flowers, arranged beneath.

M^r. Gillespie was here after his marriage, for a short time, & it is with the greatest pleasure, I have to state he expressed himself well pleased with my work, I will do my best to please him, & not disgrace your kind recommendation; The country in the immediate neighbourhood is rather bleak the Grounds being quite unenclosed; but towards Dunkeld, the country gets very remarkable, displaying great natural Beauties; I was much disappointed in the Tay, and probably with a little partiality, will give the preference to my native Clyde. There is one thing My Dear M^r. Brown which haunts me continually. notwithstanding the distinguished honour conferred on me by his Grace. I have never returned any acknowledgement, for the Book, he gave me; might I hope that in your goodness you would express my grateful acknowledgement of his Grace's condescension, which I will never forget while I live.

I have the honour to remain

with the greatest respect

Your obed^t Serv^t

Patric Park

P.S. I hope my Dear Sir you will excuse me in taking up your time reading this. I am probably presuming too far but I trust you will Pardon me_

P.P_

James Gillespie Graham to Robert Brown, dated Murthly, 14 December 1830 (HA, Bundle 1909)

Murthly 14th Dec^r 1830

My Dear Sir

I find that your Protegee Mr Park has left this in bad health, which I am very sorry for, both on his own acc^t & from being deprived of his Valuable Services:– he has shewn so much talent in the execution of Works here, as would have reflected honour on any first rate Sculptor _ & we have still much to do _ where his assistance is much required. _

_ He proposes to start for Rome next year at the Suitable time _ previous to which Macdonald is to give him instruction in the Art, which will enable him to start upon very favourable ground _ & if he is spared _ I have every reason to pronounce that he will in due time be excelled by none of his Country men. _ I know you as well as I, feel a lively interest in his wellfare; & when you are in Glasgow I wish you would see the poor fellow _

[...]

My Dear Sir

Yours most Sincerely

Jas: Gillespie Grahame

[...]

James Gillespie Graham to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 29 December 1830
(HA, Bundle 1909)

[...] I have had a letter from Park who is getting better & I expect him soon here
which I am very glad to learn _ [...]

Roger Aytoun to James Skene, dated Edinburgh, 2 February [1831] (NAS, NG2/2/6/1)

Dear Sir

I have been applied to from Hamilton to solicit your aid in getting a young Artist of the name of Park admitted as a pupil, to the Royal Institution _ He tells me he has seen you _ Is it necessary for me to do more than recommend him to your friendly consideration _

I am Yrs faithfully

R Aytoun

Abercromby place

2 febry

Note : The reverse is addressed to 'James Skene Esqr / of Rubieslaw / Moray place'.

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Murthly Castle, 1 May 1831 (HA, Bundle 1912)

Murthly Castle May 1st.. 1831

Dear Sir,

I am afraid you will consider me one of those troublesome and selfish persons, who unless they have some particular benefit to request, or end to gain will carefully avoid unnecessary trouble to themselves, by informing those, who like you to me, have befriended them, of their motions and prospects; but, fearful of intruding myself uncalled for on your notice, I have hitherto refrained from gratifying an ardent desire of explaining to you, the line of conduct I have laid out for myself _ and if I have misconstrued any of those attentions experienced by me from you, in a light too favorable to myself, I trust the goodness of heart which dictated the kindness, will also prompt the forgiveness, if in the strength of my feelings I have gone too far _ Laboring under that greatest of misfortunes, the early loss of a father, and from the nature of circumstances having few to consult with, at all acquainted with Art; I cannot sufficiently appreciate the flattering recommendation which introduced me to your friend M^r Gillespie, who every day I live I see more Cause to admire, as a Gentleman and as an artist, and who has treated me with one uniform and steady kindness from the day I first enjoyed the honor of seeing him to this date; and enjoying the honest satisfaction of not having disgraced your introduction, I beg you will allow me again to express my deep and heartfelt obligation to you, and my gratitude for it __

Upon receiving your letter in Edin^r I waited on his Grace at Holyroodhouse, and had the honor of the Duke of Hamilton's signature to my Petition, and the next day presented it _ It was however nearly two months after, before a vacancy occurred so as to enable me to get admittance, the Academy being full _ and I was reluctantly obliged to withdraw as about that time M^r Gillespie wished me to return to Murthly; indeed the only hope I had was that of being admitted at once, and studying these two months there _ it grieved me to think the Duke's Condescension in signing my Petition and the trouble I put you to, concerning it, all went for nothing; I had only one plan however to adopt, and that I was obliged to follow however painful __

The Duke in the most affable manner stated his willingness to be of service to me, and desired me to come to Hamilton Palace if he was there at the time, and see

him before I went out; now I am afraid it will be impossible for me to leave this before the latter end of August, and probably His Grace may have left England by that period. You were so good as to promise to procure letters from him; may I intreat you to remember me if I have not the happiness to see you before the Duke goes _ I Get three letters from M^r. Stewart one to the Hanoverian Ambassador, another to the English Consul, and the third to Campbell the Sculptor _ M^r Oliphant of Gask has also promised me some _ but a letter from the Duke of Hamilton would be of so much importance that you will beleive me when I say I am very anxious about it _ I leave this for Rome God willing early in Sept^r _

My Dear Sir I have troubled you with a long letter which I trust you will forgive, as it would be troubling you only farther, by saying I should like to have my condemnation or acquittal from your own pen. Beleive me in the meantime with respectful esteem

Dear Sir

Your oblig^d faithful Serv

Patric Park

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Murthly Castle, 3 July 1831 (HA, Bundle 1927)

Murthly Castle 3^d. July 1831

Dear Sir

I had the honour of addressing a letter to you five or six weeks ago, and which I directed to Hamilton, but having been informed by M^r. Gillespie the last time he was here, that you had been in England about that time, I am Concerned lest it should have miscarried and so you never receive it _

I would be much gratified, if without encroaching on your time and Patience, you would address a few lines to me at Murthly Castle and thus set my mind at ease as I am getting anxious now that the period of my departure is approaching __ Hoping you are in the enjoyment of Good health __

I Remain

Dear Sir

Gratefully and respectfully

Yours _ &^c

Patric Park

To Robert Browne Esq^{te} }
Hamilton ____ }

Patric Park to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Rome, 24 December 1831 (HA, Bundle 1001)

Rome Dec^r 24th 1831 _

To

His Grace the Duke of

Hamilton & Brandon &^e &^e &^e

My Lord Duke,

The enlargement of our ideas, and the expansion of our judgement, is generally considered to be the result of contact with great and commanding objects, yet, although I sometimes consider myself a poor example produced by such effect, I am ready to confess, that I never think of, much less, presume to address Your Grace, without feeling in a very depressing and sensible manner my want of powerful, and adequate language, to express the emotion which swells my breast while reflecting on the generous condescension of Your Grace; and it forms to me the most delightful field for contemplation to witness the representative of the most noble family in the country not disdaining to listen to the sentiments of his humble countryman and expressing his kind interest in his future Success - and most certain am I, that the gracious aspiration of the Duke of Hamilton will urge me onwards in the path of excellence by virtue of its power over me, & in hope of future approbation _ _

My Lord Duke I have to acknowledge with gratitude the benefit I derived from Your Grace's letter to M^r. Hamilton at Paris,^[*] and by whose kindness my business was much expedited and thus promoted my earlier arrival in this venerable metropolis, where I am enchanted with every object of Art (really so) that I see. I have taken a small Studio, and, I trust ever mindful and observant of your Grace's advice so nobly furnished me, I have began my studies in the most mathematical manner - and have successively modelled the two Antique heads of Ajax, and Ariadne, and with a heartful of pleasure - I have to state to Your Grace, with the approbation and commendation of Gibson and several artists who visited me; I have now commenced an alto Relievo from an original design, at the same time, that I copy one of the Boxers by Canova _ and together with these studies - attend the French Academy to draw from the Antique _ and the English to study from the life

___ Having great inducements before me I must and I trust I shall labour diligently to improve my present opportunities ___

My Lord Duke I have thus with diffidence endeavoured to acquaint Your Grace of my mode of pursuing my Studies here, in terms of the kind permission of Your Grace, to address you when I had last the high honour of seeing Your Grace in London; and I intreat you My Lord Duke to pardon me if at any part of this letter in my devotion to your Grace I have spoken presumptuously and impute to any thing but so base a feeling _ and with sincere though humble wishes for your Grace's personal happiness - & for that of your noble family - and with all ardour of my soul I have the honour to remain

My Lord Duke,

Your Grace's most obliged

Devoted Humble Serv^t

Patric Park

[*] 'M^r. Hamilton at Paris' is probably Hamilton Charles James Hamilton, who was Secretary of the Paris Embassy from 1825 to 1833 and Chargé d'Affaires during Viscount Granville's absences 16 June-6 July and 3-14 October 1831 (see *British Diplomatic Representatives 1789-1852*, edited by S.T. Bindoff, E.F. Malcolm Smith and C.K. Webster (London, 1934), pp.51-2.) The Duke and Hamilton Hamilton are known to have corresponded later on and the Marquis of Douglas clearly resented Hamilton Hamilton's subsequent influence upon his father: see the Marquis of Douglas's letter to the 10th Duke, 21 January 1844 (HA, Bundle 1421).

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Patric Park, dated Hamilton Palace, 22 March 1832
(NLS, Acc. 10098/1, 1)

Hamilton Palace March y^e 22^d 1832

[Letter torn: ? I learn] with pleasure from your letter of the latter end of December last that you are arrived safe at poor Rome; still in spite of all her misfortune, the source & seat of the Arts __ Continue your studies scientifically; learn where, & the reason why, to apply your chissel before you apply it _ This is long & tedious; & few have resolution to adhere to it; but by so doing you will at one become an Artist, & no indifferent one, from the necessary knowledge you will possess: whereas if you are led astray by the brilliancy of the art, you may do pretty things, but you will never execute great ones __ If alto=relievo is your genius & fancy, I have nothing to say; but if you wish to immitate Michael Angelo, study the antique & nothing but the antique: you will be more advanced in my opinion by modeling over & over again every member and muscle in the Laocoon for months together, than by following the modern plan of making pretty busts & petty figures, that have not a particle of the philosophy of the art, or the sensibilities of nature in them __ I am glad to find that you have been modelling the Ariadne & the Ajax these are works of the great school, & the gladiator a[t] the Capitol is another study of the utmost importance __

If you are in want of any little pecuniary assistance let me know; I will now give you the best assistance I can, by enclosing a few lines to Torwalsen; present them to him in my name, & I think he will be kind to you ____ Wishing you well, & confident that success depends upon resolution & labour I am Sir

C:H:&B:

PS You will hear with pleasure that the Palace is now nearly concluded, &, I flatter myself, is not without in [? art] __

Note: The cover is addressed 'To / M^r Patric Parke / Sculptor from Scotland / Rome / Hamilton & Brandon' and is also inscribed 'de la part de Mess^{rs}., Torlonia' and 'Hamilton / 32' (i.e. Hamilton 1832).

Patric Park to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Rome, 18 August 1832 (HA, Bundle 1001)

To His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

& Brandon &^c &^c &^c –

My Lord Duke;

Urged by my situation and encouraged by the generous attention Your Grace has ever manifested to me, I have at last resolved after much hesitation to expose my present and future prospects, with a request for a favour which notwithstanding the goodness of heart I have so often experienced to be characteristic of Your Grace, I am afraid may be considered as unwarrantable and presuming; but trusting to a calm consideration of the case, I shall, as concisely as possible, without further preamble state the nature of the request which originates the present honor I do myself in addressing Your Grace, hoping that whatever may be the result, the misfortune of incurring the displeasure of the Duke of Hamilton may be spared me, deeply feeling as I do, the undeserved kindness and my own want of ability ever sufficiently to express my sense of it..

My Lord Duke, after nearly a years residence in Rome, notwithstanding divers obstacles, I feel conscious of much improvement; the pleasure arising from such a feeling is completely annihilated by the near prospect of my departure from a place, where from my poverty it will be impossible for me to pursue my studies; I now see with anguish after having struggled through the subordinate drudgery of my profession, and got a clear perception of all that I required to make me an artist, the delicious banquet of study and improvement about to be snatched from my lips, by the force of stern necessity and all my present and I fear future improvement destroyed in the bud.

Since Your Grace procured me admittance to the Studio of Thorwaldson, I have modelled the Mercury and am nearly finished with the fighting Gladiator half size, and have conceived, and in part, sketched a Group of two figures, which from the originality of the action, and my desire to study form intimately, so as to produce a work that would do me honour, should occupy me two years - at least; the delight

which the idea of such a work inspired me, the incalculable benefit to be derived by me during that period, and the knowledge of the utter inability of my exhausted resources supplying me with the means of following up so splendid a plan, has urged me in my despondence, to solicit the assistance of Your Grace, in the following manner; if, My Lord Duke, your Grace in your kindness would advance me by way of Loan, the sum of £200 for my education for two years, to be repaid by me into the hands of your Grace's man of business when by the produce of my profession I shall be able to do so, and till it is paid the Group shall be the property of Your Grace. the sum not being in itself overwhelming, and the expectation which one may naturally expect of getting employment, together with a due sense of such generosity in Your Grace, all would conspire to enable me by oeconomy and resolution to discharge so pious a debt._ My Lord Duke I conjure Your Grace to pardon me thus occupying your attention with the cares and sorrows of one so humble as myself, and who deeply grieves he should be obliged to trespass on Your Grace's feelings as he has done. _ whether the result of this letter be favourable or unfavourable; thus much I beg leave to assure Your Grace, that thro' life I never can forget the noble conduct of the Duke of Hamilton; and, that nothing beyond the common lot of humanity, may ever visit Your Grace and noble family _ is the honest aspiration of

My Lord Duke

Your Graces

much obliged

and devoted Sev^t.

Patric Park _

Rome August 18th 1832.

No 16 Via Gregoriana -

Rome _

Patric Park to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Rome, 18 October 1832 (HA, Bundle 1001)

To His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton,

and Brandon &^c &^c &^c

My Lord Duke,

Deeply grieved ever to have given trouble to a nobleman whom I reverence and love so deeply as I do your Grace, and to please and satisfy whom I would consider no sacrifice of my personal comfort too great; Conceive My Lord Duke how much I feel on the present occasion, in again calling your attention to the affairs of so humble an individual as myself, and who placed at a distance has no claim what ever on the sympathy of Your Grace except such as proceed from the experience of a benevolence so great as to have noticed me, and which I feel assured would rejoice in the prospect of my success;- if your Grace knew how my heart swells at the very thought of annoying you my kindest friend with a detail of my professional embarrassments, your Grace would (as somehow I feel assured you will) pardon an intrusion dictated only by the sternest necessity. __

The thought is agony to me to think I have offended your Grace by the request of a pecuniary loan in order to complete my studies here, which formed the subject of the last letter I did myself the honour to address to Your Grace; earnestly I intreat you My Lord Duke, to beleive such request proceeded from the most honourable motives, without money, without employment, and my own resources exhausted, I saw no hopes of improving myself so as to become a credit to my country, or a satisfaction to Your Grace. &. I am willing to enter life with the burthen of debt on my head rather than keeping clear of such difficulties, I should become only a mediocre artist than which nothing can be more contemptible.- Should Your Grace vouchsafe to grant it, I feel confident of very soon repaying the debt though I cherish the obligation to my dying hour and under Gods blessing becoming an artist gratefully acknowledge Your Grace as the Maecenas of my happiness.

My Lord Duke think of me, and pity the state I am in, and whatever is to be my fate may I intreat Your Grace speedily to let me know it as my money almost

spent adds every hour to my difficulties, and the hideous state of uncertainty I am in unfits me for my studies – under so great an obligation from Your Grace my honour, my sensibilities, my every power of body and mind would be excited to the attainment of the approbation of the Duke of Hamilton. ____

With feelings unchangeable, grateful, and lasting, and humbly wishing Your Grace and noble family every blessing incidental to humanity, I shall ever as at present remain. and enjoy the high honour of subscribing myself.

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's

Most obliged

Devoted Humble Serv^t

Patric Park

Rome Oct^r 18th 1832

James Gillespie Graham to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 14 August 1833 (HA, Bundle 1962)

Edin^r 14th Aug^t 1833

My dear friend

[...] I saw the Duke & had a long conversation with him regarding Park, who is struggling on at Rome _ but he is grappling with a Work, in which is he cheered on by the great Thorswalsten _ & in a short time I have no doubt he will be beyond the pecuniary difficulties with which the poor fellow has been visited.

[...]

My dear friend

Yours most Sincerely

Jas: Gillespie Graham

Patric Park to Robert Brown, undated but postmarked 5 December 1833 (HA, Bundle 1966)

To

Robert Brown Esq^r

Dear Sir,

Anxious respecting the arrangement for taking the portrait of his Grace, I must intreat pardon for intruding on you at present; but really I am so distressed at the possibility of His Grace leaving Hamilton before I can have the honour of fulfilling my intention, that I have at last resolved to remind you, who I am well assured feel an interest in my studies, of my anxiety; and intreating you to use your interest in prevailing on the Duke to acquiesce _

I again intreat you will pardon this intrusion and indeed I feel convinced you in your Kindness will consider this apology unnecessary

with much respect Beleive me

Dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t Serv^t

Patric Park

James Gillespie Graham to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 12 January 1834 (HA, Bundle 1969)

Edin^r 12 Jan^y

1834

My dear friend

[...]

I am glad that the Duke is employing Park, he is an Artist of very great promise. I am only sorry for his own sake that he has been obliged to return so soon from Rome. _ be so kind as give him the memorandum on the opposite side. _ & believe me

My Dear friend

Yours ever most Sincerely

Jas: Gillespie Graham

[...]

Draft letter from Robert Brown to the Countess of Lincoln (the 10th Duke of Hamilton's daughter), dated Hamilton, 19 January 1834 (HA, Bundle 1969)

Hamilton 19 Jan^y

1834.

My Lady

[...]

– Little Park who carved the Hamilton Arms on the Front of the Palace has returned from Rome and has just finished a most capital Bust of the Duke _ [...]

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Glasgow, 6 March 1834 (HA, Bundle 1971)

Glasgow March 6th 1834 _

To

Robert Browne Esq^{re}

Sir,

I intreat you will pardon my intruding on your valuable time, but I feel very anxious to have your advice so valuable from your intimate knowledge of public matters, how I will proceed in laying before the public the intention of erecting a public memorial to Hamilton, I am myself so ignorant in these matters, and D^r. Clelands appears so careless about it, unless you would stir him up; that I am actually obliged to refer to you for some information on the subject;— if I might intreat you to write to Kirkman Finlay Esq^{re} but of course you know how to order these things best. _ I have nearly finished the bust and I should now like the matter introduced to the Public allow me to suggest if Lord Belhaven would put down his name however small the sum it might add to the “eclat” of the thing _

I was deeply grieved to hear from M^r Gillespie this morning that he had become the victim to one whom he characterises “a heartless villain”, and by whom he writes he is ruined, God knows how sincerely I am affected by that excellent mans misfortune, and I as sincerely hope it may be less sweeping than he anticipates _

I again intreat you will pardon my occupying so much of your valuable time and hoping your health continues as good as when I enjoyed the pleasure of seeing you last, with the most profound esteem and respect I have the honour to Remain

Sir

Your most oblig^d Sert

Patric Park

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Glasgow, 7 April 1834 (HA, Bundle 1972)

Glasgow April 7th 1834 _

To Robert Brown Esq _

&^c &^c –

Sir,

Having seen D^r Cleland to=day relative to Hamilton [? =]
Bust, and having mentioned to him what indeed he acknowledged the Duke to have
informed him, that His Grace would subscribe Ten Guineas for the purpose, it lies
with you my kind friend by simply writing a few lines to the D^r to further the affair
very much, _ you know his character sufficiently to be aware that a few lines would
flatter him coming from you, more than any consideration coming from an individual
such as I am _ if you would feel inclined to honour the subscription with your name
please do me that favour by inclosing your own intentions in the same note _ I feel
very much, worthy Sir, to trouble you farther, but a hint to your friend M^r Finlay
might induce him to assist us in the beginning also, ~ in conclusion allow me hoping
you are in health with the utmost respect to intreat your compliance with my request
_ and beleive me nothing but the most urgent necessity would ever possess me to
annoy you even by the most [illegible word] shadow of a request attended with
personal inconvenience to you _ relying however on that goodness I have so often [?
proved] beleive me with the sincerest affection

Your most oblig^d

Obed^t Ser^t.

Patric Park

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Glasgow, 22 April 1834 (HA, Bundle 1972)

Glasgow April 22^d 1834

My Dear Sir,

Deeply distressed at the evident manner you assumed, when I announced the terms I expected for a marble bust, I can only lament that any thing should expose me to your censure, whose approbation I so much desire; to enter into a commercial statement of the expense and risk connected with the minute and laborious execution of such a work as I would wish to emanate from my hands, would (however satisfactory) only be to recapitulate what you are already aware of, that the value of the simple materials, alone, of painting and Sculpture are in comparison as two is to fifty, _ a picture may be finished in a week, a bust in 3 months . I state these facts only to justify myself from a charge of exorbitancy, when I say I expect 100 guis. for a marble bust, which is the current price in Edin^r. for a bust by artists whom I cannot allow to be my superiors without sacrificing my honesty, and self=respect, and the necessity of maintaining my equality must without further argument produce in your unbiased mind complete satisfaction -

I am entirely ignorant what His Grace intends to allow me for the two busts he so generously commissioned me with, whatever it is, I shall be satisfied if it covers my expenses, I left, and do leave myself quite in The Duke's hands, assured I shall not suffer by it, no one being better able to appreciate the just value of a work of art than His Grace, or no one more inclined to act liberally towards the fine arts _ I would in the meantime be infinitely obliged to you, to procure a grant of £80 to carry on to a conclusion the work at present commenced, and which I hope to have finished by the end of July _ the marble I was obliged to get from London and cost me £24 _ I go to Edin^r. on or before the 15th of May to take possession of my house and as I will have many demands made on me by my workmen &^c &^c an answer to this letter is earnestly and respectfully solicited as early as convenient with many thanks for your great kindness beleive me

Sir

Your most Obed^t Ser^t

Patric Park _

To

Robert Browne Esq^r }

Hamilton__ }

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Glasgow, 4 May 1834 (HA, Bundle 1973)

Glasgow May 4th. 1834 _

My Dear Sir,

In alluding to the letter I did myself the honor to address to you, I sincerely hope you will be able to give me an answer soon._ I go to Rothesay on Thursday first, where I remain for a fortnight, to model a bust of M^r Thom who I beleive you know. I have many things to settle in connection with the Busts at present executing in Edin^r particularly Workmens wages. so that you may conceive how very anxious I am to be able to meet these demands, and the forestallment of a little money at the present moment, will be productive of many advantages to me, in ways which I may never hope the like opportunity again. _ there being a Sale of materials for Sculpture to take place in a few days, where I may expect to supply myself at a very moderate rate with every thing I require, I write this diffusely, because I am certain you wish me well, and would rather assist than harrass me in my anxious endeavours to obtain an established fame; fondly hoping then my Dear M^r Brown to receive an answer as early previous to Thursday morning as may prove convenient with profound respect I subscribe myself

Sir

Your most obed^t Ser^t

Patric Park

To

Robert Browne Esq^{re} }
Hamilton }

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Rothesay, 10 May 1834 (HA, Bundle 1973)

Rothesay May 10th 1834 _

My Dear Sir,

Agitated by a thousand feelings, I in vain endeavour to explain the non receipt of an answer to the letters I did myself the honor to address you _ Can it be possible you are unwilling to forestall me part of the sum required for the execution of the Work commissioned by His Grace, I know well I have no right to expect it, except as a matter of kindness and liberality to a young man destitute of the requisite capital _ I did calculate upon that; and in consequence have come under engagements which unless you will generously anticipate a part of the price, will most completely damn my prospects, and deprive me of all the advantages I expected at this particular juncture to have reaped _ Do not Dear Sir imagine I am inordinate, to convince you of my moderation, I assure you honestly, I would be willing to oblige myself to repay every farthing of the money and make a present of the busts; rather than have my new fledged prospects so completely blighted as they will be unless your liberality should prevent such a catastrophe. _ for Godsake let me know your decision at once _ I was obliged to come here sooner than I expected, and as M^r Thoms time is limited I cannot leave this place, otherwise I would have seen you personally.

You must feel for me at this moment, and I am sure your kindness wont allow you to keep me longer in suspense anxiously expecting your answer _

I remain

Dear Sir

Your most obed^t Ser^t

Patric Park

address care of M^r Thom _

Rothesay Mil[? l] _

Draft letter from Robert Brown to Patric Park, dated Hamilton, 12 May 1834, on the second fold of Park's letter to Brown, dated 10 May 1834 (HA, Bundle 1973)

Hamilton 12 May 1834

Dear Sir

Having written to the Duke of Hamilton for authority for making you a farther advance of money I have now the satisfaction to say that you may draw on me or send a receipt for the sum of Fifty pounds in the mean time and I shall pay that sum to you. I am glad to hear that you have got M^r Nevins Bust.

I am & RB

John Bennet to Robert Brown, dated Hamilton, 1 June 1834 (HA, Bundle 1974)

Hamilton 1 June 1834

Dear Sir

[...] M^r Patrick Park has drawn upon you through the Commercial Bank for £50 and if you are detained at M^r Yule's you may probably advise me if I should retire the dft.

I am very respectfully

Dear Sir

Yours faithfully

John Bennet

Robert Brown Esqr

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 8 June 1834 (HA, Bundle 1974)

Edin^r June 8th 1834 _

My Dear Sir,

I would long ere this have acknowledged your last kind letter, but I have been so tossed about and really so busy for these three weeks I have been unable to command so much time as discharge my pleasant duty to you _ and therefore I feel you will excuse me _ I write in order to let you know I have entered into my Chambers in Edin^r and would feel very much obliged if you would desire any of your friends and acquaintances who might relish it to call and see your bust which I am at present engaged on. I have a fine piece of marble which is highly satisfactory. I was more unfortunate in the other block which turned out bad after it was begun. I have commenced on another. I take the liberty to transmit my card to you and fondly hoping your health is good with affectionate esteem _

My Dear Sir

I am Your most obe^d Ser^t _

Patric Park

To

Robert Browne Esqr-}

Hamilton_____ }

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 17 August 1834 (HA, Bundle 1977)

Edin^f Aug^t 17th 1834 _

To

Robert Brown Esq^{re}

My Dear Sir,

You will excuse me I hope in troubling you with this letter, and if what I suggest be impracticable or unwise you will I am sure judge me charitably; however it seems to me to be a very probable opportunity to gain a little advantage to me, and at the same time, a very likely manner to honour Cleland to dedicate a small part of the sum collected to a bust or other public testimonial _ My Dear Sir I dont conceive it necessary to remind you, As I am well aware your kindness in furthering my prospects needs no [? spew], but I presume to mention it only as a salve to my own mind that I have left no stone unturned that can possibly get me business; _ beleive me My Dear M^r Brown in writing thus to you, I merely wish if you could throw any advantage into my hand by that weight of character you possess among your Contemporaries that I might have so influential a voice raised in my behalf _

With the most respectful esteem. and leaving my Suit to your superior judgement I beg to subscribe myself

My Dear Sir

Your Most Obed^t

Hum^{ble} Sert

Patric Park

I have taken the liberty to write to the Duke telling him I had finished your bust, and that I was pretty far advanced with that of his Grace. M^r Brown I trust my Cause in your hands _

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 2 September 1834 (HA, Bundle 1977)

Edin^r Sep^t. 2^d. 1834

My Dear Sir,

My Mother having authorised me to borrow money on security of the property she has in Hamilton, I take the liberty to apply to you either for your advice on the Subject, or possibly for your entering into a transaction with me if you considered the business advantageous. my mother is justly afraid of the dreadful expenses attend-ant on such a transaction, often swallowing up a moeity of the whole, if therefore you would not feel inclined to meddle in this affair, you might probably yield me your advice as how to borrow £200 on the property in a manner to cause as little expense as possible, the property in question yields near £30 per annum two thirds of which belongs to my mother _ and it pays very regularly _ I must say I should like very much if you would consider the matter and let me know your decision, or at the least favour me with your advice ____

I would feel obliged if you would inform me when His Grace comes to town as I should wish him very much to see the Bust which is nearly finished _ expecting an answer to this communication I have the honor to remain

My Dear Sir

Your Most oblig^d

Hum^{bl} Serv^t

Patric Park

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 20 September 1834 (HA, Bundle 1977)

Edin^t Sept^t 20th 1834 _

My Dear Sir

I need scarcely say how much gratified I was on receiving your letter after having long since made up my mind to be disappointed, and for which injustice I sincerely ask pardon _ I have to thank you for your exertions in the business I mentioned to you,- and I assure you nothing but the speedy Conclusion of such, can save me from much embarrassment and discomfort, the want of money delaying and retarding my works.. Assist me in this dilemma My Dear Sir, with your advice and influence, and I cannot pronounce how much good you may do _

I have also to thank you for your kind intentions with regard to Cleland, from what I have mentioned before you may Conceive with what pleasure I shall receive such a Commission _

I have seen His Grace but he has not Called to see my Studio yet, I wish you was here to give me your influence, I should certainly wish it known among the Dukes friends and who might thereby Come and see the portrait which would be one means of becoming known _

Hoping your health to be completely reestablished and which may it long Continue with respect and esteem I Remain

My Dear Sir

Your very Obed^t Serv^t

Patric Park

N.B. With your leave Sir, I will direct my brother who is in Glasgow, to wait on you and so probably facilitate any scheme you may contemplate for me _

Yours &^c

P.P. _

To

Robert Browne Esq^{re}

Hamilton _

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 31 October 1834 (HA, Bundle 1978)

Edin^r. October 31st 1834 _

My Dear Sir

With the recollection of your former kindness to me while at Hamilton, I assure myself of receiving at least your valued Consideration for a few moments _

I am particularly anxious to understand fully whether I am likely to receive a Commission for a bust to M^r Hamilton or of D^r Cleland _ the reason why I ask you is, I am in terms for a block of marble at present and as it is three times larger than I have occasion for, I would purchase it more cheerfully had I any prospect of being soon employed _ I have one bust to do at present and unable to find a block in Scotland good and at the same time no larger than I require, I am forced to purchase a piece much larger than I require, and as it is an awful expense I would like to have some sort of security that I dont run myself aground _ You will excuse me Dear M^r Browne if I therefore request your candid opinion regarding these two busts, with the high influence you possess and the wish His Grace expressed to see it done, I feel confident at this moment you by merely moving it to M^r Finlay and others of your friends could insure the getting up of a Subscription of £100 for that purpose. and you have little idea how much real good such assistance from you would do me _

I am engaged upon a large Statue at present, I am entailing fearful expenses, and I look with some confidence to your benevolent cooperation [to] getting known _ if I might suggest your influencing the Duke to come and see my Studio, and also the many friends you have here _ much much good might be the result _ M^r Gillespie wishes much to have a cast of your bust and many of your friends have expressed the same wish, I can do nothing without your permission and that of His Grace, I would give them at a guinea a piece if such permission could be gained and a sufficient number of Subscribers to cover my expense _

May I hope My Dear Sir to hear soon from you, my anxiety at this moment is indeed great. With affection _

I remain

Your most Obed^t

Patric Park

David Watson to Robert Brown, dated Glasgow, 15 November 1834 (HA, Bundle 1979)

Glasgow

54 Virginia Street

Nov^r. 15. 1834

Sir,

I beg to inform you that the Committee appointed to obtain Subscriptions for a Testimonial to D^r. Cleland are now Collecting the money, and receipts are with me for the sum The Duke of Hamilton honored the Committee with his name for, £100._ _ also that of your own £5.5/. _ which may be paid at your Convenience. _

I Remain, Most Respectfully

Sir

Your Very Obedient Servant

p.p. John Smith [? Yget]. Treasurer

David Watson. _

Robert Brown Esq^r.

&^c,, &^c,, &^c,,

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 29 November 1834 (HA, Bundle 1979)

Edin^r November 29th 1834 ==

My Dear Sir,

I would have acknowledged by M^r Henderson, your Communication; but he wished me to write to you which I now do tho' sorry you should receive so much trouble.

Since opening this business with you, my urgencies being pressing a friend advanced £140 on a bill at 6 months date, with the tacit assurance of the security of the Hamilton property, should the Gentleman you allude to, be willing to advance £250 on it, thereby furnishing me with means to pay the bill, I am willing to conclude the transaction but before finally closing, I must know the amount of Writers charges &^c &^c _

My Dear Sir, allow me now a few moments kind attention, while I disclose to you how seriously I am placed at present – engaged with a large work, and other things which I am modelling for the purpose of exhibiting before I can derive any advantage from it the outlay is immense, and what with workmens wages I am entailing fearful obligations, and unless I either get this business settled, or orders equivalent really I am undone, for I have no other earthly means to rescue me _ My Dear Sir do not you desert me in this dilemma, now that the Duke is in Scotland, assist me with your powerful interest in procuring either Hamiltons or D^r. Clelands bust, and ah do not delay if you really will prove my friend, as expedition is of such vast importance to one who is at his last shilling – do promise to do it your influence would carry it through at once, and I assure you will rescue me from an anxiety which is destroying me, having become the most nervous miserable alive _ this is the critical moment with me and I somehow flatter myself I shall not want your sympathy or support in overcoming it _

You will forgive this continued solicitude God knows t'is only too sorry I am to annoy you in any way, tho' your former goodness does not justify me in supposing you will consider it so – I intreat you My Dear Sir not to keep me in suspense you are the only hope I have in existence and I assure you I will count every anxious hour till I hear from you and God grant it may be favourable

With profound respect I have the honor to remain –

My Dear Sir

Your most oblig^d Obed^t Ser^t

Patric Park

To

Robert Browne Esq^{re}

Hamilton _

Alexander Handyside Ritchie to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Musselburgh, 3 January 1835 (HA, C4/756)

M^r. Ritchie presents most grateful respects to his Grace the Duke of Hamilton and will be most happy to undertake the marble Bust of Lady Lincoln.

M^r. R. has a very good Cast of her Ladyship in his possession and will set about the work instantly. He has also a block of white marble admirably adapted for the purpose. M^r. R. expects to have it finished in the course of March _ and will have it sent to Hamilton Palace, or wherever his Grace directs without delay.

Musselburgh

3rd January 1835.

Diary of the 4th Duke of Newcastle, under 22 January and 1 February 1835 (University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Ne 2F 5/1, pp.7 and 9)

[22 January 1835]

An artist of the name of Park a Scotchman is modelling my Bust for the Duke of Hamilton who means to have it & one of Lincoln executed in marble _ both promise to be very like _ Park is a young man who was a mason at Hamilton & has been brought forward by the D. of H. who sent him to Italy _ Park possesses, genius, judgment, taste & good sense _ his eye is extraordinarily accurate & acute _

[1 February 1835]

My house steward & the artist Parke, very gallantly took two poachers this morning who had been shooting close to the house about ½ past 6 this morning _ The men were taken with each their gun & 3 hen pheasants.

Note: Park was making the models for the busts while the Duke of Hamilton was staying at Clumber. On 28 January Newcastle recorded: 'The Duke & Dss of Hamilton left us for London today they are gone suddenly on account of Susan's illness' (i.e. the illness of their daughter, Susan, the wife of Newcastle's son, Lord Lincoln): see *ibid.*, p.8.

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Clumber, 13 February 1835 (HA, Bundle 1982)

Clumber Feb^y 13th 1835

My Dear Sir .

You will excuse my Continued correspondence afraid as I am lest my two former letters must have miscarried.

I am detained here for want of the money I was authorised by the Duke to request you to send, having a workman from Edin^r to pay also _ I have expected daily an answer to my letters, and in my distress I again address you requesting an answer by return of post especially as I might have had the money from the Duke but he wished me rather to send to you which I accordingly have done _

I have the pleasure to inform you I have modelled young Lord Clinton thereby doing three generations _

Hoping you are well and earnestly requesting attention to my request

I have the honor to be _

Sir

Your Most Obed^t Ser^t

£20 I will require at this moment}

Patric Park

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 15 April 1835 (HA, Bundle 1983)

Edin^f April 15th 1835

My Dear Sir

Having nearly completed my preparation for departure, with the sole exception of my money matters; and as I feel distressed at remaining here any longer, when it would be of so much more importance being in London; I hope you will pardon an anxiety which forces me to enquire how much money I may expect from the goodness of His Grace _ I feel as if every moment now I remain here is loss to me _

I did myself the honor of writing a letter to His Grace in which after stating the prospects & &^c I ventured to ask if he would give me in loan £300 to set me afoot in London. Had I only that sum at present, I would be able to repay it in two Years – so confident do I feel _

Would you be kind enough My Dear Sir to let me know when I may expect to hear my fate _ in a business of so much importance to me as this I hope you will not regret wasting a few moments in letting me know as I am quite unwell from suspense.

With the hope that you are still well . with respect & esteem

I am

My Dear Sir

Your Devote^d Ser^t

Patric Park

10 Blenheim Place

Patric Park to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, undated but apparently written in early October 1835 (HA, Bundle 1002)

To His Grace The
Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

&^c—&^c.—&.

My Lord Duke.

To Your Grace, do I owe all the happiness which now agitates me; I have this moment received through The Duke of Newcastle, a commission to do a Statue of M^r. Sadler late M.P. for Leeds, a public work _ My Lord Duke now I hope to do something to justify Your Graces distinguished benevolence, & Confidence;- I feel so happy I can hardly hold my pen to perform the grateful task of informing Your Grace, of my good fortune of the goodness of the Duke of Newcastle, and my devotion and love of Your Grace _

Pardon me my Lord if I write incoherently, Your Grace's goodness of heart will bear with an infirmity brought on by The Duke of Hamilton to whom I owe all _

My Lord Duke I fondly hope Your Grace's health is completely reestablished and invoking every happiness on Your Grace, and the amiable and noble members of Your illustrious house

with the most refined feelings of delight, and the most grateful and respectful esteem _

I am

My Lord Duke _

Your Graces

Most Oblig^[?g]

Humb^{le}. Serv^t

Patric Park

29 [? Cli]pstone Street

Fitzroy Square _

Note: Park's address was probably 29 Clipstone Street, which lies to the south of Fitzroy Square.

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Patric Park, dated Eglinton Castle, 14 October [1835]
(NLS, Acc. 10098/1, 8)

Eglinton Castle

Oct: 14 –

Sir _ I have just received your letter at this place in my way to Hamilton Palace _ It gives me great pleasure to learn that you have recieved an order, thro His Grace of Newcastle, for a statue of M^r: Sadler _ You will I am confident exert yourself, so as to establish a reputation: recollect this is the moment, at the outset of life, when you will more or less take your station amongst your brother artists; & you must go forward or you will fall backward _ Never neglect holding before you the works of the antient masters, & with such models, and your own assiduity & talent you cannot fail — I wish you every success, and am your very good friend &^c &c

CH&B

M^r: P= Park

Note: The back is annotated ‘Hamilton / 35’ (i.e. Hamilton 1835).

The Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale to Patric Park, dated Ashton Hall, 17 December 1835 (NLS, Acc. 10098/1, 10)

Ashton Hall

Dec^r. 17. 1835.

Dear Sir

I am glad to hear that the bust of my little boy is completed: _ I shall be in London on the 4th. February and on any day after that date I shall be glad if you will send it to N^o. 25. Park Lane: _ until then I think it will be safer in your studio. _

Nothing can be more gratifying than the terms in which you speak of the patronage afforded to you by my Father & the Duke of Hamilton; _ I hope that it may be attended with as much benefit to you as I am sure they desire. _

I shall take an early opportunity after my arrival in London of paying a visit to your Studio. _

I remain

Yours

Lincoln

Diary of the 4th Duke of Newcastle, under 19 April 1836 (University of Nottingham, Manuscripts and Special Collections, Ne 2F 5/1, p.109)

Went to see Parke's statue of Sadler which is just cast into plaster _ I suggested some alterations which I think will improve it, if they succeed, I really think that it will be as good a work as any one would produce & will reflect the highest credit on so young an artist _

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Patric Park, dated Place Vendôme, [Paris,] 24 July 1836 (NLS, Acc. 10098/1, 11)

Place Vendome

July 24 = 1836 _

Sir

In reply to your letter, I have to inform you, that, if you think it it [sic] will be of any use to you to exhibit at Glasgow the busts you have executed for me, you are at liberty to send them there; provided they are entrusted to safe hands _

I am glad to learn that you have entered into the competition for the intended bust of S^t W^m Scott for Edenbro _ I shall shortly be in London, when I will call & give you my opinion of your work _

Many thanks for your enquiries concerning my eyes – They are better _
I wish you every success; but recollect, nothing will do, but labour & study; and you must never, either play with your pencil or your chessel; everything must be reasoned _

I am &^c & _

CH&B

M^r P^r Park _

Patric Park to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 1[?]0th October 1836 (HA, Bundle 1002)

London Oct^r. 1[?]0th 1836

To

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

&—&—&—&

My Lord Duke,

I do myself the high honor of informing Your Grace of my change of residence having obtained a very good studio, and where I am now busily engaged with my statue, I cannot help informing Your Grace I am pleasing myself in this work, my highest ambition is to produce a work which will do honor to the great goodness of The Duke of Newcastle and please and gratify the disinterested and generous heart of my Gracious Lord The Duke of Hamilton of whose virtues I never think, without the most grateful admiration and love.

With deep gratitude and most profound respect

I am

My Lord Duke

Your Graces

Most oblig^{ed}

Devoted Serv^t

Patric Park

George St^t. no 8 }
 Euston Square}

Patric Park to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 9 January 1837 (HA, Bundle 6253)

To

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon,

&^c — & — & —

My Lord Duke,

With feelings of the most opposing nature, I once more venture to the presence of Your Grace, in my unusual character a suppliant _ If Your Grace refuses my petition, I shall bow in silence to a fate merited I dread by presumption _

I at once hope for pardon, and at the same moment prefer my request; which is, to solicit of Your Graces goodness the assistance of a small sum of money as a loan; and which I shall be in a condition to repay this year _

My Lord Duke, Of the money I have received during two years, through the entire goodness of Your Grace; I have been careful; frugal in every thing, except procuring means of improvement, of which, I hope the three works I am finishing at present, will afford proofs; and satisfy Your Grace that the Duke of Hamiltons distinguished notice has not been unmerited; to deserve which, my ambition, & to be the first Sculptor in England is great _ I may mention to Your Grace my money has not been altogether spent on self advantage, the duties of a son and brother have been discharged to the full extent of what I possessed _

My Lord Duke _ I have to receive a sum from Leeds for Sadler's statue _ the committee have been liberal & I cannot hope to receive the balance, till the statue is fixed, which will not be, till after the exhibition this summer _

If your Grace, would place so much confidence in me, as to grant me as a loan One hundred pounds to keep me up, till after the Exhibition where if I do not sell my figure of the "Sphaerobolos", I have great hopes both from it and my groupe of "Theseus & Cacus"; which improved from Your Graces criticism, will appear in a few days in the British Institution _ a generous advance of so much would be of much service to me at this moment _ and would be repaid during this year _

The committee on Sir W^r. Scotts mon^t have come to no decision as yet, and my anxiety is great _ I commence a model to compete for the Duke of Wellington's Statue _

My Lord Duke, I throw myself entirely, on Your Grace's noble and generous heart, for pardoning this I fear unwarranted intrusion; whether my petition is successful or the reverse, I while I live, will venerate the exalted virtue, and benevolence of the excellent Duke of Hamilton _

With Gratitude

With profound respect

I am

My Lord Duke

Your Graces

Devoted & Grateful Serv^t

Patric Park

. . . .

George St^t. no 8

Euston Square

London Jan^y. 9th. 37

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated London, 17 January 1837 (HA, Bundle 6253)

London Jan^y 17th 1837 _

To

Robert Browne Esq^{re}

My Dear Sir,

I cannot sufficiently express how gratefully I received your very kind letter, nor sufficiently admire the goodness and prompt benevolence of His excellent Grace, for I must inform you My Dear Sir, I did take the liberty of soliciting by a letter last week, the favour of a loan of One hundred pounds from the Duke, to keep me going till my statue of Sadler was finished; when I would receive the balance from the committee and could then repay the money to His Grace; I beleive I mentioned to the Duke, I felt unwilling to ask more money at present from the gentlemen at Leeds, as they have been very liberal, and I could receive it more satisfactorily when my engagement to them was concluded, _ my work could be brought to a conclusion very soon, I feel if I can improve it by constantly studying for three or four months longer, I shall consult my own reputation, and justify the confidence placed in my judgement, by those noble gentlemen who have patronized me _

The acc^t. for Sculpture executed to His Grace, was closed; I having received at different times ~~from yourself £180 One Hundred & Eighty Pounds~~; I correct myself to say, One hundred from you, besides & my travelling expenses and expenses of bringing a moulder from Edin^f, and the remaining £80 was generously sent to me last winter about this time, by the Duke _ & when I acknowledged the receipt of it, my acc^t I considered was more than discharged, as I think the Duke in paying me, consulted his own nobility more than my inadequate merit _

I wished His Grace to lend me the sum I mention, I wish it still, and if granted, my gratitude cannot be increased, except you consider my mind and genius must increase in a just ratio to the Dukes goodness _

My Dear Sir, for your own kindness, I offer my grateful thanks, and when I make myself the first sculptor of the day I w[ill] be in a more fitting situation to do so [part of letter missing] I sincerely hope His Graces enjoys good health, and I beg you Sir to lay my reverential obeisance before my noble benefactor _

Should this letter appear hurried, excuse me; my mind is ill at ease, having just heard my dear Mother is very seriously ill, should she continue worse, I must to Scotland; expecting your answer Sir I say God bless you

and remain Ever Your Most Obed^t Serv^t

Patric Park

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated London, 27 January 1837 (HA, Bundle 6253)

London Jan^y 27th 37 _

My Dear Sir,

I did myself the honor of answering your last kind letter, and I now take the liberty of your goodness to request if you consider my petition to the Duke will be successful or not, in either case might I ask you My Dear Sir to releive my suspense _ as I am in so immediate want of money that in case of my disappointment, I must however unpleasant solicit the committee at Leeds for a supply _ with all the torture of uncertainty whether they will grant it to me till the statue is placed _

Pardon me that I take this liberty and Beleive me My Dear Sir

Ever Yours Most Sincerely

Patric Park

• • • •

George St^t. no 8 }

Eustin Square }

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Portman Square, London, 25 February 1837 (HA, C4/122)

[...]

Parke the sculptor came to me this morning, & I told him that I had agreed with you to give him to accompt £50 _ He is to write to you; I gave him a frank for tuesday next; and as I have engaged him to do my black marble figures to support the passage of the principal stair=case, he is to write to Ramsay & Hamilton, to obtain the precise highth that the figures will require to be _ I told him six feet; but there may be a difference of an inch, which is unknown to me ____

[...]

Patric Park to Robert Brown, undated but annotated 28 February 1837 on the reverse
(HA, C4/123/1)

My Dear Sir,

By order of His Grace I have been empowered to execute two black
Marble demi statues of Giants to support part of the Great Staircase in Hamilton
Palace, I shall try to produce works worthy of the Duke and myself, _

I commence immediately, and the Duke desired me to write to you for £50 to
acc^t, which I hope you will find it convenient to send by return of Post _

I enclose a note to M^r. Ramsay, also by the Dukes order, in case of any
mistake, that M^r. Ramsay will furnish me with the exact height from the floor to the
under part of the landing above that my work may be perfectly correct _

I hope you enjoy good health and beleive that with lively feelings of respect
and esteem

I am

My Dear Sir

Your most faithful Serv^t

Patric Park

George St^t. No 8 }
Euston Square }

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated London, 6 March 1837 (HA, C4/123/2)

London March 6th 37..

To

Robert Brown Esq^{re}

& & –

Sir,

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Fifty Pounds
[abbreviation for Sterling] to account of Sculpture executing by me for His Grace the
Duke of Hamilton _

I have to thank you for your kindness in answering my letter so promptly, I
will communicate with M^r. Hamilton as the Duke has so expressed himself since I
last wrote you _ as I wish to get on with my models immediately _

I sincerely hope you are well and that such may long continue I as sincerely
hope _

I am with much respect

Sir

Your most faithful Serv^t

Patric Park

George St^t no 8

Euston Square

The 10th Duke of Hamilton to Robert Brown, dated Paris, 19 June, but references to the Duke's daughter and her illness indicate the letter was written on 19 June 1837 (HA, C4/118)

[...]

In reply to yours of the 14 _ To M^r: Park I never gave any commission further than trusting to him
 ^ a small model after which, I told him, he should make me two large statues, as
 & this I have not yet done
soon as I had fixed upon the marble of which they were to be made ^ = The model
 & sent from
 that I had ordered ^ hence, I trusted to his hands, but never gave him any ~~other~~
 to make me a new one =
 commission ^ not having definitely settled anything in my own mind sufficiently to
 to be altered
 order the work ^ ___ Upon these preliminaries he takes upon himself, without my
authority, to go to Scotland & to consult with (I beleive) M^r: Hamilton, & what he
 has done I know not _ I wrote [word crossed out] to you to inform you, that I had
 never sent him to Scotland & that I had nothing to do with his journey Nor have I
 new
 anything to do with the ^ model he has chosen to commence; he has my old one,
 when I chuse to commence the work, and therefore I do not hold myself responsible
 for anything that he has done; & I am not prepared to order anything to be done; nor
 am I aware that he has any demand upon me _ If he has assumed to himself the
 authority of doing work for me that I never ordered, he cannot complain of my
 objecting to pay for it _

[...]

I should have observed to you, when speaking of Parke, that he is
 unreasonable; he is always applying to me for assistance, & it really is not in my
 power to be always making debts to assist others misfortunes. _ He must look else
 where for support ___

[...]

Note: Brackets have been added in pencil after ‘of the 14 _’, ‘to be altered _’, ‘journey’, and the last line of the first paragraph.

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated London, 18 August 1838 (HA, Bundle 6271)

London Aug^t. 18th 38 _

My Dear Sir _

I have not heard from you, or of you for so long a time. that I am afraid you have quite forgotten me _ allow me to place myself before you by the following request for your assistance. _

I perceive a subscription in progress for a statue to Campbell of Blythswood, Could you shove in an oar in my favor, with any of the subscribers, among whom I perceive the Earls of Eglintoun & Glasgow _ Lord Kelburne _ James Ewing Esq^t M^r. Spiers of [? Ederlie] _

I hope you will [the word not added above the line, with an insert x below, but then partly smudged over] take it not amiss, that I ask you for this favour. _ & I feel assured you would be happy to do me a good turn _

With much respect I am

My Dear Sir

Your Most Obd^t Ser^t

Patric Park

. . . .

George St^t., no 8 }
London University }

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated London, 14 March 1839 (HA, C4/121)

London March 14th 1839 _

My Dear M^r. Brown _

I beg to trouble you with this letter, to request your influence in a matter, which I have much at heart _ & in which, your voice among many of your friends, would be all-powerful; I know your goodness of heart will excuse the trouble, if you can assist me in the object in view _

My brother, who is one of the best practical Surveyors in the country, and who has been under Brunel, and other Engineers; is at present unemployed, and seeing a report in a Glasgow paper, of proceedings relating to a Railway between Carlisle & Glasgow; and of which, your friend M^r. Monteith of Closeburn is an active director [dot at half height with dash above and dash below with dot in the middle] wishes to offer his services to the Engineer & directors. _

I have suggested to him that you might have the power, and inclination of recommending him, for employment on the Line:— through the medium of your many friends._

I have desired him to enclose in this packet, a list of the Surveys & Railways he has been on _ and leaving the consideration of it to you, to join in my request to you for your influence and recommendation _

I have at last turned the corner after a serious struggle, and have received a Commission to execute a Statue for Glasgow, of the late M^r. Tennant of S^t Rollox; which will be placed in The Cathedral, & be the first statue erected there, after our friend M^r. Gillespie shall have completed the alterations. _

I hope you enjoy good health which I also sincerely hope will long continue.

—

I beg you will kindly take the earliest opportunity consistent with convenience, of letting me know your intentions _ & beleive me with much respect

My Dear M^r Brown

Your faithful Serv^t

Patric Park
· ·
—

To

R. Brown Esq^r }
 &————& _ }

The ‘list’ referred to is still with Park’s letter and is indexed as C4/121/1. It reads:

I have been upon the Bristol & Exeter, The South Wales, & Taff Vale
Railways under M^r Brunel _ and on the Edinburgh & Glasgow original Survey by
M^r. Rastricke _ besides these I have been on one or two smaller lines and have had
altogether 11 years experience in Surveying & levelling

Robert Park

Patric Park to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 26 October 1840 (HA, C4/120/1)

George St^t. no 8

University College _

London Oct^r. 26th 1840.

To

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon K.G. .

&———&———&

My Lord Duke,

After much doubt and hesitation caused by the deep respect, and gratitude I owe Your Grace, for that early notice I have received,- I at last resolve to disclose my feelings honestly, that Your Grace may understand the cause of this letter, and the effect I would intreat Your Grace to assist in pro[?v or incorrectly written vid or cur]ing _

The fact of Your Grace having given me a commission to make a model of a large Terminal Statue, or Statues, for Hamilton Palace . and for which I received £50 to acc^t, and the fact of having never received more than the above sum, in addition to the great expenditure I was put to in premises, and to the heavy burthen I entailed on myself, and prospects, by bringing my whole family from Scotland, and which family I have to support entirely, on the strength of the commission given to me by Your Grace, has ground me to the dust, and after three years struggle, I find my difficulties increasing, and my creditors however lenient, cannot be expected to indulge that for ever._ I am therefore reduced to the alternative, of letting Your Grace know my true position, and of enquiring whether there is any prospect of these works being carried into execution, and if not, of soliciting from Your Grace's interest to procure me some employment, to enable me to keep my head above water, and prevent my creditors stepping into my shoes . pushing every thing they can lay hold of in my affairs, for their own interest, and advantage._ I did suffer severely from these unfortunate figures: a whole year of a house at a hundred pounds, and myself and family to provide for, without having a single commission to depend on,

but these statues . I assure Your Grace, that I have struggled for three years, rather than apply to Your Grace, but I am reduced to the position I have long dreaded, and I make known my misfortunes to Your Grace's sense of justice, & generosity of character, in the hope that some work may be procured, which will enable me to work myself clear.

There is a mon^t. going forward for Lord Durham. Would Your Grace give me an introduction to any of His Lordship's friends . Lord Grey or Lord Teasborough._ I am happy to inform Your Grace, I am much improved in my art . and I hope the works I am at present engaged on will bring me out this year ensuing . but in the meantime . I am not to be envied _

I beg Your Grace will pardon this intrusion which nothing but the presence of grief and misfortune could have induced and may I hope that Your Grace will feel justified from my circumstances and position as an artist to recommend me as I have mentioned _

With profound respect

I am

My Lord Duke

Your Graces

Most dutiful Ser^t

Patric Park

Note: The letter is annotated 'X saying that HG' above 'Grace having given me' in paragraph two and with quotation marks after 'Palace'. There is also a crossed out draft reply at the end of the letter, which reads: 'I am directed by the D to inform you the ~~D having given~~ he never gave you _____ what he did give you was, a small model ordering you to make a large one ~~similar to~~ in every way similar to it _ You took upon yourself to make a [word crossed out] thing of your own invention ~~and~~ quite different _ The Duke therefore declined & declines having anything to [two words crossed out] do with it _'

Patric Park to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 15 November 1840 (HA, C4/120/9)

George St^t. No 8

University College

London Nov^r. 15th./40.

My Lord Duke -

I do myself the honour of drawing Your Grace's attention to the subject of my last communication with Your Grace _

Under the pressure of my present circumstances. I beg Your Grace will inform me when there will be a prospect of my carrying into execution the commission given me by Your Grace three years & a half ago for the staircase at Hamilton Palace _ as I will then be enabled to act with decision in my relations with my creditors _

I beg your Grace will excuse me soliciting an early answer and with great respect I have the honour to remain

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's

Faithful Serv^t

Patric Park

To

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

& _____ &

The Duke has annotated the back of the letter: 'Park's letter Nov^r 15. – 1840. not any notice taken of it'.

Photocopy of letter from D. Smith to Robert Brown, dated Easton Park, 20 December 1840 (HA, Bundle 6319)

Easton Park 20th Dec., ^[?]] 1840

Dear Sir,

I received your letter of the 15th Inst respecting the Boxes containing the Busts and Shields. they are arrived, and I have unpacked them, and every thing quite safe, _ I was very much pleased to see Busts of His Grace and yourself. that of the Duke appears to have been done some time, but still a good likeness, but that of you surprised me for I never saw a more striking likeness in my life, _ [...]

Patric Park to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 18 May 1841 (HA, C4/120/2)

George St^t no 8

University College –

London - May 18th 1841 –

My Lord Duke -

I do myself the honour to inform your Grace - that the catastrophe (the possibility of which, I hinted at, in my last communication with Your Grace -) is now about to take place _ I must assign all my goods into the hands of my creditors _ and among other interests, the claim I have never put in force, for payment of a model &^c &- executed by Your Grace's order. is about to be delivered into their hands - I am sorry for it _ but that unfortunate circumstance, is the cause of my present misfortunes _ and the men to whom I owe money – are somewhat less delicate in feeling than I am _

I have considered it my duty to make this statement to Your Grace _ and subscribe myself -

My Lord Duke

Your Grace's

Most Obed^t Serv^t

Patric Park

To

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon K.G. -

&_____&_____&

Harrison & Dobree, Solicitors, to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 28 May 1841 (HA, C4/120/3)

22 Hart St: Bloomsbury

Sq:

28th: May 1841.

My lord Duke,

We are instructed to apply to your Grace, principally on the behalf of M^r Patric Parke's Creditors for payment of the amount of £250 due to him for executing a model for a Statue by your Grace's orders & as from the late letters sent by your Grace we observe that your Grace disputes the claim we will thank you to favor us with the name of your Solicitor to whom we may forward a writ for his undertaking

We have the honor to be

My Lord Duke

Your Graces obed^t Servants

Harrison & Dobree.

To His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

& Brandon

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton, 5 June 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.228)

Richard Sam^l White Esqr }
Solicitor }
N^o 11 Lincolns Inn fields }
London }

Hamilton 5 June 1841

My Dear Sir

A Claim has been made by Mess^{rs} Harrison & Dobell 22 Hart Street Bloomsbury square on behalf of the Creditors of M^r Patric Park Sculptor George's Street Euston square on the Duke of Hamilton for £250 And as His Grace means to dispute that claim he wishes to trust his case to you - and I suppose the first step will be for you to have a communication with the above firm and allow them to serve the writ on you for His Grace _ How soon you learn the nature of the Claim and the grounds on which M^r Park makes his charge if you write to me I will send you any remarks that may occur to His Grace or me on the same in order to enable you to make out His Grace's defence.

I annex a copy of Mess Harrison & Dobell's letter to the Duke Meantime

I am

& R. B.

Richard Samuel White, Solicitor, to Robert Brown, dated Lincolns Inn Fields, 8 June 1841 (HA, C4/120/4)

Rob^t. Brown Esq^r.

His Grace the Duke of Hamilton & Brandon's

Hamilton Palace, Scotland _

No. 11. Lincolns Inn Fields: 8th. June 1841.

My dear Sir,

You will not doubt my sincerity in expressing my thanks to His Grace the Duke of Hamilton for the Honor he does me in entrusting me with any part of his Business _ I have seen one of the firm of Harrison and Dobree as to the Claim of M^r. Park for £250. for the model of a Statue said to have been executed by His Grace's Orders, and am told that the figure was intended to support a Staircase at Hamilton, & that the Demand will be supported by letters received from the Duke authorizing M^r. Park to complete the model _ though whether the Work was to be executed in Bronze or in black marble was never determined upon _ & I learn that £40. was paid to M^r. Park on account _

I collect however that his Grace at some subsequent time took offence at M^r. Park's making a Journey to Scotland to take dimensions for the Work & wrote some letter which I presume was intended to discontinue the order _ & I shall feel obliged to you to furnish me with the details of the case & the letters & copies of letters which have passed concerning it to enable me to conduct the defence _ I have signified my readiness to accept the Writ & to appear upon it for his Grace _ & I remain, My dear Sir,

for Self & Son, Yours most sincerely,

Rich^d Sam^l. White _

[...]

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton, 14 June 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.232)

Rich^d Samuel White Esqr
Solicitor
11 Lincolns Inn fields
London

Hamilton 14 June 1841

My Dear Sir

On the 3^d of March 1837 I remitted Fifty pounds to M^r Park by the Duke of Hamiltons orders _ and having received a letter from M^r Park dated the 12th of June 1837 stating he was in want of more money, I sent a copy of that letter to the Duke then in Paris, which brought in return a letter from His Grace to me. On the receipt of which last, I wrote pretty fully to M^r Park, see copy of the letter enclosed dated 26 June 1837. This letter will shew you the Dukes understanding at the time as to the affair on which M^r Park now grounds his claim against His Grace _ I do not find in my possession copies of any letters, if there were such, which have passed directly betwixt the Duke and M^r Park in 1837, but if Park has any I think he will have produced them to the Agents who are now carrying on the suit against His Grace and they will likely produce them in the proceedings before the Court. Please write me if any thing occurs to you on this matter.

[...]

I am &
R. B.

Note: There is a draft of this letter in the Hamilton archive, under C4/120/5.

Richard Samuel White to Robert Brown, dated Lincolns Inn Fields, 22 June 1841
(HA, Bundle 1160)

ppd.

Robert Brown Esq. Hamilton, Scotland _

Nº.11. Lincolns Inn Fields: 22^d. June 1841.

My dear Sir,

Pray favor me with sufficient Instructions to advise with Counsel as to the mode of pleading in defence of M^r. Park's Action as speedily as possible, as you know we are very much limited in time in Actions at Common Law _ If you can give me a drawing or Explanation of the model which the Duke gave to M^r. Park to execute or attend to when further instructed by his Grace, it may naturally assist me _ and if you wish any particular Counsel to be retained I beg to have your directions _ Perhaps some of our Counsel already hold General Retainers for his Grace _ if so you will let me know who they are _ I hesitate at communicating with M^r. Rankin on that point, because it might not be wished that he should know of my being retained in the matter for his Grace _

When you can conveniently send me a draft for the Account furnished I shall feel obliged by your not forgetting me, as I wish to close that account with M^r. Carew as soon as possible _

I remain, My dear Sir, for Self & Son

Yours most faithfully,

Rich^d Sam^l. White _

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Hamilton, 25 June 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.236)

His Grace The Duke of }
Hamilton & Brandon K.G }
Hamilton Palace }

Hamilton 25 June 1841

My Lord Duke,

I will be happy if your Grace would write a few lines to M^r White authorising him to compromise the question with Parks Creditors should M^r White after reading the correspondence about it think that you will be unsuccessful in making a good defence to the Action

I have the honor to be

&^c &^c &

R. B.

P. S. Your Grace will please send me the letter to M^r White that I may get it copied into the Letter Book and then send it [illegible word] Post office R B

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton, 26 June 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.237)

Richard Sam ^l White Esqr	}	
Solicitor	}	
11 Lincolns Inn fields	}	Hamilton 26 th June 1841
London	}	

My Dear Sir

As you wish to have the correspondence with M^r Parke about the business to which his Creditors are making a Claim, I send you enclosed copies and excerpts of the letters which passed betwixt the Duke of Hamilton and myself and also those betwixt Parke and myself which bear upon the subject. I have none of the correspondence betwixt the Duke and Parke in 1837, but if any such exist in Parkes possession, he will naturally produce it, if favourable to his cause.

The Duke writes you himself on the subject and I presume his letter will go by the same post with this and I am

My Dear Sir

Your Servt R.B.

Hamilton Palace
June 26 1841

You will receive from M^r Brown copies of the correspondence concerning Parkes business _ If you find upon consideration that my case is not favourable, I had rather compromise the matter than have my name exposed in the publick papers. In regard to the fifty pounds advanced it was given by me out of kindness without knowing what had been doing, or whether or not he had commenced the work I had ordered altho I supposed that he had been copying the model as directed _ after I went to London in Spring 1837 and after he had got the fifty pounds I went to see what he had been doing. I found that he had been moulding a Clay figure of his own invention instead of making a fac simile of mine from which the marble Statues were to have been copied _ upon this disappointment I told him I would not proceed in continuing my orders he having by no means attended to them _ I never had a piece of marble nor could any have been procured for the work at that time had I wished it - you will however act as your prudence may dictate

The Scroll of this letter put up among correspondence about M^r Parkes business

1317

Richard Samuel White to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Lincolns Inn Fields, 30 June 1841 (HA, C4/120/8)

ppd

To His Grace the Duke of Hamilton & Brandon,
Hamilton Palace, Scotland _

No. 11. Lincolns Inn Fields; 30th. June 1841.

My Lord Duke,

I have the honor to acknowledge your Grace's favor of the 26th. Instant, & the receipt from M^r Brown of a Copy of Correspondence concerning M^r. Park's business _ I am not prepared as yet to form a fair opinion of your Case, as M^r. Park's attornies have not yet delivered any Declaration in the Action or particular of Demand _ I understand your Grace to have employed him to make a particular model _ & that you ordered £50. to be paid him on account, or to account for _ & I suppose that the model was of two figures, or Statues, which you intended to have executed in black marble _ & that some difficulty occurred in finding or fixing upon the marble _ but the Explanation on that point & the description of the original model do not appear on the Correspondence furnished _ If however M^r. Park deviated from your orders & substituted a model of his own I apprehend you have a good defence, if you disclaimed his work in due time _ & I consider M^r. Brown's letter of 19th. June 1837. was such a disclaimer . But whether £50. is a sufficient compensation for what M^r. Park did under your orders is a question that I cannot judge of without competent Evidence, and I apprehend he must support it by the testimony of some Artists, & that your Grace will have the opportunity of contradicting the proof by the Evidence of other competent persons _ If the model & the two Statues were different matters, for which there is in the letters some reason to be in doubt, I wish to be set right by a brief explanation of the facts _ as upon a true understanding of the Case must depend the due conduct of the defence _ In my letter to M^r. Brown of the 22^d. Inst: I have already asked for such explanation _ & also as to your having any particular Counsel devoted to you by General Retainer _ because if you have no such counsel at present it will be prudent to retain some eminent person to conduct your Case _ and as soon as a Declaration & particular of Demand are furnished, & I receive the explanations

necessary from your Grace or M^r. Brown, I shall feel it my duty to consult with a Pleader as to the character & sufficiency of your defence _

Should there be any particular Sculptors or artists whom your Grace should wish me to confer with on this subject you will of course give me a reference to them _ & the like as to any Persons who can prove the deficient execution of your orders for the original model _

If the Duchess can give me any Information readily perhaps your Grace will request her Grace to appoint me to receive her communication _ I congratulate you on the Convalescence of the Marquis _ & have the Honor to remain,

for Self & Son, Y^r. Grace's most faithful humble Servant,

Rich^d Sam^l. White _

Richard Samuel White to Robert Brown, dated Lincolns Inn Fields, 1 July 1841 (HA, Bundle 1160)

Robert Brown Esq. Hamilton, Scotland _ pp^d

N^o. 11 - Lincolns Inn Fields; 1st. July 1841.

My dear Sir,

The Duke of Hamilton ats Park.

The Declaration in the Action being delivered this morning I think it right to transmit you a Copy of it, as it professes to state the Case, & does seem to tally pretty well with the facts which may be collected from the copies of Letters & Correspondence I have received from you _ From this it should seem that the model & the two Statues were not distinct Orders, but that the former was only a part of and preliminary to executing the latter _ but if the Duke sent a model to M^r. Park I do not understand why M^r. Park had occasion to form a new, or corrected, model _ Pray however be as precise as possible in explanation for the Pleader _ who I think will be my old friend M^r. Blick, as I know he will bestow his best attention & mind to any thing I lay before him _ You will see that we have but 8 days to plead _ but I shall take out a Summons for a particular of Plaintiffs demand _ and if necessary get additional time to plead _ which will allow of your giving me proper & deliberate Instructions for the Plea _ I remain, My dear Sir;

for Self & Son, Y^{rs}. most faithfully,

Rich^d Sam^l White _

Copy of Declaration for the Case Patric Park versus the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated 1 July 1841 (HA, Bundle 1160)

In the Exchequer of Pleas.

The first day of July in the year of
our Lord 1841.

Surrey. towit.

Patric Park the Pltf in this suit by Geo. Marsh Harrison his Attorney complains of the Right Honble Alex^r Hamilton Duke of Hamilton having Privilege of Peerage the Deft in this Suit who has been summoned to ans^e the s^d Pltf, in an Action on Promises. For that whereas the Pltf. before & at the time of the making of the promise of the Deft, hereinaf^s next ment^d exercised the calling & profession of a Sculptor. And whereas the Deft before & at the time of making the s^d promise, towit, on the 20th day of February A.D. 1837. had engaged the Pltf. in the exercise of his s^d calling & profession to make & execute from & out of certain materials to be thereaf^s approved & determined on by the Deft. certain pieces of sculpture, towit, two Statues for the Deft. for reasonable reward to be paid by the Deft. to the Pltf. in that behalf. And thereupon heretofore to wit on the day & year afs^d in consön thereof & that the Plt. at the request of the Deft. had then promised the Deft to execute the s^d Statues for the Deft according to the s^d Engagement & to use due care skill & diligence in that behalf & to complete the same with all reasonable speed & dispatch whenever thereaft^r. the s^d materials sho^d be so approved & determined on as afs^d & he the Pltf sho^d have notice thereof he the Deft then promised the Pltf to retain & employ him the Pltf in & about the executⁿ of the s^d Statues & to pay the Pltf for the s^d execution thereof such reasonable reward as afores^d. And the Pltf avers that he confiding in the s^d promise of the Deft did afterwards, to wit, on the day & year afs^d incur divers great charges & expences in & about the preparing for the Executⁿ of the s^d Statues & making a model of the same such model being necessary for the proper execution of the s^d Statues & in and about the making certain necessary arrangements in that behalf & for completing the said Statues with all reasonable speed & dispatch whenever thereaf^s the s^d materials thereof sho^d be approved & determined on as afores^d & he the s^d Pltf have notice thereof & did then in making such preparations &

arrangements take & make divers journies & expend great labor time pains & trouble. Nevertheless the Pltf says, that although the Pltf hath always from the time of making the s^d. promise & engagement hitherto been & still is ready & willing to execute & complete the s^d Statues in pursuance of the s^d Engagement & to use due care skill & diligence in that behalf of all which s^d premises the Deft hath at all times from the time of making the s^d promise hitherto had notice although a reasonable time for determining on & approving of the s^d materials of & from which the s^d Statutes [mistake for Statues] were to be made & executed & for giving notice to the Pltf of such determinatⁿ. & approval had long before the commencement of this suit, to wit, on the first day of Jan^y AD 1840 elapsed, yet the Deft hath disregarded his s^d promise & did not or would retain or employ the Pltf in or above the executⁿ of the said Statues but on the contrary thereof afterwards towit on the day & year last afs^d, wrongfully & without any reasonable or probable cause dismissed & discharged the Pltf from executing & complet^g the s^d Statues & from proceeding with the said preparations and did not nor would suffer or permit him to execute or complete the same and did not nor would give nor hath he given notice to the plaintiff of the approval or determination of the defendant in respect of the said materials & the deft afterwards to wit on the day & years last afsd retained employed and engaged a certain other person to wit a person to the pltf unknown in the stead and place of the plaintiff to make & execute the said statues which were made & executed by such person before the commencement of this Suit to wit on the day and year afs^d. And the plaintiff by reason of the premises has lost & been deprived of divers great gains profits & advantages which he otherwise might and would have derived & acquired from the execution & completion of the said statues and the said Costs charges & expences and the said Journeys pains labor time and trouble so by the plaintiff incurred taken and expended are by reason of the premises wholly lost and of no use or service to the plaintiff and the said plt by reason of the premises hath been greatly injured & prejudiced in his fame and reputation as a Sculptor and hath been & is thby otherwise greatly injured & damnified and whereas also the deft htofore to wit on the first day of June AD 1841 was indebted to the plaintiff in £500 for the price & value of work then done and materials for the same provided by the plaintiff for the deft at his request and in £500 for money paid by the plaintiff for the use of the

defendant at his request and in five hundred pounds for money found to be due & owing from the debt to the plt on an acc^t. then stated betⁿ them and whereas the debt afterwards to wit on the day & year last aforesaid in consideration of the last mentioned premises respectively promised the plt to pay the said several moneys respectively to the plt on request yet the debt hath disregarded his last mentioned promises and hath not paid any of the said moneys or any part thereof to the plts damage of £500 & thereupon he brings his Suit &c

The reverse is inscribed:

In the Exchequer of Pleas.

The 1st July 1841.

Park	}	
v		Declaration
Duke of		Delivered and
Hamilton	}	the Defendant

is to plead hereto in Eight days
or Judgment,

and

The Plaintiff demands a Plea
herein or Judgement.

Harrison & Dobree
22 Hart Street
Bloomsbury.

White & Son

11 Lincolns Inn Fields.

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton Palace, 2 July 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, pp.244-5)

Richard Sam^l White Esqr

Solicitor

11 Lincolns Inn fields

London

Hamilton Palace 2 July 1841

Sir

From your letter of the 30th. of last month it would appear that Parks business is not fully understood by you _ First know then that Park was a common mason here whom from kindness I had protected and patronized for years _ This explains the donation of £50 that was given him full as much as an act of generosity as a partial payment for any work that he was to do for me _ To explain the transaction I left with Park a small model in clay prepared in Paris of 12 inches dimensions desiring him to make me a large one in Clay of 12 feet dimensions precisely similar to mine _ when I went to see it, what was my surprise when I found a figure totally dissimilar and totally unfit for my purpose, of his own invention, instead of a copy of the one I had given him as a model. I immediately complained and rejected his work as being neither similar to the pattern nor conformable to order _ This is the sum and substance of the whole business. It is true I had intended to allow him to make two large black marble figures from this large Clay one to be modelled in imitation of my small one, had his full sized imitation been (as was ordered) a fac simile of the small one entrusted to him _ It proved to be quite another thing _ I therefore, he having failed in the model, the first preliminary to the great work, rejected his Clay figure, told him it was useless and withheld the valification of the intended order in marble _ I have since substituted two bronze figures for the intended marble ones _ and here I might observe (altho I do not urge it as my reason for breaking off all concerns with Park) that it has proved impossible to find blocks, of marble for the figures of the sizes required _ The reason I broke off all concerns with Park was because he had not adhered to the commission given him _ that of making a figure similar to one he was desired to copy _ as to appealing to any artist to decide whether or not either £50

or any other sum is sufficient compensation for Parks trouble, I reject such arbitration, altho' I do not demand a restitution of the said sum as I am willing out of kindness to treat him liberally _ But the question reduces itself to this _ am I bound to pay a man when ordered most explicitly to do one piece of work am I bound I say to pay that man if he does another, and if he fails in the first piece of work (the Clay model) the necessary preliminary to the further order (the marble Statue) if he fails in that Clay model am I bound or indeed how can I employ him in doing the marble Statues.

_ Reollect Park came to Scotland to carry his family to London, without any order from me, and without his presence here being by any possible chance of any use to me _ so much for the charge of journies alluded to.

I am & (signed) C H & _B

N The above letter sent off on 5 July 1841

Note: The Duke's draft of this letter is in the Hamilton archive, in Bundle 1160.

Richard Samuel White to Robert Brown, dated Lincolns Inn Fields, 3 July 1841 (HA, Bundle 1160)

Rob^t. Brown Esq. Hamilton Scotland _ ppd.
N^o. 11 Lincolns Inn Fields; 3 July 1841.

My dear Sir,

Park's Action _

I have just had a Conference with M^r. Blick on the Declaration & the Instructions we have prepared for him to advise upon & to prepare the Plea _ & as the Venue is laid in Surrey, with the view no doubt of getting the Cause tried there at the assizes on 9^h. Aug^t., we have no time whatever to lose in ascertaining all the facts necessary to the defence _ M^r. Blick wishes to know, how the model was sent to Park, & where it was delivered to him _ and whether any one was present with the Duke when he inspected the model, & found it not correct _ or when he afterwards inspected the altered model & objected to it, & directed the work to be stopped _ Also whether the Duke has not some letters of Park; & copies of his Letters to Park _ & if so to send them up to me, or copies of them, with the greatest dispatch _

I wish to know also if the model is capable of being seen any where _ & whether any Sculptor or artist has viewed it for the Duke _ & given him his sentiments upon it, either as to Execution or Value _ and as the Case is a very peculiar & nice one to deal with pray let me have every Inquiry I have put shortly answered, even including those as to the retention of Counsel _ We shall apply for a Particular of Demand, & also to change the venue to endeavour to get time to defend with proper deliberation _ & I remain,

Dear Sir, for Self & Son

Y^{rs}. most faithfully,

Rich^d. Sam^l. White _

I have not been able to call in Portman Square _

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton, 5 July 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, pp.245-6)

Richard Samuel White Esqr

Solicitor

11 Lincolns Inn fields

London

Hamilton 5 July 1841

My Dear Sir

I have received yours of the 3 ins^t as to Parkes Action against the Duke and having shewn the same to His Grace he gave me a short note of the Answers to your queries of which I annex a verbatim copy at the end of this letter and beg to refer you to the same.

You will observe that this affair for which Park claims payment took place early in Spring 1837 and was stopped soon after by His Grace _ You will see from my letter to Park of 26 June 1837 of which you have got our excerpt that the Duke through me renewed the order for the stopping of Parks further proceeding also at that time _

When I was in London either in 1837 or 1839 I called upon Park and I think he shewed me the large Clay figure which he had begun in 1837 for the Duke and I suspect it will be still in his possession unless he has broken it down _ If you call at his former residence Georges Street Euston square you will likely find it there _ the little model you will find at 12 Portman square if Park has returned it - You will observe that the Duke says that there is a duplicate of the little model with an Artist in Bronze in Paris. I will look amongst my letters to see if there are any letters from Park to me on the subject, which may be of use to you in the Cause and if I find any I will write you to morrow

I am &

R.B.

copy of His Graces answers to M^r Whites queries

I believe he took it himself from Portman square

Nobody present that I know when he took the model from Portman square

Nobody present when I saw at his house the Clay model when I rejected it _

I do not know of any letter of Parks or mine in my possession _ I took no copies of mine _

The small model I believe to be now in Portman square with my House Steward unless Park has it.

N.B. The other small model, I having had a duplicate made a' Paris is at this moment there

July 4th. 1841.

Note: The line breaks in the Duke's answers and four lines between the answers have not been replicated. There is a draft of Brown's letter to White and the Duke's answers, in his own handwriting, dated 4 July 1841, in the Hamilton archive, in Bundle 1160.

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton, 6 July 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, pp.247-8)

Richard Sam^l White Esqr }
11 Lincolns Inn Fields }
London }

Hamilton 6 July 1841

My Dear Sir

Having found M^r Parks answer of date 30 June 1837 to my letter to him of 26 of that month I now send you a copy of it as it may be of use in the suit with him

As I duly sent you formerly excerpts of my letters to the Duke and to M^r Park of date 26 June 1837 I now send you full copies of them

I begin to think that the Duke had given Park the small model before he left London in Spring 1837 for Paris altho' in His Grace's letter to me of 19 June 1837 alluded to in mine to M^r Park of 26 of that month His Grace says he sent it to him from Paris _ The Duke returned from Paris to London in Autumn 1837

I presume His Grace trusts to you to select and fee the Counsel.

I am &

R.B.

Henry White to Robert Brown, dated Lincolns Inn Fields, 7 July 1841 (HA, Bundle 1160)

Robert Brown Esq^{re} Hamilton _ Scotland _

Nº. 11 Lincolns Inn Fields; 7th July 1841 _

Dear Sir,

The Duke of Hamilton ats Park _

I have the pleasure to acknowledge the receipt this morning of your Letter of the 5th. instant, inclosing one from His Grace dated the 2nd; the contents of which I have laid before M^r. Blick the Pleader _

We yesterday obtained an order for the Plaintiff to deliver a particular of his Demand, and that in the mean-time the proceedings be stayed _ and as soon as we are served with the particular we shall get an order to change the venue from Surrey to Middlesex _ before applying for further time to plead _ And I therefore beg to inclose a Declaration to be made by his Grace, before a proper Magistrate, that the Cause of Action (if any) arose in Middlesex, and will be obliged to you to get it deposed to by his Grace, and returned to us, if possible, by return of Post _

My father was obliged to go out of Town on business this morning, but returns tomorrow _

I am Dear Sir; for Father and Self,

Yours very faithfully,

Henry White

Draft letter from R. [G. or L.] to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton, 10 July 1841 (HA, Bundle 1160)

Hamilton 10th. July 1841.

Sir

M^r. Brown being from home today, has desired me to send to you the inclosed Declaration by the Duke of Hamilton, which you transmitted to him in your Letter of the 7th Inst: _ The Declaration was made & Signed this day by His Grace at Hamilton Palace before James Veitch Sheriff Substitute and Justice of Peace for Lanarkshire __

I am Sir

Your hu ob^t. Ser^t

R. [G. or L.]

Richard S. White Esq

11. Lincolns Inn Fields

London

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton, 23 July 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, pp.256-7)

Richard Samuel White Esq }
11 Lincolns Inn fields }

London }

Hamilton 23 July

1841

My Dear Sir

The Duke says that the small model given to Park by which he was to work the larger figure for His Grace is now in the hands of M^r Campbell Sculptor and that by applying to M^r Carrol the House Steward at N^o 12 Portman square, he will procure it for your order that you may compare it with Park's figure to prove that the latter, bears little or no resemblance to the former.

I am My Dear Sir

Your &

R B

Draft letter from Robert Brown to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton, 27 July 1841 (HA, Bundle 1160)

Hamilton 27 July 1841

Dear Sir

Having received your letter of the 23 ins^t I communicated the same to the Duke of Hamilton and in answer to your queries regarding this affair of Parks His Grace says _ That he never heard before of Bazetti _ That he saw the large figure only (he believes) once in Park's studio and it was of clay _ he rejected it immediately, not being a fac simile of his original one _ The difference between the Dukes small model and Parks large figure, may be verified by asking Carroll for the former. _ Parks claims for outlay of £95 the Duke knows nothing of them and he never heard of them before _ he cannot admit them and more particularly the use of the room without his [space left blank] _ and in regard to any journey the Duke never authorized any _

It appears to me that Park having acted contrary to orders by substituting a figure of his own invention in place of adhering to the model furnished him, has forefeited his claims against the Duke, both the first of £255 and the additional one of £95 _ besides the items of the £95 appear to be inadmissable to a great extent [illegible addition: possibly the word even] on account of their extravagance and in particular to the charge for rent of £50 _ surely an ordinary sized room behind his ordinary studio could not come to that rent.


I am not aware of any letters that I can furnish you except the letters from Park himself to me which you have already got copies.

I am

Dear Sir

Yours truly

Richard Samuel White Esq
11 Lincolns Inn Fields
London



Copy of letter from Robert Brown to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton, 27 July 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.261)

Richard Sam^l White Eqr }

11 Lincolns Inn }

London }

Hamilton 27 July 1841

Wrote him as to Park's business see copy letter among Park's papers

Copy of letter from Harrison & Dobree to White & Son, dated 20 August 1841, apparently enclosed in Richard Samuel White's letter to Robert Brown, dated 16 September 1841 (HA, Bundle 1160)

In the Exchequer of Pleas

Between Patric Park Pltf

and

The Right Honble Alexander Hamilton

Duke of Hamilton ... Defendant

1837

Feb ^y }	£	s	d
to } Workmen setting up Statue	10	.. 0	. 0
Aug }			
same date _ Rent for extra Studio to execute Work . . .	50	.. 0	. 0
do To Cash paid to Frazer in the Guards }			
& other parties to model from }	20	.. 0	. 0

Above are the further and better particulars of the Plaintiffs demand as to the two last Items in Particulars delivered under the order of M^r Justice Patteson of the 15 July last and as to the item of £20 as an amended Particular under the order of M^r Justice Patteson of the 8th day of August instant Dated this 20th. day of August 1841

yours &c

Harrison & Dobree

Plaintiffs Attorneys

22 Hart Street

To Mess ^{rs} White & Son	}
Defendants Attorneys or	}
Agents	}

Copy of Mr Blick's Opinion on the Case of Patric Park against the Duke of Hamilton, dated 15 September 1841, enclosed in Richard Samuel White's letter to Robert Brown, dated 16 September 1841 (HA, Bundle 1160)

In the Exchequer of Pleas

The Duke of Hamilton – ats Park

Copy, M^r. Blick's Opinion, on the Case.

“On reference to His Graces Letter of the 2nd of July last, it clearly appears that Park was directed to make a large Clay model for his Grace, but that such model was to be a Copy of the small model given to him by the Duke. It appears to that instead of making such Copy, Park Choose to make an entirely different model of his own invention. And if the Case rested here, & there was evidence of the nature of the retainer, then as Park could not prove performance thereof on his part, it is clear that his Grace could not be held liable to pay Park for his trouble in making the model of his own invention _

Unfortunately, however, there is not, it seems, any direct evidence of the original retainer & it therefore becomes important to consider the evidence on which the Plaintiff will probably rely in support of his Case. And I much fear that he will make out a good primâ faciê case by producing M^r. Browns letter of the 3rd of March & calling that Gentleman to prove that the same is in his handwriting & requiring him to produce Parks Letter of the 28th of Feb^y. (to which M^r B's letter is an Answer) & also any letter from his Grace directing or Authorizing him to advance the £50. to Park. And if M^r Brown be served with a Subpoena duces tecum to this effect, he will be compelled to produce the Dukes Letter of the 25th of Feb^y 1837. as well as Parks Letter of the 28th of Feb^y. & it will appear from the Dukes Letter, that he had engaged Park to do his black marble figures, (not, be it observed, to make a copy of a given model, but to make two black marble figures.) & the production of the Plaintiffs letter of the 28th Feb^y will shew that he (Park) so construed the Order; since he says in that letter “By Order of his Grace I have been empowered to execute two black marble demi Statues of Giants to support part of the Great Staircase in Hamilton Palace,” And the letter of M^r Brown in Answer to this, does not in the slightest degree contradict this Assertion, but on the contrary completely acquiesces therein, & congratulates him on the Duke having given him the job of “making the

figures". _ This will I think abundantly satisfy a Jury of the retainer to make the figures _ & the question will then arise, whether it was necessary for that purpose, that Plaintiff should first make a Clay model? & admitting that it was, Whether the £50 is a sufficient Compensation for his trouble? Or whether it can be shewn that the model was so unskilfully made as to be altogether useless. For I do not see that his Grace has any means of negating the retainer to make the two figures by shewing that the employment was merely to copy the small model neither is there any Evidence of a repudiation of the alleged retainer to make the figures until the letter of M^r Brown of the 26th June 1837 _ On the whole, therefore, it appears to me that the Pltf will succeed in Obtaining a Verdict, unless the Duke can shew either that the £50 already paid is a sufficient compensation for the labor &^c. of Plaintiff, bestowed previously to the letter of the 26th June 1837. _ Or that the model is so unskilfully made as to be altogether worthless., Or that it was not necessary to enable Pltf to make the two Statues. I apprehend however that a model will be deemed to have been requisite taking it for granted that his Grace cannot establish the retainer to Copy his model. the amount to which Plaintiff will be deemed entitled (in case he obtains a verdict) will of course be altogether a question for the Jury, & must observed by M^r White, be governed by the Testimony of Artists and others competent to value works of this description _ I think it clear, however, that the Plaintiff cannot entitle himself to the expence of his journey to Scotland, which seems to have been wholly unnecessary, & indeed to have been undertaken for a different object than the execution of the two statues _ It is probable that a Jury may deem Park entitled to something beyond the mere value of the labor, & the moneys paid by him by way of damages for the breach of the engagement to employ him to make the Statues. Tho' the fact that it was found impossible to procure marble for the purpose, might perhaps furnish an Answer to this part of his demand. But under all the Circumstances I think it will be prudent to endeavour to settle the Action. At the same time if this cannot be effected on what in the Opinion of Artists or other Competent Judges may be deemed reasonable terms, I recommend to his Grace to pay money into Court.

(signed) R G Blick

Middle Temple / Sept^r 15. 1841.

Richard Samuel White to Robert Brown, dated Lincolns Inn Fields, 16 September 1841 (HA, Bundle 1160)

Rob^t. Brown Esq. Hamilton, Scotland _ pp-^d

N^o. 11. Lincolns Inn Fields _ 16^h Sept. 1841.

Dear Sir,

The Duke at Park.

We only received the amended & further particular of demand of which I inclose a Copy, showing the sums of £10 & £50. stated paid to the Workmen & for Rent of the Studio, between Feby. & Aug^t. 1837. & alleging a further Sum of £20. paid to one Frazer in the Guards & other parties to model from between the same dates _

and on laying that Information before M^r. Blick we pressed him for the Satisfaction of his Grace to write his opinion of the Case & of the Plaintiff's Claim _ & having received his Opinion yesterday afternoon we lose no time in forwarding a Copy of it to you, to compare with the letters alluded to in it _ & to consult with his Grace upon it _ for the ground of defence is for want of Evidence as to the original Employ of Park & the Work to be done by him not so decisive as his Grace has appeared to imagine _ M^r. Blick however has put the Case as strongly against the Duke as possible & perhaps the Plaintiff might never obtain the production by you of the Duke's Letter of 25^h. Feby 1837. so as to show the retainer to make the two black marble figures _ & I suppose you did not know what the retainer was except from the two letters of the Duke & M^r. Park _ but if the Defence is to proceed his Grace must [illegible word] the expence of getting some artists & other competent persons to prove the dissimilarity of the Cast to the model, & that it was so unskilfully executed as to be useless & unfit for the object intended _ & also to speak to the amount which the Plaintiff deserves & should be paid for what he did pursuant to his Grace's Authority _ and indeed I do not see how his Grace can pay money into Court without satisfying himself by some Inquiries of persons competent as to the Amount he should so pay _ for if he should pay a less Sum than he could justify by Witnesses, if the plaintiff goes on to trial, he would still have the Costs of the Action against him _ & the Plaintiff's demand is large, altogether _ I fear it will not be

easy to effect a Compromise, because it is avowed to be an Action required by Creditors _ who would not be induced to take as small a Sum perhaps as Park himself might if alone be willing to accept _ but you will consider these points fully with his Grace _ & will then let me have such directions or questions as you may think fit _ & I shall be happy to render every service in my power either to settle or to resist the Action _ We are at liberty till the 24^h. Oct^r. to consider what is to be done _ but if the defence is to go on the plea must be filed within five days afterwards _ so that the earlier you can instruct me the better _

I remain, My Dear Sir, for Self & Son,

Y^{rs}. most faithfully,

Rich^d Sam^l. White _

You will account to his Grace for my addressing you in preference to himself, as a means of securing your serious consideration of the Subject _

Excerpts of correspondence relating to Patric Park and the clay model and two statues, undated but part of the correspondence about Park's action against the 10th Duke of Hamilton in 1841, and probably written sometime between June and September 1841 (HA, Bundle 1160)

Excerpt from Letter The Duke of Hamilton to M^r Robert
Brown dated Portman square 25 Feb^y 1837.

Park the Sculptor came to see me this morning and I told him that I had agreed with you to give him to Accompt £50. He is to write to you; I gave him a frank for tuesday next; and as I have engaged him to do my black marble figures to support the passage of the principal Stair case, he is to write to Ramsay & Hamilton to obtain the precise heigth that the figures will require to be _ I told him six feet; but there may be a difference of an inch which is unknown to me.

Excerpt from Letter M^r Park to M Brown dated London
28 February 1837

By order of His Grace I have been empowered to execute two black marble demi statues of Giants to support part of the Great Stair case in Hamilton Palace _ I shall try to produce works worthy of the Duke and myself. I commence immediately, and the Duke desired me to write to you for £50 to Acco^t. which I hope you will find it convenient to send by return of post. _ I enclose a Note to M Ramsay, also by the Duke's order, in case of any mistake, that M Ramsay will furnish me with the exact heigth from the floor to the under part of the landing above that my work may be perfectly correct.

Excerpt Letter M^r Brown to M Park dated Hamilton
3 March 1837

Inclosed I send you a Bill bearing this date by the agent of the British Linen Company here on Mess^r Smith Payne & Smith Bankers in London payable to myself and inclosed to you for Fifty pounds on account and by order of the Duke of Hamilton of which be so good as to acknowledge the receipt I am very glad to hear &^c (take in the rest of the letter)

Excerpt Letter M Park to M Brown dated London
March 6th 1837

I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Fifty pounds Sterling to Account of Sculpture executing by me for His Grace the Duke of Hamilton. _ I have to thank you for your kindness in answering my letter so promptly, I will communicate with M Hamilton as the Duke has so expressed himself since I last wrote you, as I wish to get on with my models immediately

Excerpt from Letter from M Park to M Brown dated London
June 12th. 1837.

I am induced to write to you to solicit your advice and opinion _ I am now pretty well advanced with my corrected model for the Duke, but I am in want of money to carry it on _ you must be aware of the great expense I am put to in so large a work, as independent of the mere expense, the rent of my Studio is heavy; the 25 Ins^t is quarter day and I require £25 to pay my quarter's rent. I have written to His Grace, but I feel how awkward it will be to have no means to pay it with, should my letter remain unanswered _ those petty annoyances do an Artist incalculable harm, if the Duke would give me at once a respectable sum I could carry on my work with redoubled energy.

Excerpt from Letter M Brown to the Duke of Hamilton
at Paris, dated Hamilton 14 June 1837

I now send you prefixed copy of a letter from M Patric Park, wanting money for the work he has now on hand for your Grace. I sent him by your orders £50 on the 3^d. of March to Account of this work and will be glad to know what answer I am to send to his letter

In His Grace's letter to M Brown of 19 June 1837 in reply to his letter of the 14th. His Grace says he never gave any Commission to Park farther than trusting to him a small model after which his Grace told him he should make His Grace two large Statues as soon as he had fixed upon the marble of which they were to be made and this His Grace had not then done &^c. &^c.

M^r Brown in answer to the Duke's letter, on the 26 June informed His Grace that he would send Park the substance of His Graces observations as to the two Statues and request him to do no more work regarding them or the model without the most distinct and positive orders from the Duke on the subject and accordingly the same day M Brown wrote to M Park as follows.

Hamilton 26 June 1837 On receipt of your letter of the 12 ins^t I thought it best to communicate the same to the Duke of Hamilton in order that he might judge as to the extent of farther advances that you wanted on His Grace's account _ and I have this day heard from him in return, and probably he may write you also _ In his letter to me he says that he never gave any Commission farther than trusting to you a small model after which, as he told you he wanted to make two large Statues as soon as he had fixed upon the marble of which they were to be made, but this His Grace has not yet fixed on _ this model he sent from Paris and entrusted to your hands, but never gave any Commission to make a new one. His Grace adds that he will not have any thing to do with the new model you have commenced; and therefore that he will not hold himself responsible for any thing you have done regarding it, and that if you, on your own authority, do work for him that he has never ordered you cannot complain for his objecting to pay for it. &^c &^c

‘Note of Payments made by M^r Brown as Factor for the Duke of Hamilton to M^r Patric Park Sculptor’ (HA, Bundle 1160)

Note of Payments made by M^r Brown as
Factor for the Duke of Hamilton to M^r
Patric Park Sculptor –

1835

Feby 17 _	By remitted him to Clumber to Acco ^t of Sculptor work to the Duke p Bill on London _____	£20 .. _
March 24	Paid him for modelling & executing Busts in marble of the Duke of Hamilton and M ^r Brown @ £70 each = _____ £140. off paid formerly _____ <u>100</u>	140 _ _
„ 28	Paid him Balance of Acco ^t due him see Letter Book of 21 Ins ^t _____	24. 8. 6
May 2	Paid him to Acco ^t of Sculptor work now doing p order of the Duke of Hamilton of this date _____	<u>100. „ „</u> £284. 8. 6

Brown has added, in his own handwriting, in pencil:

The only works done at Clumber for the Duke of Hamilton are the Busts of the Duke of Newcastle & the Earl of Lincoln

18 Januy

1837

Note: The above is preserved among the papers relating to Park's action against the Duke of Hamilton in 1841. It is on paper with the watermarked date 1834 and appears to be an abstract of 1835 with an added aide-memoire of 18 January 1837, which was used by Brown in 1841.

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton Palace, 29 September 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, pp.292-3)

Rich ^d . White Esqr	}	
Solicitor Lincolns Inn Fields	}	Hamilton Palace
London.	}	29 Sept 1841

My good Sir

I send you these three lines in consequence of the letter you wrote to M^r Brown upon Parks (the Sculptors) business, enclosing one from my Counsel giving his opinion upon the case. I am not a little surprised at his legal exposition of this case nor less so at the conclusion to which he comes. However as I see plainly, if the suit goes on, I shall have my name dragged thro' the Courts and be exposed to much vexation and perhaps be nonsuited to complete the business; I request that you will be so good as to withdraw the case or get me out of it immediately, making the best arrangement in my favour you can, which arrangement I shall leave in your hands. I had thought, till now, that if I ordered a pair of Shoes, and the Tradesman chose to make me a pair of boots, I should not have been legally obliged to pay for them; but as it is understood, if you give one order, you will be sentenced to pay for another, it is clear I have no business in common prudence to litigate with M^r Park, therefore pray get me out of the scrape as best you can _ with esteem I remain &^c &c

(signed) H C & B

Note: A loose copy letter of the above is in the Hamilton archive, in Bundle 1160.

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton, 6 October 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.296)

Rich^d Sam^l White Esq }
11 Lincolns Inn Fields }
London }

Hamilton 6 Octbr 1841

Dear Sir

Soon after I received your letter of the 18th ult^o. I submitted the same with its' enclosures to the Duke of Hamilton and he having written to you in return on the 29 of that month I beg to refer to his letter . I think His Grace has acted prudently in requesting you to with draw the Case with Park at the same time making the best arrangement in His Grace's power you can. I need not say that I shall be glad to hear that you have succeeded in that object and I presume whenever a definitive sum is fixed you will notify the same to His Grace in order that he may enable you to pay it

I am

& R. B.

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton, 8 October 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, pp.301-2)

Richard Samuel Whyte Esqre

Solicitor

11 Lincolns Inn Fields

London _

Hamilton 8 Octob 1841

Dear Sir,

I write you at the request of the Duke of Hamilton to say that as M^r Park or his Creditors are in possession of the Marble Bust of His Grace executed by Park, which was long ago paid for; and also the large figure which he composed or executed in his Studio intended for the Duke, the imperfectness of which has given rise to the present dispute, you will claim them as his property upon your settling the Action at the instance of Parks Creditors. _ If there are any other Articles belonging to the Duke in M^r Parks possession or that of his Creditors you will likewise get them back as on settling their claim he is entitled to restitution of them. _ I am &c RB

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton Palace, 12 October 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, pp. 306-7)

Richard Samuel Whyte Esqre
Lincolns Inn Fields ____
London

Hamilton Palace
Octr 12th 1841

My good Sir,

In reply to your last letter, I can only repeat what I said in my former one _ As my Counsel M^r Blick considers the issue of my case with M^r Parks Creditors so little likely to be favorable to me, I am resolved to bring the matter to a Conclusion by an extra judicial Settlement _ You wish to know what terms I have to propose; If the opposite party insists upon their original demands I must submit to them, but I trust to you to make the best terms you can for me, and get me out of Court, as M^r Brown might be summoned as a Witness, and he cannot leave his business here without great detriment to my concerns. ____

I remain My good Sir,

Your very Obliged

&c &c

(Signed) C. H & B ____

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton Palace, 29 November 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, p.342)

Richard Sam^l White Esq }

Lincolns Inn Fields }

London }

Hamilton Palace

Nov^r 29. _ 1841

My good Sir

I regret to learn from your letter of yesterdays date that my having unfortunately neglected to answer with regularity your former one has occasioned additional trouble -

In regard to my approval of what has been done by you, I have only to say that I am obliged to you, and feel fully satisfied that nothing has been omitted on your part _ you appear to have come to the resolution that £220 would be considered as competent to adjust all difficulties including costs _ Be it so _ I shall rejoice in concluding thus all differences and therefore send herewith a draft upon Mess^{rs} Hoares for the said sum (£220) in your favour and I shall be much obliged to you if you will receive it _ settle all demands, and terminate this unpleasant negotiation.

The plaister figure and my bust that are in M^r Parkes possession, may remain where they are, or be removed elsewhere _ after what has taken place, it is not my intention to have any farther communication with that artist. They may be disposed of in any way, provided I hear nothing about them _ Let me again repeat my thanks to you for your conduct in this troublesome business and with esteem I remain

Sir

Your very obliged

&^c &^c

C H & B

Copy of letter from Robert Brown to Richard Samuel White, dated Hamilton, 4 December 1841 (HTHL, Hamilton Estate Letter Book 1840-42, pp.347-8)

Richard Samuel White Esqr	}	
Solicitor	}	Hamilton 4 Decem
Lincolns Inn Fields	}	1841
London	}	

My Dear Sir

I have shewn your letter to me of the 1st Ins^t to the Duke of Hamilton and he desires me to say to you that the Plaster figure may remain in M^r Park's possession or be disposed of in any other way see proper, provided His Grace is put to no farther trouble or expense or hear any thing more about it _ With regard to the Dukes Bust you will cause M^r Carrol his House Steward N^o 12 Portman square to take delivery of it and carry it there.

I regret to learn that this affair of Park's require rather more than the £220 sent you to pay off his Claims and those of his Solicitor _ but of course you will send a note of the additional sum wanted for that and for your own charges for business in the matter that His Grace may make you a farther remittance

I am & R. B.

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Glasgow, 16 September 1845 (HA, Bundle 6308)

54 West Regent Street

Glasgow Sept^r 16th 1845.

My Dear Sir -

I was much disappointed yesterday when I promised myself the pleasure of seeing you to find you from [home or hence] - I must therefore at this time pay you my respects in a note - and hope for an early opportunity of doing so personally _

I have presented a Bust of Burns to your native county and the magistrates of Ayr have done me the honour to make me a freeman of their ancient Borough - of which I am not a little proud. & would have been very happy to have exhibited myself before you in my new capacity - I find among other advantages - that my friends in Glasgow - intend getting up a statue of Campbell the Poet to be executed by me as a Glasgow man _

_ Your friends Dixon & Tennant of S^t Rollox are among the names on the Committee - & I wish you would authorise me to put yours down also - and if you would give me a li[s or f]t with Lord Belhaven and other friends in the County - I need not say how great the favour would be - I write this to you - by request of one of the Committee - and will be most happy to have an answer early - I also think this would be a good opportunity if the Duke would give me his name - after having so nearly ruined me

_ If you would give me your advice _ I would sacrifice my own personal feelings - and appeal to him _

_ I trust to have an early opportunity of seeing you. I hope you enjoy good health and with great respect I am -

My Dear Sir

Yours [? trul^y]

Patric Park

To

Robert Brown Esquire

&—————&—

Charles Mackay to Robert Brown, dated Glasgow, 29 September [1845] (HA, Bundle 6308)

Glasgow, 25 Queen S^t.

September 29th

Sir,

By desire of M^r Park, I enclose you an early copy of the prospectus about to be issued for a Monument to Thomas Campbell. _ I also enclose you one for the Duke of Hamilton, and if you would have the Kindness to bring the subject before his Grace's notice, you would much oblige the members of the Committee. _ It would be of the very greatest importance if the Duke would allow his name to head the Committee.

I remain

Sir

Your very Ob^t Serv^t

Cha^s., Mackay

Robert Brown Esq____

Patric Park to Robert Brown, dated Glasgow, 22 October 1845 (HA, Bundle 6309)

54 West Regent Street

Glasgow Oct^r 22^d. 1845.

My Dear Sir _

Accept my thanks for your kind attention and the trouble you took to ask the Duke's support of the Campbell Monument _ I assure you I feel as grateful for your kind wishes as if they had been successful _

I leave it to your judgement whether from His Grace's decision he may not be called upon again to revise it _ The Design appears to be beyond a doubt, now, that the inclosed List exhibits the names it does _ for which I beg to send it to you _

_ If you consider there is any chance of getting the Duke's name _ it will be important even yet _ but I would wish to see it in reference to my own feelings rather than from the advantage our cause would derive _ altho' that would be undoubted _

With the truest esteem & regard I am

My dear Sir

Yours [? truly]

Patric Park

[To]

R. Brown Esqre__
& _____&

Robert Brown to Patric Park, dated Hamilton, 9 February 1853 (NLS, Acc. 10098/2, 122)

Hamilton 9 Feb^y 1853

Dear Sir,

I received your last letter about The late Duke of Hamiltons Bust, and I sent it the same day I received it, to His Grace, the present Duke who is at Paris, in order that if he sees proper, it may be sent to you for exhibition at Edinburgh.

___ He never spoke to me so far as I recollect about it _ If he does not choose to have it cut in marble, what would you cut it for to me? as, if your charge was moderate, I would request His Grace to allow me to take the marble, and pay for it myself, as a remembrance of our old and excellent Patron. I am Dear Sir

Yours faithfully

Robert Brown

Patrick Park Esq

Sir William Napier to Patric Park, dated Senide House, 28 May 1853 (NLS, Acc. 10098/2, 133)

Senide House

May 28th. 1853

Dear M^r Park

The late Duke was abrupt & decisive, but never [? rude]; he was scrupulously polite though unyielding; I hope his son is not going to adopt the half of his manner, which in that case would be the worst half.

Lord Douglas's conduct will always be a combination of good manners honour & gentleness without the slightest weakness or vagueness

Pray believe that the pleasure of being useful in forwarding art is sufficient satisfaction to me; and sincerely I hope you may succeed in obtaining the work you have in view.

I can hardly write my hand is very bad & from the little pain in comparison of the effort I fear it is a serious contraction commencing

Believe me &
very truly yours
W Napier

Patric Park E__

The 11th Duke of Hamilton to Patric Park, dated London, 3 June 1854 (NLS, Acc. 10098/2, 164)

London.

June 3^d. 1854

Sir

I purpose going over to Paris about the 16th of this month & if you were there in Paris I think I might probably be able to bring yr works under the Emperors notice.

I remain

Sir

Yours faithfully

Hamilton & Brandon

P. Park Esq^{re}.

Extract of Patric Park's letter to 'an intimate friend', dated 29 June 1854 (published in *The Building Chronicle*, 26 July 1854, p.53)

MANCHESTER. – Mr Patrick Park, the sculptor, whose fine bust of Sir John Potter now forms so appropriate an ornament to the Free Library, is at present engaged in modelling a bust of Louis Napoleon, and his bust of Admiral Sir Charles Napier, which by the Emperor's desire he carried with him to Paris, has been greatly admired. In a private letter from the artist to an intimate friend, from which we extract a few sentences, he says (June 29): "I began the Emperor to-day – I was introduced by the Duke of Hamilton on Monday last. Napier was prodigiously interesting, as both the Emperor and the Duke knew him, and many of the court. It now stands on a table under a portrait of Josephine. During my work to-day, the grand chamberlain brought me an invitation from his majesty to join him at déjeuner. It was rather trying to a modest man like me to find myself opposite to his majesty, and among twenty ministers of state and two maids of honour. Most of the Emperor's portraits are bad in every respect: he will make an excellent bust and most characteristic. Nothing could exceed the Duke of Hamilton's kindness. – I am to model him too."

The 11th Duke of Hamilton to Patric Park, dated Marienbad, 11 August 1854 (NLS, Acc. 10098/2, 169)

Marienbad

August 11th. 1854

My dear Sir

I am very glad to hear that you think you have been able to make a good likeness of the Emperor - during yr stay in Paris _ I am most anxious to have the bust in marble & beg that you will begin yr work without loss of time. I return to England in about a fortnight & if I can then have an opportunity of giving you an introduction to Lord Eglinton I shall be happy to do so.

Yours faithfully

Hamilton & Brandon

P. Park Esq^{re}.

The 11th Duke of Hamilton to Patric Park, dated Nice, 31 January 1855 (NLS, Acc. 10098/2, 246, between 178 and 179)

Nice

Jan^y. 31st. 1855.

Dear Sir

Altho very sorry to act, as it may appear, harshly towards you, I confess I object to having a cast taken of the Bust of the Emperor which you executed for me In my opinion yr bust would lose much of its value were I to see copies in all the London Shops – I hope when I return to England to have the pleasure of seeing you _ I am very glad to hear that Her Majesty & Prince Albert were pleased with yr work . .

Believe me

Yours truly

Hamilton & Brandon

Robina Park to the 11th Duke of Hamilton, dated Manchester, 1 October 1855 (HA, Bundle 700)

5 Grove Street
Ardwick
Manchester
1st „ oc^t „ 1855 –

My Lord Duke__

I take the liberty of writing to you from the Knowledge of your great Kindness to my husband the late Patric Park. Owing to his sudden death I find it quite out of my power to bring up our four Sons as we have hitherto done. Should it be in your Grace's power to assist me to get a presentation to Christ Church Hospital or any other public School for any of them _ the eldest is still under 9 years old I had not say what a very great obligation it w^d.. be. I trust your Grace will believe that nothing but my own perfect incapacity could have induced me to trouble you_

With deep respect
Ever Your Grace's
Obed^t.. Servant

Robina Park

To His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon

Note: Park had married Robina Roberts, the second daughter of Robert Carruthers (1799-1878), the owner and editor of the *Inverness Courier*, in 1844.

The Inverness-born sculptor Alexander Munro was allowed to use Patric Park's studio after coming to London in 1844 and married Robina's younger sister Mary in 1861.

Appendix 14: Note written by the 10th Duke of Hamilton about ten tapestries representing scenes from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* woven by the San Michele manufactory in Rome for Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni in the 1730s (HA, Bundle 2067)

The note reads as follows. The tapestries will be identified and discussed using the added letters in parentheses at the ends of the entries.

scritto al Conte Cicognara Juigno 1[?7 or 9] _ 1828				& c __ c __
Arazzi differenti di varj fatti della J[?u]erusalemna				che prenderei volentier[?i]
				quelli segnati cy di
				sotto _ gli altri
N ^o Altzza larghezza				no _ dando per li
progu-				8 pezzi 15 _ franchi ma
sivo _				m
	Piedi	Canto	stanza	non di più _
N^o 1 10½ 16		1 _	32 _	Sicche Guglielmo &c _ [A]
22 _	10 _	1	82 _	Ma il vecchio [B]
4 _	9½ _	2	21 _	Io l immagine tolsi. [C]
5. _	9	2	45 _	Alcun non sia di voi [D]
6 _	17	3	3 _	Ecco da mille voci [E]
7 _	19 _	4	2 _	La Bella Armida _ [F]
8. _	18 _	3	21 _	E le chiome dorate [G]
13 or .12.		5	32	Tratto al tumulto il pio [H]
15 _	13	6 _	40 _	Ma li saluta Erminia [I]
14 _	9 _	6 _	40	ne furia equale _ [J]

[Annotation in pencil, inverted here:]

1828 Guigno 19 _ 1828

Lettere Cicognara

arazzi ho [illegible word]

15 franchi _

m C H & B

Identification and Discussion

The note in the Hamilton archive indicates that the 10th Duke of Hamilton acquired eight tapestries around June 1828. It also helps us identify the tapestries and correct some of the assumptions made by Edith Standen in her article on the Ottoboni series in *Apollo* in 1982 and catalogue entries on the four Hamilton tapestries now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, published in 1985 (see the bibliography at the end of this appendix).

Any discussion of the tapestries in Hamilton Palace should start by noting that three of the panels – G, I and J on the above list – were photographed hanging in the Sitting Room, the first of the three ‘Tapestry Rooms’ in the 10th Duke’s extension to Hamilton Palace, by the Glasgow photographer Thomas Annan in the 1860s or 1870s (Figs. 75 and 76). Christie’s 1882 Hamilton Palace sale catalogue begins the listing of the eight Ottoboni tapestries in the auction with these three panels (lots 1914-1916) and then follows them with two more (lots 1918-1919) and then another three (lots 1922-1924), separated by overdoor tapestries commissioned by the 10th Duke for these rooms. This suggests that lots 1918-1919 were in the second room, the Bed Room, and lots 1922-1924 in the third room, the Dressing Room.

This accords with plans of Hamilton Palace. They reveal that a tapestry could have been displayed above the chimneypiece on the west wall of the State Bed Room (like the tapestry in the Sitting Room) and that another tapestry could have hung between the two doors in the south wall which led into the Dressing Room. These walls were ‘lit’ by a centrally placed single window in the north wall and two windows in the east wall. The plans also indicate that there was space for three tapestries in the Dressing Room. Two windows in the east wall meant that nothing large could be displayed on this wall, but tapestries could have been hung on the wall

between the two doors leading from the Bed Room, the west wall, and the south wall, which also had two matching doors into the Boudoir and another small room to the south. The west wall was the longest, uninterrupted wall in the Dressing Room, with only a single door at the north end, and was the obvious place to hang one of the very long Ottoboni tapestries (i.e. *The Crusaders reach Jerusalem* (E) or *Armida prepares to go to the Crusaders' Camp* (F)).

The plans suggest that the long tapestry that was not used on the long wall in the Dressing Room must have been displayed folded, to reduce the size, in either the Bed Room (west or south wall) or the Dressing Room (north or south wall).

As will be seen, my interpretation of the inventory suggests that *The Crusaders* hung in the Bed Room and *Armida* in the Dressing Room. Creases might be used to confirm or reject this reading.

Items listed below in bold are recorded in the Sitting Room (the first room of the New State Apartments) in the Annan photographs.

[A] *Godfrey chosen to lead the Crusade*.

Signed 'P. Ferloni F. Romae 1735.' (probably in upper case).

Vatican City, German Embassy.

Definitely partly crossed out on the list and presumably not acquired. Not in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

[B] *Aladin hears of the Crusaders' Approach*. 12 ft. x 2 in. x 11 ft. 6 in. (3.71 x 3.51 m.).

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Aladin must have been either lot 1923 or 1924 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale. Lot 1923 is described as '12 ft. square' and lot 1924, 'The Companion Piece', as '12 ft. by 11 ft.' *Aladin* must have been in the Dressing Room, with D and F.

Standen thought that *Aladin* was 'probably' either lot 1916 (12 ft. x 10 ft. 4 in.) or 1919 (12 ft. x 10 ft. 3 in.) in the 1882 sale.

Aladin is not recorded on the 1740 Ottoboni inventory but is assumed to be one of the ‘due pezzi d’arazzi della istoria del Tasso esistente in mano del Sig.^r Pietro Ferloni’ referred to in a 1742 addition to the inventory.

[C] *Sophronia’s Defiance*. Signed and dated ‘P. FERLONI F. ROMAE A.D. MDCCXXXIX.’ 12 ft. 4 in. x 10 ft. 6 in. (3.76 x 3.20 m.).

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

This matches lot 1919 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale – ‘An Upright Ditto – ensuite – 12 ft. by 10 ft. 3 in.’— and must have hung in the Bed Room of the New Tapestry Rooms (the second room) with E.

Standen thought that *Sophronia’s Defiance* was ‘probably’ either lot 1916 (12 ft. x 10 ft. 4 in.) or 1919 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

[D] *Clorinda rescuing Sophronia and Olindo*. Signed ‘P. Ferloni F. Romae. A.D. MDCCCXXXIX.’ (probably in upper case).

West Dean College, Chichester, West Sussex.

Clorinda must have been either lot 1923 or 1924 (see B) in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale and must have hung in the third room, the Dressing Room, with B and F.

[E] *The Crusaders reach Jerusalem*. 12 ft. 5 in. x 19 ft. 6 in. (3.7[8 or 9] x 5.94 m.). Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

This appears to have been lot 1918 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale – ‘An Oblong Panel [...] by Ferloni [...] 12 ft. by 19 ft. 4 in.’ – and would therefore have hung in the Bed Room (the second room) with C.

Standen thought *The Crusaders* was ‘Probably number 1918 in the Hamilton Palace sale’.

[F] *Armida prepares to go to the Crusaders’ Camp*. 10 ft. 6 in. x 21 ft. (3.20 x 6.40 m.).

Sold Sotheby’s, London, *European Glass, Oriental Rugs and Carpets, Tapestries and English Furniture*, 29 April 1960, lot 105; bought by the London dealer C. John. Present whereabouts unknown.

Lot 1922 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: ‘Signed Nouzou, and dated 1735 – 12 ft. by 21 ft. 6 in.’ As this was included in Christie’s third group, it must have been displayed in the third room, the Dressing Room, with B and D.

Standen also thought *Armida* was lot 1922.

The reference to Tasso on the list is incorrect: it should be to canto 4, stanza 27.

[G] *The Combat of Clorinda and Tancred*. 11 ft. 6 in. x 19 ft. 7 in. (3.51 x 5.97 m.).

Formerly owned by the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh; sold Sotheby Parke Bernet, New York, 24 June 1977, lot 79 (illus.). Present whereabouts unknown.

Shown in the Sitting Room, New Tapestry Rooms, Hamilton Palace, opposite the windows.

1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 1914, as 12 feet by 20 feet 10 inches and signed by Nouzou (probably Nouzon) and dated 1735.

Standen also thought *The Combat of Clorinda and Tancred* was lot 1914 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

[H] Unidentified tapestry of Godfrey finding the body of Gernando, killed by Rinaldo.

The 1740 Ottoboni inventory records that this tapestry was 14³/₄ *palmi* high by 17¹/₃ *palmi* wide and was signed by Ferloni and dated either 1737 or 1738.

Not in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale.

[I] *Erminia and the Shepherd* . 11 ft. 11 in. x 15 ft. (3.63 x 4.57 m.).

The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

Shown in the Sitting Room, New Tapestry Rooms, on the entrance wall.

1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 1915: ‘by P. Ferloni, of Rome – 12 ft. by 15 ft. 3 in.’

In 1982 Standen believed *Erminia* was ‘probably’ lot 1915. However in 1985 she made the surprising remark that *Erminia*’s ‘dimensions do not correspond with any piece in the Hamilton Palace sale’ and thought it was ‘possibly’ number 1923 or 1924. As they are described as 12 feet square and 12 feet x 11 feet respectively, this is clearly wrong.

The reference to Tasso on the above list is incorrect: it should be to canto 7, stanza 7. The tapestry has lost its outer guard border, so that the weaver’s name and the date, Ferloni, 1733, are now missing.

[J] *The Combat between Tancred and Argante*. Signed ‘P. Ferloni F. Romae. A.D. MDCCXXXVI.’ (probably in upper case).

West Dean College, Chichester, West Sussex.

Shown in the Sitting Room of the New Tapestry Rooms, on the fireplace wall, opposite the entrance.

1882 Hamilton Palace sale, lot 1916: ‘An Upright Ditto – 12 ft. by 10 ft. 4 in.’

Notes and Comments

Standen believed that two other tapestries in the Ottoboni series – *Armida in Godfrey’s Tent* (canto 4, stanza 77) and *Godfrey addressing the Followers of Dudone* (canto 5, stanza 2), signed Ferloni and dated 1736 and 1732 respectively – were formerly in the Hamilton collection. They had formed part of the collection of the Archduke Leopold Salvator until they were auctioned by the Anderson Galleries, New York, on 4-5 February 1927 (lots 282 and 283) and are now in San Francisco Opera House. Standen thought *Godfrey addressing the Followers of Dudone* was probably lot 1915 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale and *Armida in Godfrey’s Tent* possibly lot 1922 (which was 12 feet x 21 feet 6 inches) – although she also associated lot 1922 with *Armida prepares to go to the Crusaders’ Camp* – or lot 1924 (which was 12 feet by 11 feet).

The subjects of the San Francisco tapestries are not recorded on the 1828 list. Furthermore, lot 1915 appears to have been *Erminia and the Shepherd* (I), lot 1922 *Armida prepares to go to the Crusaders’ Camp* (F), and lot 1924 either *Aladin hears of the Crusaders’ Approach* (B) or *Clorinda rescuing Sophronia and Olindo* (D).

We may therefore conclude that the tapestries now in San Francisco were never in the New Tapestry Rooms in Hamilton Palace.

For future research, it should be noted that Cicognara helped the Duke with his illegitimate daughter Carlotta and her marriage and financial and other arrangements in the early 1820s. At an unknown date, Cicognara offered the Duke three smaller tapestries, including two that he states represented Armida and Rinaldo: see the undated letter in Cicognara’s handwriting in the Hamilton archive, Bundle 1002. These cannot have been Ottoboni tapestries because Cicognara gives their dimensions in ‘Piedi’ as 10 x 6.2, 10 x 7.2 and 6.2 high, which is considerably less than any of the Ottoboni panels.

Bibliography

Olszewski, Edward J., 'The Tapestry Collection of Cardinal Pietro Ottoboni', *Apollo*, 116, August 1982, pp.103-11.

Standen, Edith Appleton, 'Tapestries for a Cardinal-Nephew: A Roman Set illustrating Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata*', *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Journal*, 16, 1982, pp.147-64.

Ibid., *European Post-Medieval Tapestries and Related Hangings in The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York, 1985), Vol. II, pp.776-85.

Appendix 15: Bill from Robert Hume to the 10th Duke of Hamilton relating to items purchased at the sale of George Watson Taylor's collection at Erlestoke Mansion, near Devizes, Wiltshire, dated August 1832 (HA, Bundle 660)

1832 His Grace

Aug^t The Duke of Hamilton &^c &^c—

To Rob^t Hume & Son

	Gn ^s	
Two Mosaic Cab ^{ts} _	575	
„ Busts & Pedestals –	280	
Japan Cabinet _____	65	
„ Ecrtoire _____	76	
„ Commode _____	40	
Clock _____	63	
Rep ^g D ^o _____	5	[Addition, in the 10 th Duke of Hamilton's handwriting: agreed price]

[Addition, in the 10th Duke's handwriting:

small table	46 _	Editorial note: The 46 guineas are not included in the total]
-------------	------	---

Inkstand _____ 22½

1126½ – Guineas 1231. 2 . 6

Com^m 61.11- 0

£ 1292-13 - 6

Rec^d Cash - 600 - 0 0

[Addition on the left, in the

10th Duke's handwriting:

from Mess^{rs} Hoares

August 15 1832 at

draft 7 days date

758.16 - 0

£ 1358.16 - 0

13. Silver m[? o^d]

Crystal. [? busts]

& Repairing D^o — 66 . 5 . 0

1358,,18,, 6

pd

C H & B ____

There is also the following note in the 10th Duke's handwriting in bundle 660. As the added entry about the 'small table' is not an insertion, but an integral part of the text, this memo clearly post-dates Hume's bill:

2 cabinets _____ guineas 575 ____

2 busts & pedestals _____ 280 ____

The cabinet _ _____ _ 65

The Ecritoire _____ . _ 76

The Commode _____ _ 40

The Clock _____ 63

N B the marble the pendulum

& the key to be arranged ____ £5 ____

£ The small table _____ 46 ____

Ink stand _____ £ 22 10

by Cash in [illegible word]

£600

paid this by two

several drafts

upon Mess^{rs} Hoares ____

The 10th Duke has drawn a line in pencil below £ 22 10 and written in pencil:

Guineas 1172 – 10

1230 – 12 – 6

Com^m _____ 61 - 10 . 6£ 1292 . 3 0

Explanation and Discussion

Hume's bill obviously begins with the most expensive items. The cabinets had been supplied to George Watson Taylor by Robert Hume and were displayed in the Grand North Drawing Room in Erlestoke Mansion. They were lots 25 and 26 on the thirteenth day of the sale, 23 July 1832, and are described in George Robins's *Catalogue of the Magnificent Assemblage of Property at Erlestoke Mansion, near Devizes* (p.150) as:

- 25 A very MAGNIFICENT EBONY CABINET, of splendid classic design, the CENTRE DOOR REPRESENTING ONE OF THE FINEST SPECIMENS OF BOLD FLORENTINE MOSAIC, displaying a vase filled with fruit, flowers, and birds, the centre compartments of the wings composed of Mosaics equally fine, on a smaller scale, with lapis lazuli borders, the upper and lower panels and entablatures formed of choice specimens of Oriental agates and lapis lazuli, beautiful Italian rosso antico marble slab, supported by 4 very fine sienna marble fluted Corinthian columns, the whole most splendidly mounted with or-molu, chased shell, gadroon, and scroll mouldings, capitals, and bases, 5 feet 6 wide and 3 feet 7 high
- 26 The Companion Cabinet is inlaid, mounted, and fitted up in every respect similar with the preceding

Both items are recorded in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for August 1832 (p.162) as having been bought by Hume for 475 guineas (£498 15s), and partly annotated copies of the sale catalogue in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham, and the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie in The Hague (RKDH) confirm the sale price of 475 guineas/£498 15 shillings. There is therefore a large discrepancy of 100 guineas (£105) between this sum and Hume's charge to the 10th Duke of 575 guineas (£603 15s). One of the two copies of the Erlestoke sale catalogue in the RKDH notes that lots 25 and 26 were sold to 'Hyam' (also referred to as Hyams elsewhere in the catalogue) for £498 15s. Hume may have been bidding as Hyam/Hyams, or have been referred to as Hyam/Hyams by the annotator, but we are faced with four possibilities:

1. Did Hume buy the cabinets from Hyam/Hyams – presumably another dealer – almost immediately after their sale, and add the extra 100 guineas to cover the payment to a first purchaser?
2. Was Hume commissioned to buy the cabinets at the sale for the Duke, or did he offer them to him afterwards, as possible additional acquisitions, and take a 100 guinea profit?
3. Did Hume carry out an (unmentioned) major overhaul and alterations to the cabinets before sending them to the Duke?
4. Was Hume guilty of fraud?

It seems most unlikely, in the light of the publicity surrounding the Erlestoke sale, that Hume engaged in major fraud, and we are left with the three other possibilities. More archival investigation is clearly required, but we also need to thoroughly examine the cabinets – one of which is on long-term loan from Brooklyn Museum to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York – for unexpected and apparently unrecorded, expensive alterations.

The two busts and pedestals referred to in the second entry on the bill were auctioned on the fifteenth day, 25 July, and are described in print in the sale catalogue (p.167) simply as:

- 160 A MAGNIFICENT ANTIQUE BUST OF NERO, in porphyry, life size, with rich or-molu drapery and mounting
- 161 A MAGNIFICENT BUST OF HADRIAN, its companion

Annotations in the two sale catalogues in the RKDH record that they were sold with ‘2 Terms’ or a ‘Pair of Therms’. Both copies record that the busts and pedestals were sold to ‘Hume’. The better annotated copy gives the price as £294 – the same price as the charge of 280 guineas (£294) on Hume’s bill – and the other as £304. The important provenances of these busts, and the identification and location of one of them, are discussed in detail in Appendix 16.

Hume’s bill then lists three pieces of furniture from ‘the superb Anti-Drawing Room’, on the Principal Floor, that were sold on the fifth day, 13 July (pp.55-6):

- 14 A SPLENDID FINE OLD INDIA JAPAN CABINET, birds and flowers, in raised gold on black ground, massively mounted in chased or-molu of the finest description, with fall down front, lined with crimson velvet, enclosing a nest of 6 rose-wood inlaid drawers and 2 shelves, pair of folding doors, with 4 drawers and shelf and drawer on

- top, with handsome black marble slab, spring locks and key, 3 feet 9 wide by 4 feet 8 high
- 23 A SPLENDID 4 FEET 3 OLD INDIA JAPAN COMMODOE OF 2 LARGE AND THREE SMALL DRAWERS unique shape, finely ornamented in raised gold birds, flowers and foliage on black ground, massive chased festoons of flowers and foliage very boldly executed, scroll ornaments and mouldings, with black marble slab (faulty), on large black marble shaped plinth
- 26 SUPERB OLD INDIA JAPAN CABINET beautifully ornamented in flowers and foliage raised in dead gold on black ground, finely chased or-molu centre medallion emblematical of “Maternal Love,” encircled by wreaths of flowers, beautifully chased scroll vine leaf borders, with Bacchanalian figures, massive mouldings and beading, the corners supported by finely modelled Caryatide figures, surmounted by a handsome black marble slab, fall down escrutoire front, lined with rich crimson silk velvet, 9 internal drawers, and letter holes, and 3 drawers over, on elegant India Japan stand, with 3 drawers and shelf mounted to correspond, spring locks and keys, 3 feet 8 wide and 5 feet 4 inches high

These items are the black lacquer secretaire and commode which were made by Jean-Henri Riesener for Marie-Antoinette in the 1780s, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (lots 14 and 23)¹ and the black lacquer secretaire attributed to Riesener now in the J. Paul Getty Museum, Los Angeles (lot 26).²

The better annotated catalogue in the RKDH records that all three items were sold to ‘Hume’, and the catalogue in the Barber Institute confirms that lot 14 was bought by ‘Hume’. According to the annotations in the RKDH catalogue, lot 14 (the secretaire in the Met) sold for £79 16s, lot 23 (the matching commode) for £42, and lot 26 (the secretaire in the Getty) for £65 2s. The Barber catalogue notes that lot 14 sold for ‘76 G[uinea]s’ (£79 16s); it has two crossed out codes and what might be ‘40 Gs’ (i.e. £42) against lot 23, and ‘62 G[uinea]s’ (£65 2s) against lot 26.

The bill therefore orders the pieces as follows:

‘Japan Cabinet’ 65 guineas (£68 5s) = lot 26 (the secretaire in the Getty), which sold for 62 guineas/£65 2s

‘Japan Ecrutoire’ 76 guineas (£79 16s) = lot 14 (the secretaire in the Met), which fetched 76 guineas/£79 16s

¹ See W. Rieder, ‘A Royal Commode and Secretaire by Riesener’, *Furniture History*, XXXVIII, 2002, pp.83-96.

² See Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of Rugs and Carpets, Tapestries, Works of Art and Important French Furniture*, London, 26 November 1971, lot 71.

‘Japan Commode’ 40 guineas (£42) = lot 23 (the commode in the Met), which realized 40 guineas/£42

The prices of the last two items in the sale catalogues and on the bill tally exactly. The discrepancy between the sale room price and the charge to the Duke for the first piece – the secretaire now in the Getty – could be a mistake, extra profit-taking, or the cost of restoration or refurbishment.³

The clock charged at 63 guineas on Hume’s bill was evidently an important piece and the partly annotated catalogue in the Barber Institute and the better of the two annotated catalogues in the RKDH confirm, by the notes ‘Hume’ (in both) and ‘63 Gs’ (Barber) and ‘66 _ 3 _ 0’ (RKDH) alongside the catalogue entry, that it was lot 24 on the same day as the secretaires and commode (p.56):

A MAGNIFICENT PARISIAN OR-MOLU CLOCK on white marble stand, with lapis lazuli tablet, surmounted by A NOBLE AND FINELY MODELLED GROUP OF 3 CUPIDS of exquisite design and symmetry, with emblematical devices of doves, bows and arrows, &c. scroll arabesque ornaments, festoons and mouldings, excellent eight day movement, with center seconds, by Laupautel a Paris, large glass shade and plinth

The ‘small table’ charged to the Duke at 46 guineas may have been either lot 17 or lot 28 on the same day (p.55). Lot 17 is described as:

A LADY’S SUPERBE MARQUETERIE WRITING TABLE, with slider, drawer and shelf, elaborately inlaid with medallions of flowers, splendidly mounted with chased or-molu, in flowers, foliage and festoons, gallery railing and beaded mouldings

Lot 28 was:

A VERY ELEGANT PARISIAN MARQUETERIE CASSETTE AND ECRITOIRE, beautifully inlaid and mounted with twelve entablatures of very fine Sevres porcelaine, exquisitely painted in bouquets and wreaths of flowers, rare green borders and rich gilding, massive chased or-molu masque ornaments and moulding, with drawers fitted as writing desk, with green leather riser and 3 French plated ink and pen trays, brass locks, &c.

The catalogue in the Barber notes that the former was sold to ‘Bald’ (possibly a contraction for the dealer and supplier E.H. Baldock) for 31 guineas/£32 11 0, while

³ There is extensive black overpainting of the lacquer on the secretaire. A good deal dates from the manufacture of the piece, using old panels of Japanese and European lacquer, but there are also clear areas of ‘restoration’ (e.g. to the lower shelf), which are either nineteenth century or later.

both the Barber and RKDH catalogues record that the latter was bought by ‘Hick’ for 42 guineas/£44 2s. However a ‘Copy of bill’ written in the front of the Barber catalogue (see the transcript at the end of this appendix) reveals that lot 17, the ‘Lady’s Superbe Marqueterie Writing Table’, was definitely bought by Hume, along with lot 21 (which we will come to shortly), and that Hume might also have acquired lot 28, the ‘Very Elegant Parisian Marqueterie Cassette and Ecrtoire’. The ‘Copy of bill’ begins:

No	Lot	£	s	D	
24	17	32	11	0	Hume
	21	18	18	0	D ⁻ [i.e. Ditto]
	28	44	2	0	

The first number – No 24 – is the room number and the number of the room which contained the furniture under discussion here, so there can be no doubt that Hume did buy the ‘Lady’s Superbe Marqueterie Writing Table’ (lot 17) and lot 21.

As Hume charged the Duke 46 Guineas for the ‘small table’, one naturally assumes that the piece was lot 28, the ‘Very Elegant Parisian Marqueterie Cassette and Ecrtoire’, which was purchased for 42 guineas at the sale. But this is questionable. First, as there is no ‘Ditto’ alongside lot 28, the ‘Copy of bill’ does not actually record that Hume bought the ‘Cassette and Ecrtoire’. Secondly, the ‘small table’ seems to have been an ‘extra’ acquisition, rather than the result of a commissioned bid, and this means that Hume could have added a substantial ‘mark-up’. Thirdly, there is very little evidence of the Duke buying porcelain-mounted furniture; the only well recorded instance is the commode acquired from Bonnet in 1830, which appears to be synonymous with the so-called ‘Versailles Cabinet’ discussed in chapter 6. Fourthly, it is difficult to identify a porcelain-mounted ‘Parisian Marqueterie Cassette and Ecrtoire’ in the Hamilton collection, whereas the ‘Lady’s Superbe Marqueterie Writing Table’ seems to accord with the ‘writing table’ on the bill and to equate to the writing table by Riesener, with Marie-Antoinette’s furniture inventory mark and inventory markings for the Petit Trianon, now in the Rothschild collection at Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury.⁴

⁴ G. de Bellaigue, *The James A. de Rothschild Collection at Waddesdon Manor: Furniture, Clocks and Gilt Bronzes* (Fribourg, 1974), II, pp.520-7.

The only piece in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale that might pass as a 'Maqueterie Cassette and Ecritoire' is lot 1790, which had porcelain plaques with green borders, but also had a marble top:

A Small Louis XVI. Parqueterie Cabinet, on tall straight legs, with four drawers, the back inlaid with a circular plaque of old Sevres porcelain, painted with a basket of flowers on white ground, with green and gold border, the sides each with a turquoise and gold border, the sides each with a turquoise and gold plaque of the same, with a bouquet of flowers in the centre, mounted with handles, scutcheons, and borders, and gallery of chased or-molu, and surmounted by a white marble slab.

If we could make the connection between the Watson Taylor 'Writing Table' and the writing table now at Waddesdon, it would at long last explain the source and date of acquisition of this exquisite piece. Unfortunately, the partly annotated copies of the sale catalogue in the RKDH do not have anything against lot 17.

Finally, the inkstand that cost the Duke 22½ guineas must be lot 21, which we now know, from the 'Copy of bill', to have been bought by Hume. It is described in the sale catalogue as:

A SUPERB OR-MOLU INK STAND supported by four finely modelled eagles, richly ornamented with laurel leaves and branches, 2 elegant vases on plinths for lights, with festoon drapery and lion's head masques, chased hand bell in centre, on ebonized and or-molu plinth

The copy of the sale catalogue in the Barber Institute records that the inkstand sold for 18 guineas and has something like 'h a H' and 'B' to the left of the entry and '3 £' to the right.

The 'Copy of bill' records that Hume purchased the inkstand for 18 guineas. He therefore took four and a half guineas for overheads and profit – a mark up of 25 per cent. This would suggest that he did not sell the 'Cassette and Ecritoire' to the Duke, because, if it was an 'additional' item, it should have cost the Duke more than 46 guineas. It cost 42 guineas at auction and the price charged for the inkstand suggests that Hume would have added much more than 4 guineas and perhaps taken the charge into the low 50s. At the same time, if the 'small table' was lot 17, which cost Hume 31 guineas, Hume was taking much more than 25% on this transaction. Thirty one guineas to 46 guineas is a 15 guinea, almost 50% mark up. This would

have been a big ‘add on’ for the time, but would have been totally justifiable to a dealer and completely acceptable to an ambitious collector if lot 17 was the Riesener table now at Waddesdon.

If we pursue this line of thinking, the mark up of 100 guineas on the cabinets – from the 475 guineas purchase price at auction to the sale price to the Duke of 575 guineas – seems to fit in with a practice of adding nothing to commissioned bids and making significant profits, of between about 20 and 50%, on speculative purchases. One might therefore interpret the bill as offering evidence that the Duke commissioned Hume to bid for the porphyry busts, secretaires, commode and clock and secured them within an agreed arrangement, and that the other items – the cabinets, table and inkstand – either exceeded the agreed ‘price ceiling’ or were additional acquisitions, which Hume bought on his own initiative and then offered to the Duke, with a large mark-up.

An interesting point to note about these acquisitions is that the two smallest items – the inkstand and the clock – do not appear to have been included in either the 1882 or 1919 Hamilton Palace sales. Other works are also missing from these sales (e.g. the oil sketch of Germanicus/Decius Mus attributed to Rubens and the ‘beautiful’ painting of the Emperor Napoleon I which Princess Marie acquired from her mother’s estate in 1860). Taken together, they suggest that there was significant ‘leakage’ from the collection between about 1855 and 1914.

Items certainly passed to the daughter of the 11th Duke (Mary Victoria, who married Albert, Prince of Monaco, in 1869, and later Count Festetics) and the daughter of the 12th Duke (Mary Louise, who married the 6th Duke of Montrose in 1906), and it is possible that the two smaller Watson Taylor pieces, and the sketch attributed to Rubens and the portrait of Napoleon, were given to the two daughters. As most of the really important items were sold in 1882, Lady Mary Victoria would have been the most likely beneficiary of the really good pieces.

Edited 'Copy of bill' written on the first cream-coloured page of the Erlestoke Sale Catalogue in the Barber Institute of Fine Arts, Birmingham

Copy of bill

No	Lot	£	s	D	
24	17	32	11	0	Hume
	21	18	18	0	D[itto]
	28	44	2	0	
27	15	1	18	0	
	17	1	15	0	
	20	1	12	0	
	24		15	0	
	27	1	15	0	
	29	1	1	0	
	46	3	10	0	
	104		12	0	
	105		12	0	
	108	1	6	0	

	119	2	8	0	
30	18	11	0	6	
36	10 & 11	194	5	0	
	12	67	4	0	Swaby
	13	131	5	0	Normanton
	22	105	0	0	D[itto]
	24	44	2	0	Swaby
39	11	420	0	0	Normanton
	19	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	Hume
		1088	14	6	
		<u>822</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0</u>	
		<u>266</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	
					32 11 0
					18 18 0
					67 4 0
					131 5 0
					105 _ _
					44 2 _
					420 _ _
					<u>3 3 0</u>
					822 3 0

Notes

As already discussed, Hume apparently bought the first two, if not three, lots. The annotated copy of the sale catalogue in the Barber Institute records that ‘Baldock’ – i.e. the London furniture and ceramics supplier E.H. Baldock – bought the eleven lots of ceramics listed under room 27. The next lot, room 30, lot 18, was ‘A Very Elegant Parisian Marqueterie Escriptoire’ which apparently sold for 10½ guineas and is annotated ‘B’ in the Barber catalogue.

The items listed under room 36 comprised a pair of ‘magnificent’ rosewood cabinets (lots 10 and 11), ‘A Pair of Very Choice Old Sevres China Vases’ (lot 12), ‘A pair of Exceedingly Beautiful Candelabras’ (lot 13), ‘A very unique Milan steel and or-molu dejeuner table’ (lot 22) and ‘An Uncommonly Fine and Rare Specimen of Old Sevres China, in the form of an Ancienne Roman Galley’ (lot 24). The Barber

catalogue does not record buyers' names against any of these entries, but the prices tally with the 'Copy of bill':

lots 10 and 11	185 guineas
lot 12	64 guineas
lot 13	125 guineas
lot 22	100 guineas
lot 24	42 guineas

The two lots from room 39 were either one or both of the pair of 'Superlative Magnificent 6 feet Console Table[s]', which were sold as lots 10 and 11 and fetched 580 guineas according to the annotation beside the entries in the Barber catalogue, and 'A Splendid Old Sevres Cabinet and Saucer', which made 3 guineas according to the Barber catalogue.

Appendix 16: The Two Porphyry Busts of Roman Emperors in the Hamilton Palace Collection

Robert Hume's bill for items acquired by the 10th Duke of Hamilton around August 1832,¹ which is published in Appendix 15, reveals that the two porphyry busts of Roman Emperors that flanked the Duke's ambassadorial throne and canopy at the east end of the Long Gallery in Hamilton Palace in the 1830s and early 1840s² came from the sale of the celebrated collection of George Watson Taylor at Erlestoke Manor, near Devizes, in July 1832. They are listed as '[Two] Busts & Pedestals' costing 280 guineas on Hume's bill and correspond to lots 160 and 161 on the fifteenth day of the Erlestoke sale, on 25 July:

- 160 A MAGNIFICENT ANTIQUE BUST OF NERO, in porphyry,
 life size, with rich or-molu drapery and mounting
 161 A MAGNIFICENT BUST OF HADRIAN, its companion³

The busts were subsequently displayed by the 10th Duke on the black marble staircase in the palace, which was completed in 1845, along with a bust of the 'Emperor Vespasian' in black basalt, with 'agate marble' drapery, purchased at the sale of Horace Walpole's collection at Strawberry Hill in 1842.⁴ The latter became

¹ HA, Bundle 660.

² In his account of Hamilton published in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland* with the date July 1835, the Reverend William Patrick notes: 'At the upper end of the gallery is the present Duke's ambassadorial throne, brought from his embassy at St Petersburg, and placed between two antique magnificent busts of oriental porphyry, the one of Augustus and the other of Tiberius; and on the walls, on each side of the throne, are two capital portraits of George III. and Queen Charlotte, painted soon after their marriage' (*The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. VI, Lanark* (Edinburgh and London, 1845), p.274).

³ George Robins, *Catalogue of the Magnificent Assemblage of Property at Erlestoke Mansion near Devizes, in Wilts, accumulated, within this far-famed abode of taste and vertu, during the last Twenty Years, at an enormous expense, the whole selected by George Watson Taylor, Esq. M.P.* (London, 1832), p.167. The two annotated copies of the sale catalogue in the Rijksbureau voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie at The Hague (hereafter RKDH) record that the busts were sold to 'Hume'. One notes the price as £294 (i.e. 280 guineas, the price on Hume's bill to the Duke), while the other gives it as £304.

⁴ The Strawberry Hill bust is described in the auction catalogue as: 'A MAGNIFICENT COLOSSAL BUST of the EMPEROR VESPASIAN, in BASALTES, a most splendid specimen of sculpture, the countenance powerfully expressive of the character of this monarch, the drapery is formed of agate marble, it is supported by a ROMAN SEPULCHRAL ALTAR, on a green marble plinth, on which, in bas relief, is represented a man sacrificing, with the following inscription:

TI. CLAUDIVS AVG. L.
 DOCILIS
 AEDITVS AEDIS
 FORTVNAE TVLLIANAE.

lot 190 in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale – ‘AN ANTIQUE BUST OF THE EMPEROR VESPASIAN, of black basalt, with drapery of original alabaster. *From Strawberry Hill*’ – while the porphyry busts of ‘Nero’ and ‘Hadrian’, which had been re-identified as Augustus and Tiberius within three years of purchase,⁵ were auctioned as the next two lots in the 1882 sale:

- 191 A BUST OF THE EMPEROR AUGUSTUS, of antique
Egyptian porphyry, with gilt metal ornaments. [...]
192 A BUST OF THE EMPEROR TIBERIUS, of antique
Egyptian porphyry, with gilt metal ornaments.⁶

During this period, all three busts were shown on ebony plinths decorated with *pietre dure* which were supplied by Hume, and were included in the 1882 sale as lots 193-195.

The descriptions of the busts and illustrations of all three pieces in Christie’s 1882 sale catalogue and the illustrated priced catalogue⁷ enable us to identify the Watson Taylor/Hamilton busts (see Figs. 87 and 88 in this thesis) as the porphyry busts of ‘Vespasian’ and ‘Titus’ and ‘Augustus’ and ‘Vespasian’ that had been in three important French collections – those of Jérôme Phélypeaux, comte de Pontchartrain (1674-1747) (the son of Louis Phélypeaux (1643-1727), Chancellor of France from 1699 to 1714), Marcellin-François-Zacharie de Selle (between 1693 and 1706-1759), and Pierre-Louis-Paul Randon de Boisset (1708-76)⁸ – and in two later Parisian sales, in 1783 and 1791.

The porphyry busts in the Pontchartrain, de Selle and Randon de Boisset collections are described in the relevant sale catalogues as follows:

This noble bust and pedestal are 6 feet high, they are most justly deemed of the highest class of works of art, perfectly unique, and present together a noble ornament for a gallery

They were purchased from the collection of Cardinal Ottoboni.’

George Robins, *A Catalogue of the Classic Contents of Strawberry Hill collected by Horace Walpole* (London, 1842), p.234, lot 73.

⁵ See footnote 2.

⁶ Christie, Manson and Woods, *Catalogue of the Collection of Pictures, Works of Art, and Decorative Objects, The Property of His Grace the Duke of Hamilton, K.T.*, London, 17 June -20 July 1882, p.33 (second day, 19 June 1882).

⁷ *Ibid.*, between pp.32 and 33, and *The Hamilton Palace Collection: Illustrated Priced Catalogue* (Paris and London, 1882), pp.32-4.

⁸ On Randon de Boisset’s collection generally, see R. Freyberger, ‘The Randon de Boisset Sale, 1777’, *Apollo*, CXI, April 1980, pp.298-303.

Pontchartrain Sale, May 1747

Le Buste de Vespasien & celui de Titus en regard. Les têtes de ces deux beaux Bustes sont de Porphyre, dont on connoît la dureté, & par conséquent la difficulté du travail, & le reste est en Marbres de diverses couleurs, enrichis d'ornemens de bronze dorés d'or moulu. Ils ont environ 2 pieds & demi de haut, & ils sont montés sur de magnifiques piédestaux de Marbre blanc, ornés de bronzes de 4 pieds de haut. Ces deux morceaux de Sculpture sont d'une grande richesse, & singuliers dans leur espèce.⁹

De Selle Sale, 19 February 1761

- 44 Deux Bustes, chacun de 2 pieds & demi de haut, grands comme nature & d'une grande perfection; ils représentent le portrait de Vespasien & celui de Titus, les têtes sont de porphyre: du marbre blanc rapporté, fait voir le haut d'une chemise, le surplus est de marbre vert d'Egypte, sur quoi passe à chacun une riche draperie de bronze doré d'or moulu; ils ont une couronne de laurier sur la tête, aussi de bronze; ils sont montés sur des pié-douches, de marbre vert campan, de 6 pouces de haut, posés sur de très belles gaines de marbre blanc, de forme ancienne, & qui ont 3 pieds 10 pouces de hauteur, enrichis de bronzes dorés.¹⁰

Randon de Boisset Sale, 25 March 1777

- 249 Les Bustes d'Auguste & de Vespasien, forte nature; les têtes sont de porphyre, les corps de marbre verd d'Egypte, & le haut de l'habillement de marbre blanc: ils sont ornés d'une couronne de laurier & d'une draperie de bronze doré.

Ces deux morceaux, qui sont de main de Maître, sont posés sur de belles & riches gaînes de marqueterie, enrichis d'ornements & tapis de bronze doré; ouvrage du célèbre *Boule*.¹¹

⁹ P.J. Mariette, *Catalogue des tableaux, des bustes, et autres ouvrages de sculpture en marbre, et des bronzes, du Cabinet de M. le Comte de Pontchartrain* (Paris, 1747), p.11, unnumbered lot (annotated as lot 55 in at least one catalogue). Two annotated sale catalogues in the RKDH record that the two busts sold for 4,801 *livres*.

¹⁰ Pierre Remy, *Catalogue des effets curieux du Cabinet de feu M. de Selle, Tresorier General de la Marine* (Paris, 1761), pp.24-5, lot 44. To the left of the top of the entry is: 'Catalogue de Pontchartrain. pag. 11.' Annotated catalogues record that lot 44 sold for 4,401 *livres*. The copy of the catalogue in the RKDH also notes the price of 4,801 *livres* at the Pontchartrain sale.

¹¹ Pierre Remy, *Catalogue des Tableaux & Desseins précieux des Maîtres célèbres des trios Ecoles, Figures de marbres, de bronze & de terre cuite, Estampes en feuilles & autres objets du Cabinet de feu M. Randon de Boisset, Receveur Général des Finances* (Paris, 1777), p.112, lot 249. The date of the sale is given in the supplement to the catalogue on page 21. Some annotated catalogues record that lot 249 sold for 7,700 *livres*; two annotated catalogues in the RKDH record that the busts were sold to Millon Danival.

The busts were subsequently in the collection of M. Le Boeuf and were apparently acquired at his sale in April 1783 by the dealer Jean-Baptiste-Pierre Le Brun (1748-1813), the grandnephew of the painter Charles Le Brun and husband of the painter Vigée Le Brun. They were put up for auction with many other items by Le Brun in April 1791, with almost exactly the same catalogue description as in 1783:

Le Boeuf Sale, 8 April 1783

98 Deux Bustes, l'un d'Auguste & l'autre de Vespasien, forte proportion; les têtes sont de porphyre, les corps de marbre verd d'Egypte, & le haut de l'habillement de marbre blanc; ils sont ornés d'une couronne de laurier & d'une draperie de bronze doré. Ces deux beaux morceaux de la vente de M. de de [sic] Boisset, n^o. 249.¹²

J.B.P. Le Brun Sale, 20 April 1791

374. Deux Bustes, l'un d'Auguste et l'autre de Vespasien, forte proportion; les têtes sont de porphyre[,] les corps de marbre vert d'Egypte, et le haut de l'habillement de marbre blanc; ils sont ornés d'une couronne de laurier et d'une draperie de bronze doré. Ces deux beaux morceaux viennent de la vente de M. Boisset, n^o. 249. Ils viennent en dernier lieu de la vente de M. le Boeuf, n^o. 98: vendus 8000 liv.*¹³

The busts were either sold or bought in at 4,000 *livres* in 1791 – half the sum they had realized in the previous sale. Nothing more is known about their sale history until 1832.

The Getty Provenance Index states the busts were 'Non Vendu' at the Le Brun sale. If this is correct, Le Brun's collaboration with the American painter John Trumbull's speculative purchase of paintings in 1795¹⁴ and his active involvement in the export of works of art to London suggest that they may well have left France around this time, but there is nothing directly relevant to support this.

¹² J.B.P. Le Brun, *Catalogue raisonné d'une très-belle collection de tableaux des Écoles d'Italie, de France, de Flandres, de Hollande et de France [...] Provenans du Cabinet de M. **** (Paris, 1783), p.74. The titlepage of the copy of the catalogue in the RKDH is annotated 'Le Boeuf'. The printed price list in the supplement records (p.2): '98 Deux Bustes. de Boisset. 7700 l avec les gaines de Boule'. The lot entry in the RKDH copy is annotated 'Le Brun' and '8000' (i.e. 8,000 *livres*).

¹³ *Catalogue d'objets rares et curieux, du plus beau choix [...] Provenant du Cabinet de M. Le Brun* (Paris, 1791), p.164, lot 374. The copy of the sale catalogue in the RKDH is annotated '4000' (i.e. as selling or being bought in at 4,000 *livres*).

¹⁴ See Appendix 2, number 36.

The busts were almost certainly owned by a collector during the Napoleonic period and acquired by George Watson Taylor, M.P. (1770-1841) after 1815. Before this, Watson Taylor was apparently living on around £1,500 a year,¹⁵ derived from his family's estate at Saul's River, Jamaica, and would have been unlikely to have had the resources to have bought such items. But in 1815 his wife's brother, Sir Simon Taylor, died and Watson Taylor gained control of his West Indian plantations, which were allegedly worth £60,000 a year. He therefore had the necessary funds and inclination to collect on a major scale from 1815, and began to buy and project status almost immediately. In 1816 he was talked of as a purchaser of the Marquis of Cholmondeley's Houghton Hall estate for £350,000 and of 'Mr Hope's' house in Cavendish Square,¹⁶ and actually bought the latter. The same year, he became M.P. for Newport, Isle of Wight. The porphyry busts were presumably acquired sometime over the next fifteen years, probably – like many of his major paintings and pieces of furniture – from a British source.¹⁷

As we have already noted, these very highly regarded and prestigious works passed from the Hamilton Palace collection in 1882. The bust of 'Augustus' (Fig. 87) was acquired by E. Joseph for £1,732 10s, whilst the bust of 'Tiberius' (Fig. 88) was purchased by Samuel Wertheimer for £525.¹⁸ Wertheimer bought internationally important examples of French furniture and other items for members of the Rothschild family at the Hamilton Palace sale and sold other Hamilton Palace pieces to them in the wake of the sale.¹⁹ His purchases at the sale included a pair of

¹⁵ T. Raikes, *A Portion of the Journal kept by Thomas Raikes, Esq. from 1831 to 1847* (London, 1856), I, p.26 (under 2 May 1832).

¹⁶ *The Gentleman's Magazine*, 1816, ii, pp. 364, 460.

¹⁷ On Watson Taylor, see E. Lennox-Boyd, 'Patronage and Collecting: George Watson Taylor', in E. Lennox-Boyd (ed.), *Masterpieces of English Furniture: The Gerstenfeld Collection* (London, 1998), pp.148-61.

¹⁸ *The Hamilton Palace Collection: Illustrated Priced Catalogue*, p.31.

¹⁹ Wertheimer supplied Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild with the most expensive pieces of furniture in the 1882 Hamilton Palace sale: the two *armoires* by André-Charles Boulle now in the Musée du Louvre (lots 672 and 673), which fetched £12,075 and went into Baron Ferdinand's London house (see M. Hall, *Waddesdon Manor: The Heritage of a Rothschild House* (New York, 2002), p.100). He also supplied Baron Ferdinand with the commode by Charles Cressent (lot 1806, £6,247 10s), the fall-front secretaire Riesener made for Louis XVI's study in the Petit Trianon (lot 518, £1,575) and the exquisite small writing table by Riesener associated with Marie-Antoinette (lot 303, £6,000) – to name but three more internationally important items of furniture. In addition, Wertheimer supplied Miss Alice, Baron Ferdinand's sister, with the commode Riesener made for the bedroom of the comtesse de Provence (lot 528, £2,310).

One should also note that Baron Ferdinand acquired the 'Lyte Jewel' – a miniature of James I and VI by Nicholas Hilliard mounted in a gold locket set with diamonds – that E. Joseph (the buyer of the

magnificent porphyry vases for £1,365,²⁰ and he evidently sold these to a member of the Rothschild family because they were introduced to Waddesdon by Lord Jacob Rothschild a few years ago. The relationship between the dealer and the Rothschilds was so close that Baron Ferdinand de Rothschild, the builder of Waddesdon Manor, near Aylesbury, was godfather to one of Wertheimer's children, and Alfred and Leopold de Rothschild were Wertheimer's executors after his death in 1892.²¹ All this suggests 'Tiberius' may have gone to one of the Rothschilds in Britain, France or Austria and into one of their forty-two houses in Europe.

'Augustus' has still to be tracked down, but 'Tiberius' is now at Versailles. It was purchased by the French State, at auction, in 1978 and formally identified as 'Vitellius, empereur romain (15-69), dit aujourd'hui: Vespasien, empereur romain (9-79)'.²²

Simone Hoog included the bust in the summary catalogue of the sculpture at Versailles and gave the provenance as 'Anciennes collections de Pontchartrain (1747), de Selle (1761), Randon de Boisset (1783), Walpole (1842) and Hamilton (1882)'. As we have seen, the first three are correct, although the date of the Randon de Boisset sale was 1777, not 1783. Le Boeuf (1783) and Le Brun (1791) need to be inserted, and Watson Taylor (1832) and Dukes of Hamilton or Hamilton Palace (1832-82) should replace 'Walpole (1842)' and 'Hamilton (1882)'. Finally, Samuel Wertheimer (1882) should be added, and the provenance might also include ? Rothschild family.

Hoog describes the Hamilton 'Tiberius' / Versailles 'Vespasian' / 'Vitellius' as 'Antique et École italienne du XVI^e siècle', but there is nothing Ancient Roman about either of the porphyry busts. Like the porphyry busts of the Twelve Caesars in the Borghese Gallery in Rome, they are Italian, 16th or 17th century, with the possibility – perhaps probability – that the ormolu mounts are later.²³

bust of 'Augustus') had purchased at the Hamilton Palace sale (lot 1615, £2,835). This had been bought by the 11th Duke of Hamilton and was bequeathed to the British Museum by Baron Ferdinand.

²⁰ Christie, Manson and Woods, *Catalogue*, lot 1008: 'A Pair of Vases, of Antique Egyptian Porphyry, with fluted bowls and covers, and twisted serpent handles – on antique serpentine plinths – 30 in. high – on ebonised pedestals'; *Illustrated Priced Catalogue*, p.134.

²¹ Hall, *Waddesdon Manor*, p.92.

²² S.Hoog, *Musée National du Château de Versailles. Le Sculptures: I – Le Musée* (Paris, 1993), p.370, no.1734, reg. no. MV 8524. Hoog gives the measurements as: 'H. totale: 0,80; H. piédouche: 0,15; 0,65; Pr.: 0,32.

²³ See I. Faldi, *Galleria Borghese: Le Sculture dal Secolo XVI al XIX* (Rome, 1954), pp.16-7.

Appendix 17: Napoleonic Items recorded in the Hamilton Palace Inventories and Sale Catalogues, 1825-1919

Napoleonic items in the 1825 Hamilton Palace Inventory (HA, M4/70)

Page

	Duke's Dressing Room		
110	A marble bust of the Princess Borghose	50	„ „
	Billiard Room		
174	Portrait of the Emperor Napoleon	500	David

Note: A list of items sent to Hamilton Palace from Paris by Quinet in 1827, on page 185, includes: 'a mahogany bed stand with two guilt figures in wood & the roof mahogany with bronze likewise'. This is the bedstead associated with Murat in the 1852/53 Hamilton Palace inventory: see Napoleonic Items in the 1852/53 Inventory of Hamilton Palace, under page 69. It is discussed in Appendix 9.

Napoleonic Items in the Hamilton Palace Inventory 'Taken in February 1835 and Continued down to November 1840' in Hamilton Town House Library

Note: An addition was made to this inventory as late as March 1842 (see p.224).

Page

Plate Room

59 Napoleons Gold Plate bought by His Grace

New Dining Room

147 [Picture of] Emperor Napoleon 1000 „ „
'David' has been added in light ink.

Library

151 2 Very Valuable Porcelaine de sevrès vases with Bronze figures on either side and painting 150 „ „

First Dressing Room

173 A Miniature of Napoleon in Bronze with Gilt Bronze frame 10 „ „
Notes on the left record that this miniature and three other items were subsequently transferred to the 'Dukes Bed room' (see below, under p.189).

The Duke's Sitting Room

181 A Marble Bust of the Princess Borghese on a Granite Column and red Porphyry Plinths 130 „ „

The list of additions to the Duke's Sitting Room includes:

183 Buste of the Emperor Napoleon, in Bronze
a Bronze (whole) figure of Napoleon

Pictures in the Duke's Bedroom

- 187 Print of Napoleon 1 „ „
 Portrait of Napoleon 2 „ „
 Napoleon on Horseback at the Battle of Austerlitz 60 „ „
 'By M^r „ Gallet' has been added, in light ink, to the last entry, between 'Austerlitz' and the valuation.

The additions to the Pictures in the Duke's Bedroom include:

- 189 A Miniature of Napoleon in Bronze with gilt bronze frame
 The valuation '10 _ _' has been added, in pencil, to the right. This is the last entry on the list and is in a slightly darker ink, which suggests that it may have been added after the other entries. This, in turn, may explain why two earlier entries are annotated as having come 'from 1st. State Dressing Room', but not this entry.

Duke's New Sitting Room

(Note: This is a post-1835, additional list.)

- 190 Marble Bust of the Princess Borghese

Duke's Bedroom, under Pieces of Sculpture &^c

(Note: This list appears to be part of the original 1835 inventory.)

- 191 A Bronze Head of Napoleon 21 „ „
 This entry has subsequently been annotated 'in Sitting Room', in ink, between 'Napoleon' and the valuation. The piece must therefore be synonymous with the 'Buste of the Emperor Napoleon, in Bronze', which is recorded among the additions to the Duke's Sitting Room (see above, under p.183).
 359 List (in French) of Napoleon's Gilt Plate

Napoleonic Items in the 1835-40 Hamilton Palace Inventory in the Hamilton Archive (Volume 1223)

Page

	Plate Room	
44	Napoleons Gold Plate bought by His Grace	
	Library	
131	2 very valuable Porcelaine de sevrès vases with Bronze figures on either side and painting	150 „ „
	First State Dressing Room	
155	A Miniature of Napoleon in Bronze with Gilt Bronze frame	10 „ „
	The Duke's Sitting Room	
159	A Marble Bust of the Princess Borghese on Granite Column and red porphyry Plinths	130 „ „
160	The list of additions to the Duke's Sitting Room includes: Bust of the Emperor Napoleon in Bronze. a Bronze (whole) figure of Napoleon	

Note: There is no reference to the David portrait of Napoleon under either the Cholera Room/Billiard Room or the New Dining Room, on pages 123 and 125 respectively, but the top third of page 126 has been torn out. Similarly, there is no reference to Napoleonic items in the Duke's Bed Room, on page 161, but pages 162 and 163 have been removed. A smaller sheet has been added later, between pages 161 and 164, and lists the items in the Duke's New Sitting Room, Duke's Old Bath Room and New Bath Rooms. The 'Marble Bust on Chimney of' [blank] in the Duke's New Sitting Room may have been a bust of Princess Pauline Borghese.

Napoleonic Items in the 1852/3 Hamilton Palace Inventory (HA, Volume 1228)

Page

- Marquess of Douglas's Upper Sitting Room
- 49 an oblong Mahogany Table with an inlaid Silver plate, stating it to have belonged to the Emperor Napoleon
- Marquess of Douglas's Bed Room
- 52 1 bronze likeness of Napoleon in Metal frame
- Cove Bed Room, over Gallery
- 69 a Mahogany french Bedstead with chased Or'molu ornaments large carved & gilt figures with Mahogany Cornice to match & crimson silk damask hangings lined with silk and D^o. fringe complete
'belonged to Murat' has been added after the word 'complete' and a semi-colon.
- Tribune
- 96 The Magnificently executed Bust of Napoleon in Carrara Marble
'by Thorvaldsen – 50' has been added to the right, in black ink.
On the facing right-hand page is the annotation, in lighter ink: bought at Murray of Broughton's sale by M^r. Grant for 200 G^s., and was offered 1000 G^s. immediately after.
- Sitting Room
- 104 2 small Sevres Porcelaine Vases with beautifully painted Portraits on them
'on them' has been crossed out and 'of Princess Borghese & her Sister.' added in black ink.
- New State Bed Room
- 112 a small Bronze Bust of Emperor Napoleon

Second Dressing Room

- 150 a circular top steel Coffe beautifully inlaid with gold and silver
 'Said to have belonged to Napoleon.' has been added, after a comma.

Duke's Bed Room

- 161 a rich marble Bust of the Princess Birghese
 'By Bosio, given to the Duke by the Princess' has been added, in black ink, to the left.
- 162 [Picture of] The emperor Napoleon on Horseback as at Battle of Wagram
 an Engraving of Napoleon
- 163 a small Engraving of Napoleon
 a Chalk portrait of Tallegand [i.e. Talleyrand]
 a fine bronze Profile of Napoleon in gilt metal frame

Duke's Cabinet

- 164 a finely sculptured Marble Bust of the Princess Borghese
 The first word has been crossed out and 'Another' added, and the facing right-hand page has been annotated, in black ink: By Canova, the gift of the Princess.

Additional Inventories with pages numbered in pencil.

Inventory of Plate belonging to His Grace The Duke of Hamilton & Brandon taken at Hamilton Palace, – 9th February 1852.

113	Napoleons Gilt Plate		
	24 Table Spoons	} In a paper parcel	130 Oz:
	24 Table Forks	}	
	12 Plates		156 „
	12 Desert Forks	} In a small morrocco case	48 „
	12 Desert Spoons	}	

There are two more Chests containing
Napoleon's breakfast Service of Gilt Plate,
which were not examined, but M^r Le Blond
says they are all correct – In all 1472 „

118 Travelling necessities (Princess Borghese)

Inventory of Additional Articles

121 The Princess Borghese's Dressing Case of which the Marquis has got key
(Marquis)

Napoleonic Items in the 1864 Inventory of Hamilton House, Arlington Street,
London (HA, M4/78)

Page

- Passage, under Engravings &c
- 9 Episode of the Battle of Waterloo
- School Room
- 12 [Bust in plaster of] The Emperor Napoleon III.
- 13 [Print of] The Emperor Napoleon III
- East Room
- 32 [Photographs of the] Emperor & Empress of the French in oval frames
- Princess's Bed Room
- 54 A small Plaster Bust of the Emperor Napoleon III.
do do Empress Eugenie
- The letter P and a large bracket in pencil, on the left, are associated with a note, also in pencil, at the foot of the page, recording that these and other items were 'sent to Paris Dec 7/64'.
- 56 A Silver Bust of Napoleon III on copper column 4½ in high
- After Princess's Bed Room and Passage adjoining – actually a continuation of the inventory of the Princess's Bed Room
- 58 [Picture of] An Interior with Lady & Child
'Lady & Child' have been crossed out in ink and 'Queen Hortense & Napoleon 3rd' written in pencil above.
[Photographs of the] Emperor Napoleon III.
Princess Mathilde
Prince Jerome Bounaparte

The Late Duke's Sitting Room

- 96 A gilt metal Chimney Clock by Ch Rolland a' Marseilles under glass shade, formerly the property of M^{me} Bonaparte mother of the Emperor Napoleon 1st
'Easton' is written in pencil to the left.

The Late Duke's Bed Room

- 115 [Engravings of] The Emperor Napoleon
The Prince Imperial

Note: The same information is to be found in the other 1864 Hamilton House inventory M4/79, on pp.8, 11, 12, 27, 52, 54, 62, 84 and 107.

The main differences are that the items on page 58 in M4/78 are definitely stated to have been in the Duchess's Bed Room in M4/79 (on p.107) and that the 'Interior' on the same page is written without alteration or addition as 'Interior with Queen Hortense & Napoleon 3rd.' The clock in the late Duke's Sitting Room (M4/78, p.96) is marked with an x in M4/79, on p.62, which is related to packing and sending. A note on page 55 of M4/79 gives the explanation: 'These packed except those marked thus x for HP.' [i.e. Hamilton Palace].

A loose list at the back of M4/78 records that 'A Plaster Bust of Princess Josephine' was sent, with other items, to the Duchess of Hamilton in Paris in 1870.

Napoleonic Items in the 1876 Hamilton Palace Inventory (Hamilton Town House Library)

Page

Dining Saloon

- 3 Full Length Portrait of Napoleon the 1st. David

Library

- 4 A Beautifully painted Circular Table of Sevres Porcelaine mounted in Metal Gilt, the Stand of Porcelaine of a rich dark blue, with gilt Metal feet. Presented by the Empress Eugenie to the Duchess of Hamilton (née Princess of Baden)
- 5 2 Sevres China Vases 16 inches high Crimson ground & gilt, Portraits of the two sisters of Napoleon the 1st accompanied by Cupids on a square Medallion. with Landscapes
- 7 A Silk Stocking, Satin Shoe & 2 Handkerchiefs of Princess Pauline Bonaparte.
5 Lettres sur la Morte de Napoleon de Pauline

Sitting Room

- 13 An Equestrian Statue of the Emperor Napoleon 1st in Bronze
A D^oof the Duke of Wellington do
A Bronze Bust of Napoleon Bonaparte by Ravrio, 1814

Marble Stairs

- 17 Full Length Portrait of the Emperor Napoleon the 3rd. by Winterhalter in Massive Gilt Frame.
Full Length Portrait of the Empress Eugenie do –
framed to match.

Duchess's Dressing Room

- 37 A Bronze Medallion Portrait of Napoleon in gilt Metal Frame

Duchess's Sitting Room

- 59 Portrait of the Emperor Napoleon Ist in his Robes of State.

Tribune

- 84 Bronze Model of the Column in the Place Vendome. Paris. Height 4ft 4in

- 85 Splendid Bust of Napoleon 1st in Carrara Marble. by Thorwalsden

A Bust of Napoleon 2nd.....do

A Bust of Napoleon 3rddo

A Bust of the Empress Eugenie.....do

Dunmore Apartments

- 120 Chart of the Rise of Napoleon, dates of his Battles, list of his Generals, Marshals &c. in gilt frame & glazed.

Miss Stewart's Room

- 168 The Empress Josephine receiving the Allied Generals.
Napoleon the 3rd Reviewing the French Troops after the Crimean War.

Princess's Sitting Room

- 186 A Bust of Napoleon the 3rd on bronze Column.

Princess's Bed Room

- 190 Napoleon the 1st on a White Charge[r] M.G.1809.

Princess's Boudoir

- 193 A Plaster Bust of Napoleon the 3rd

No. 2 Bed Room over the Tapestry Rooms

- 207 Sevres [crowned N]. A Tea Pot. Sea Green with gold lines representing an Elephants Head.

2 Tea Cups & Saucers, pure white, raised figures & flowers.

No. 2 Attic over the Tapestry Rooms

- 213-14 A Painted Arm Chair Seat & Back covered in Yellow Plush; formerly belonged to the Mother of Napoleon the 1st. and brought from Corsica by William 11th Duke of Hamilton.
- 214 An Antique Cabinet of Drawers with Glass Handles containing a Collection of Shells, also belonged to M^{me} Bounaparte and brought from Corsica.

Lobby from Upper Landing of East Stair Case

- 221 A Plaster Bust of Napoleon III.

East Stair Case, Basement

- 222 A White Marble Bust of the Prince Borghese'. nee Pauline Bounaparte.

Smoking Room

- 224 A White Marble Bust of Princess Borghese

Duke's Dressing Room

- 238 A Small Bronze Bust of Napoleon III.

Napoleonic Items in the Illustrated Priced Catalogue of the 1882 Hamilton Palace Sale

Lot

- 147 A Very Fine Oblong Chest, of black lacquer, with raised landscapes in gold, and studded with animals, birds, and other objects in silver and gold, and with a large medallion, similar inside the lid. *Formerly the property of Napoleon I.* T. M. Whitehead. £735.
- [The association with Napoleon is incorrect. The Mazarin chest was included in the sale of the collection of the duc de Bouillon, 20/21 July 1800, and was acquired by William Beckford. It was bought by the 10th Duke at the 1823 Fonthill sale (lot 576) for 126 guineas.]
- 539 A Bronze Model of the Column in the Place Vendome. Major Shuttleworth. £19 19s.
- 542 Thorwalsden. Bust of Napoleon I, crowned with bay, supported on the back of an imperial eagle. Presented by Princess Pauline Bonaparte. J. B. Greenshields. £640 10s.
- Errata and addenda note: *Add*, “Said to have been” presented by Princess Pauline Bonaparte.
- 987 A Bronze Equestrian Statuette of Napoleon I., by Count Nieuerkerke. W. C. Angus. £48 6s.
- 989 A Bronze Bust of Napoleon I., by Ravrio, 1814. H. Brunning. £25 4s.
- 1108 J. L. David. Portrait of Napoleon I. – whole length. 6ft. 7in. by 4ft. *Painted for the Duke of Hamilton. See Dr. Waagen, ‘Art Treasures in Great Britain’, vol. 3, p.294.* F. Davis. £378.
- 1484 [Miniature of] Napoleon I., when first Consul, in gold locket enamelled

with a wreath of bay leaves. W. Grindlay. £32 11s.

- 1700 A Pair of [Sèvres Porcelain] Two-handled Vases, red and gold ground, painted with portraits of the two sisters of Napoleon I. and cupids by Le Guay. T. Laurie and Son. £42.
- 1821 Napoleon I., on an eagle, medallion in bronze – in ormolu frame. Sypher and Co. £18 18s.
- 2128 [Under Intagli mounted as Rings] Napoleon I., crowned with laurel, white cornelian, by Pichler. H. E. Kidson. £6 6s.
- 2200 A Papier-Maché Snuff-Box, with portraits of Napoleon I. and the Empress Marie Louise on the lid. F. Davis. £4 4s.

Pencil Drawings of Napoleon, his Family, Court and Contemporaries in the Hamilton Collection, Sotheby, Wilkinson and Hodge's Sale of the Hamilton Library, May 1884, Lot 665

DAVID (A.) FULL-LENGTH PORTRAITS OF NAPOLEON I, HIS FAMILY, COURT AND CONTEMPORARIES. *A Collection of 68 beautiful Pencil-Drawings, exquisitely executed by this celebrated artist and signed A.D. green morocco, gilt edges folio*

Containing Portraits of General Colbert (having on reverse portion of a letter from the artist); Madame Duchayla and Family; Princesse de Ponte-Corvo; Princesse Murat; M. Talleyrand; Duke of Wellington; Madame Bernadotte Queen of Sweden; Bernadotte; Stephanie de Beauharnais, Princesse de Bade; Emperor Alexander I (2 *portraits*); Louis XVIII on his Throne; Charles X (3 *portraits*); Duchesse de Berry with her Family; Duc de Berry (2 *portraits*); Louis Philippe; Mademoiselle d'Orleans, Sister of the King; Marie Amelie Duchesse d'Orleans with her Son; Princesse Eugène de Beauharnais; Eugène de Beauharnais; Madame Murat (2 *portraits*, one with her Children); Murat; Queen of Westphalia (2 *portraits*); Jerome Bonaparte, King of Westphalia; Joseph, King of Spain; Madame Joseph, Queen of Naples, and Children; Hortense, Queen of Holland (3 *portraits*, 2 with her Sons[]); Louis Napoleon, King of Holland; Empress Marie Louise (2 *portraits*, one with her Son); Empress Josephine; Napoleon I; Madame Letitia, Mother of the Emperor; La Revelliere Lepeaux; Princess de Latour and Taxis; Count Pozzo di Borgo; Madame Morel de Vindé and her Daughter; Madame Visconti; Duchess of Bassano; Countess Zamoiska and Children; General Foy; Madame Tallien; Count and Countess of Fusa with their Child; Madame Recamier; Ferdinand d'Imecourt; Countess Laborinska (Lubonierska); Princesse de Talleyrand; Isabey with his eldest Daughter and Dog; Madame Auguste and her Family; Prince Borghese; Madame Zablorunska (Clonowska); Duchess of Montebello and Family; Countess Walinska (Walewska); Countess A. de Laborde; Frederick Augustus King of Saxony; Countess of Jersey; Countess Valewska; Countess de Sagan; Marechal de Louriston; King of Naples; and Prince Schwartzenberg.

Napoleonic Items in the 1919 Hamilton Palace Sales

Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of Family Portraits, Works by Old Masters and Modern Pictures*, London, 6 and 7 November 1919

Lot

First Day's Sale, 6 November 1919

- 78 F. Winterhalter. Portrait of the Emperor Napoleon III. In coronation robes, standing by a table on which is his crown, and holding a sceptre in his right hand; curtain background. 95 in. by 60 in.
- 79 F. Winterhalter (After). Portrait of the Empress Eugénie. In white lace dress with green velvet train, pearl necklace and tiara, standing by a table on which is her crown; gardens in the background, by J. N. JOUY, 1856. 94 in. by 60 in.
- 80 F. Winterhalter. Portrait of the Empress Eugénie. In lavender-coloured dress covered with black lace, standing on a terrace resting her arm on a chair. 95 in. by 60 in.

Second Day's Sale, 7 November 1919

Under Drawings

- 95 Maxime Gauer, 1809. Napoleon I. on Horseback at the Battle of Wagram. 12½ in. by 9½ in.

Under Pictures

- 100 The Empress Marie Louise receiving a deputation of Generals and Courtiers. Oval, on metal – 16½ by 23 in.

- 166 Pruche, 1876. Napoleon III., reviewing his troops after the Crimean War.
12½ in. by 15 in.

Christie, Manson & Woods, *Catalogue of the Remaining Contents of Hamilton Palace*, London, 12-14 November 1919

First Day's Sale, 12 November 1919

- 75 A small bronze bust of Napoleon III., by E. Fremiet [and 10 other items]
- 135 An engraving of Napoleon III. and his troops [and 2 other items]
- From the Tribune
- 323 The Empress Eugénie: a bust in statuary marble, life-size
- 324 Napoleon III.: a bust in statuary marble, life-size, by Patric Park,
Manchester, 1855

Second Day's Sale, 13 November 1919

- From Bedroom 15
- 388 Napoleon III.; and nine other portraits, &c., in maple frames

Appendix 18: Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell's campaign to get the 10th Duke of Hamilton's son, the Marquis of Douglas and Clydedale, to marry the Princess Marie of Baden (the daughter of the adopted daughter of the Emperor Napoleon)

Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated 20 June 1839 (HA, C4/958/1)

Thursday June 20th 1839

Having the other day met Lord Douglas by accident _ an idea struck me which induces me to address you _ I sincerely hate any thing like concealment & this is the first letter I ever wrote in my life to which I shall not sign my name _ The subject is a delicate one _ my motives might be misconstrued but as good may result from it I do not hesitate _ having no personal object of my own in the matter _ I therefore beg to submit what you may possibly think advantageous for Lord Douglas to consider:—

There is at this moment in Germany a Princess – Young – handsome _ elegant _ & most accomplished _ brought up with the greatest care as to morals & religion, which is protestant, who will have if she marries with her Mothers consent between £50, & £60,000 _ She is newly connected with the House of Austria _ is about to be so to that of Russia _ & is related to the first continental Royal families of Europe _ & is a colateral descendent of the House of Stewart. —

If such a person enter[s] into your views as a desirable alliance for Lord Douglas I am disposed to think it possible it might be accomplished _ At the same time I beg leave to state that I am in no way whatever authorised by the Royal personages to whom I allude to write what I do _ It is merely a hint of my own which I throw out _ which if approved of by you _ might be followed up by Lord Douglas seeing the Lady if he pays a visit to the Continent _ This might be managed without the Young Lady or her Mother knowing the view I venture to take on the subject _ of which they are most perfectly ignorant & in which ignorance they may remain _ if nothing further is wished by you. —

Now My Lord I have the honor of your acquaintance, altho it is some time since we met _ I leave England in ten days & should you think this point worthy your

attention _ you can write to me _ & I can then see you if you wish it & will name the day _ address your answer in such case by the two penny post to S: C: under cover to John Bergne Eqr Foreign Office Downing Street which will be forwarded to me. ____

Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 27 June 1839 (HA, C4/958/2)

Private & Confidential

Senior United
Service Club
Thursday June 27th
1839

Since I find on your part My Lord that the hint I ventured to throw out under the initials of S:C _ has been so well received I can have no further difficulty in acquainting you with my name & where I may be found in case circumstances should change _ The [alteration: Lady's written over Princess's] name of course must remain a secret _ till such time _ as further steps may be possible to be taken on Lord Douglas's part _ I again declare I have in no way been authorised to act as I have done _ & it is only from a sense of the suitableness of such an Alliance on both parts that induced me at all to think of the business & I can have no earthly interest in it beyond wishing both your family & that [of] Her Highness's well _ If you knew the person I allude to I am sure you would still further approve of the Alliance if Lord Douglas could be brought to think with you I must request my name will be concealed from him under present circumstances – but as I leave town for Germany the day after tomorrow in case you should either wish to see me before I go _ or to write to me afterwards _ You can address me immediately on the receipt of this to this Club _ or to Brookes's or should you write later send any letter for S:C. under cover to John Bergne Esq Foreign Office Downing [Street] & direct it to Lt Colonel Stepney Cowell [illegible abbreviations] late Coldstream Guards _

& I have the honor

to be My Dear Lord

Yours very truly

S: C:

Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Baden Baden, 29 August 1839 (HA, C4/958/3)

Private & confidential

Baden Baden

August 29th 1839

In consequence of the way your Grace received & accepted, as far as you were personally concerned, the views of marriage I took the liberty of suggesting to you for Lord Douglas _ I have been induced, without compromising either party, to name the subject (having only just returned here from another part of Germany) to the Royal family to which I alluded _ I am now authorised to announce to you that there will be no objection to form the connexion with your family which I thought might possibly be brought about, provided always that the young people, on meeting, shall mutually agree in liking each other. _

It must however be clearly understood that should such a meeting be determined on, it is not to be considered as compromising either party &, as a point of honor, what ever may be the result, the stricted secresy will be maintained _

I am happy thus to have it in my power to verify the idea which, unauthorised by any, has originated solely with myself. _

I must however add that the Marquis of Douglas's descent from The Royal House of Stuart has paved the way, perhaps to a connexion with by no means one of the minor Princely Houses of Germany, which otherwise would have proved next to impossible

It now therefore remains for you to see what can be done with Lord Douglas s views on the subject? I am well aware that young men will seek their own happiness in their own way in spite of good advice _ If you should be of opinion that by seeing Lord Douglas I can be of any use _ pray Command me _ as he has never seen the Lady & cannot discover her name _ no offence can be created should he decline. _ Private affairs will take me to England for a fortnight or three weeks & I shall be in town on the 2^d October if then Lord Douglas can be brought to think seriously on the subject & can be induced to follow your wishes _ I shall be in that case authorised to name The Royal family in question & am prepared to make an appointment for an

interview between the young people & can enter further into any details your Grace may think necessary _

Were Lord Douglas but to see the Lady I am quite certain he would admire her & Your Grace could accompany him if you thought proper _ An aunt of the young Princess s is most anxious for her to coñect herself with one of the reigning Royal Houses of Germany to which she is averse, & it is not to be supposed as likely that a young, handsome, accomplished, well educated, & unusually Dowered Princess closely coñected with the first Imperial & Royal Houses of Europe & who has already refused many offers, should at her age remain very long unmarried

Handsome & highly born why should not Lord Douglas enter the lists for her favour _ as such permission is accorded him by her family. _ She is greatly prepossessed in favour of England & I do venture to suggest it would be a pity for Lord Douglas _ Heir to three Dukedoms & of Royal descent to lose the opportunity of forming such a marriage which did you but know the further circumstances of the case you & he would consider to be in every possible way most desirable. _

Mrs Stepney Cowell requests me to recall her to the remembrance of The Duchess & yourself & believe me to be

very truly

Your Graces

obed hub^e sert

Stepney Cowell

P S

You may look upon this as a direct communication from the Royal family in question to you & it is but fair to tell you that the substance of this letter has been seen & approved of by them & that your reply will also be submitted to them which, I request, may be sent by common post via Paris to this place the foreign postage must be [? frenched or francked] or the letter will not reach me in Germany I leave Baden Baden for London on the 25th September my address in town is Brookes's Club St James's Street or The Senior United Service Pall Mall _ but I hope to hear from Your Grace before my arrival in England. _

The top right-hand side of the letter has been annotated 'n^o 1', probably by the 10th Duke.

Note: The 10th Duke made an (edited) copy of this letter, which is also numbered C4/958/3.

Edited draft letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, undated, but the final version probably sent in September 1839 (HA, C4/958/4)

mon cher Anguise

bounden

As a father it is my ^ duty, as a friend it is my greatest consolation to watch over your interest and promote your happiness _ I will never neglect the one nor compromise the other _ My affection assures me of it _

to M^r. S: C. & M^r. S. letter to me upon the subject of an alliance with my family which I deem worthy of your attention _ It is

Enclosed you will find a letter of mine ^ it has been written in consequence of my ~~encouraging~~ my reply to the one your mother at my ~~desire~~ request to serve to predominant time ago _ These two letters will explain the whole affair: what may be its ^ or the situation of the parties do not character ~~what its advantages~~ ^ when minutely annalized in all its details I ~~do not~~ decided cannot pretend define, but this I understatingly venture to give you as my ^ opinion _ fair

That the proposition is of a nature, so flattering in itself, & so liberal in its views and & merits so delicate in its progress, that it ~~ought~~ to be entertained _ It obliges you to nothing _ ^ no way it commits you in ^ and offers you everything, without imposing upon you anything _ therefore

I ^ think you must agree with me in admitting that you ought to investigate the whole [? so as] to be fully in regard to

concern ^ informed yourself who of the lady's family and situation & the lady in & her family and to you to be

question ^ & if the portrait that has been presented to me appears ^ a true one, you then This is all I propose

will ^ be but doing justice to your self & family to look at it _ ^ Should the outline refuse the acquisition

displease or the colours offend, ~~say so~~ ^, but I cannot help urging you mon Bon of M^r. S S should prove

Anguise in the most earnest manner not to reject [if the relations ^ are made proposal therein

satisfactory] by M^r. S C the offer made to you _ I shall never obtrude any marriage

& when you please must say that will be
 upon you _ You will marry or not as you please; but I ~~do not think~~ you ^ acting ~~most~~
 imprudently not and ~~who in the present instance~~
~~prudently~~ if you do follow my advice ~~in ascertaining whether or not~~ expose your

heart to the danger of a passion _

terminated of me

I have now ~~said~~ ^ what ~~I think~~ duty required ~~of me~~ & what affection prompted
~~me to subjoin~~ be disposed to

~~me to subjoin~~ _ Ponder well Under such auspices I hope you will ^ listen to the voice

and a friend who has & can only the
 of a Parent whose affection have in view your honor & hap[?py]ness ~~of a~~ beloved

son _

Adieu all I can say of tenderness & affection will ill explain the sentiments of your

devoted friend & affectionate father

The 10th Duke has annotated the top of the draft: to be read with n° 2 Angus but is in
 fact N° 3.

The Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Isle of Arran, 29 September [1839] (HA, C4/958/5)

Isle of Arran

Sep^r.29th.

Caro Papino,

I return you M^r. C.'[s] lette[r or rs] as you desire, allow me to say that I do not at all approve of the letter which you sent me, or of the manner in which the business in question has been carried on _ I am perfectly aware of the feelings which dictate yr own conduct towards me, I have never for a moment doubted that my welfare is yr first object in life _ I should be an ungrateful son did I not fairly tell you that thro life you have been my kindest & best friend ____

My ideas upon the subject of marriage are so different from yours that I feel bound in justice to myself and to you to state clearly that the proposal made by M^r C— does not meet my [illegible word] in any manner _ I do not wish to enter fully upon the matter as I feel it would be useless _ my mind is made up upon one point _ I will never [illegible word] my present ideas take a wife unto myself unless I feel I can love her a foreign alliance (however exalted the rank of the individual) has no attractions for me _ I feel as keenly as you can the blood of the auld Stewarts boiling in my veins, but I also am certain that unless love formed the basis of my matrimonial c[?arreeer] I should but ill fulfill my duties as a husband

Let me then tell you caro Papino that I wish this to be the last word upon the subject of M^r C'[s] letter _ Again & again let me tell you that I thank you for yr kind wishes in my welfare I have told you my opinion openly & fairly _ With the most sincere wishes for yr happiness Believe me _

Yr most aff^{te} Son
Douglas.

[...]

Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Brookes's Club, [London,] 4 October 1839 (HA, C4/958/6)

Brookes's Club
Friday
Oct^r 4th. 1839

My Lord —

I beg to acquaint you that I have just arrived from the Continent

I [? forwarded] Your Graces letter of the 11th. Ult: which I received at Baden Baden to the parties most interested. —

It now only remains for you to inform me of Lord Douglas's decision _ If adverse the matter must stop here _ but should it prove favorable I shall be ready to afford you every explanation that either you or he can possibly desire & I am further fully authorised in such case to give the name of the distinguished family in question _ There neither has been or will be any mystery beyond what delicacy requires — You may depend upon every thing being left to the uninfluenced & unbiased feelings of those most nearly concerned & should a meeting between the young people be agreed upon, it is in no way to be considered as compromising the most perfect freedom of choice & action of either party _

Should you think it advisable for me to see Lord Douglas I beg Your Grace to re introduce me to him _ as it is now twelve years since we met at your house at Rome _

My stay in town is short as I am only in England to place my eldest son at a private Tutors previous to his going to Cambridge & after paying some visits in the Country I shall return to the Continent _

believe me

to be

My Lord Your Graces

obt^h hub^e ser^t

Stepney Cowell

The top left-hand side of the letter has been annotated 'n^o 4', probably by the 10th Duke.

The Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Brodick Castle, 21 October [1839] (HA, Bundle 1421)

Brodick Castle

Oct.^r 21.st

Caro Papino

Allow me most respectfully but at the same time most positively to request that the subject alluded to in your last letter may never again be made a point of discussion between us as we can never agree __ No one can be more thankful than I am for all yr kindness & I have no doubt that yr only wish is my happiness, but we differ most exceedingly upon the means of attaining that happiness I shall return to Hamilton on Thursday & have asked my friend Oswald [to] be my companion The last few fine days have done a great deal of good, and most of the Crops have been got in – It is one of the best years for Potatoes that has been known for long which will of course be of great advantage to the poor – Adieu Carissimo Papino

Yr very aff^{te} son

Douglas.

[...]

Charles Murray to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Windsor Castle, 28 October [1839] (HA, C4/958/7)

Windsor Castle

Oct. 28

My dear Uncle /

you will see by the enclosed that I have had a full & confidential communication with Col. C: _ the affair is I confess, mysterious, but as he is an officer of high character & standing, and as his Letters from you proved to me that the negotiation would have your sanction, I acceded without hesitation to his request that I would call the Marquis's attention to it, only he requested that in so doing I would make no mention of his name: –

Indeed I felt considerable reluctance to meddle at all in so delicate a matter, & when I had made up my mind so to do, I resolved to enclose my letter to you, in order that every step which I might take should have your entire concurrence: –

Be so kind therefore my dear Uncle, as to read it & let me know whether you wish me to send it; I have written it purposely in a vein somewhat playful & jocose, believing that it would thereby have a better chance of obtaining his attention, because I can, obviously, have no right to offer him any advice on such a subject

Believe me

my dear Uncle

y^r aff^{te} nephew

Ch. A. Murray

Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 28 October 1839 (HA, C4/958/8)

London
Brookes's Club
St James s Street
Monday Oc^{tr}. 28th.
1839

My Lord ==

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of Your Graces letter from Hamilton Palace & altho from it there appears to be little or no hope left of carrying into effect what you wished _ still my Lord as an Old Peninsular & Waterloo soldier it is an axiom amongst us never to give in _ as long as the most distant chance of success offers. –

– I now therefore have to acquaint you that since the receipt of your letter I have been down to Windsor Castle & have seen the Marquis's cousin M^r Charles Murray _ to whom I have related the circumstances of a fair & Royal born Lady having thrown her glove as a Challenge to The Marquis _ but that he will not even condescend to have an interview or look upon the fair Lady

My object in acting thus has been _ that it frequently happens that friends & companions of the same age or nearly so _ have an influence over each other _ which older persons fail to possess _ & this without any want of affection _ respect _ or good feeling on the part of the young people towards those _ who in every other respect they must & do regard & reverence _

M^r Murray has kindly entered with my views & will endeavour through one of the Marquis's most intimate friends & companions to get him merely to consent to a meeting _ which has no more to do with a marriage _ unless he likes it _ than if he had never heard there was such a person in existance

I know not how far you have made use of my name to the Marquis _ but to M^r. Murray I made it a point that neither Your Graces or my name should be alluded to in any communication of his _ he merely will say that he had heard a report of such a proposition being made to the Marquis _ at Windsor Castle _

My motive for addressing Your Grace thus at length is that I do not like to take any step however remote or hopeless without acquainting you as the person naturally most interested in the business _ If I fail in this last & somewhat hopeless attempt _ at all events I shall feel that I have done my utmost as a negotiator to bring about success It remains therefore for me _ now to thank Your Grace for the highly delicate & obliging manner in which you have been pleased to carry on our correspondence & secured my efforts. _

I shall leave town on the 7th. November via Antwerp for Germany Should Your Grace have anything further to say or sugest on this disappointing subject be good enough to address me to this Club _ before that time or afterwards to Mannheim. _

believe me

Your Graces

very faithful & Obedt humble servant

Stepney Cowell

Edited draft letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell, dated Hamilton Palace, 2 November 1839 (HA, C4/958/9)

Nov^r 2^d 1839 H: P:

I must begin by thanking you for
~~In reply to~~ ^ your letter of the 28^h of last month ~~I must begin by thanking you for it &~~

then subjoin, that, altho' I am not sanguine in the success you look to from the step
 in appealing to a young friend & relation of the Marquess s first on account of
 you have taken, I cannot nevertheless find fault with it; ~~First on account of the~~
~~as obliging & next on account~~
 motive that induced you to adopt it ~~& next on account~~ ^ of the measure itself, which

may (altho I dare not hope it) produce a change in my son's present ideas __
 Being most

~~My nephew~~ anxious as ~~I am~~ that this business should not be relinquished ~~without a~~
~~due~~ [illegible crossed out words] without bringing the parties together, you may
 [illegible crossed-out word]
 easily suppose that I am inclined to catch at any circumstance ~~that holds out any~~

~~hope~~ that may lead to such a result _ ~~conclusion~~
 [illegible crossed-out word] requiring it
 you did most properly & judiciously in ~~making a point~~ that, in any
 neither

communication made to The Marquess ^ your name nor mine should appear _ It is
 not from more fortunate

~~not~~ our names that any thing can be expected; but something ^ may ~~from~~ ensue
 from ~~my Son~~ [illegible word] & ~~to what~~
 from his ~~own~~ conviction hereafter ~~altho what I must hardly dare hope altho I most~~
 & more became

~~anxiously desire it~~ to this I look with anxiety ~~altho'~~ than Hopefulness _ It was
 to you & without delay

however my duty to state ^ candidly how matters stood, & I did so in justice to the
 to

family in question as well as in justice to myself _ Perhaps ^ the flatter of youth may
 & I hope it will; as

succeed ~~the~~ e'rlong the solidity of the man ^ but ~~of this~~ ^ I can't answer for this
 of the lady

better judgment, & the family justly & naturally expect a definitive answer, I was

compelled ~~to write the letter~~ however reluctantly, to write the letter I did _ ~~I am now~~
 & this my son's

~~compelled~~ If I can produce a change conduct sh^d have offended, I can only say that,
~~admit the justice of it &~~

~~the~~ these [illegible crossed-out words] ~~complain of it but I shall endeavour as long as~~

there is
~~every apparent possibility~~ [two illegible crossed-out words] ~~to~~ ^ ~~any chance of~~
 cannot
 there has been reason for offence _ I ~~cannot~~ consequently ^ complain _ & I shall
 be left
 endeavour, ever after your departure from England, (should any opening present
 renew this discussion
~~itself of, to writing to you~~ [illegible word] & that after the very obliging part you
fully ~~acted thus far~~ taken
~~have taken in this negotiation that~~ you will not refuse to renew it your kind offices _

Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 5 November 1839 (HA, C4/958/10)

Brookes s Club _

Nov^r 5th. 1839

My Dear Lord _

Your very kind letter I have just received _ & merely write to say that every effort in my power shall be continued to be used as it has been to bring about the object that you & the Royal family in question desire _

I will as long as I possibly can with decency & decorum withhold any direct refusal from you & The Marquis _ to them _

M^r. Murray informs me he has written to Lord Douglas _ I wish it were possible for him to see the Marquis _ as any influence he or other of his companions may have _ will be better exercised by a few words of conversation _ than all the writing in the world. _

M^r. Murray has informed me he has written to Your Grace & enclosed L^d. Douglas letter to you _ will you forgive me for thinking that a direct communication from M^r Murray to the Marquis would have been better _ for the reasons _ which I assigned in my letter to you & in which your Grace seems to coincide _

Should your Grace have any thing further to communicate _ be pleased to address me to Mannheim sending your letter under cover to John Bergne Esq^r. Foreign Office Downing Street. –

believe me My Lord
with esteem & respect

Your Graces

obed hu[m]^{ble} ser^t

Stepney Cowell

Edited draft letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, undated but numbered number 5 (HA, C4/958/11/1)

Nº 5.

seen ~~found~~
 I should have written to you before, had I not expected to have ~~seen~~ you at H: not
 had that pleasure
 having ~~seen you~~ ^ in your passage I shall send this letter to Arran ___
 discussing or
 It is not however for the purpose of ^ reasoning further upon that subject that has of
 merely
 late occupied so much of my thoughts; but ^ to tell you, in reply to your letter, that
 in your [? view] of mine
 you are mistaken, ~~in regard to the affair~~ in & that you proceed upon erroneous data
~~for~~ The affair (is not (as it were) arrived at a beginning _ It cannot but commence
 with you & must proceed [word altered to an ampersand] cease with you; & my
 first
 recommendations never have nor never will go further than to advise you, to
 [crossed out illegible word] & &
 examine ^ the situation of the parties ^ next the parties themselves: you will then be
 to form a [? sure & illegible word] judgement ~~with reason & upon conscience~~
 able to form ^ ~~upon~~ upon conviction – X X as no 1
 Here I sh^d have concluded ~~in compliance with your request~~ had I not received the
 appears to
 enclosed letter, which me, too fair, too [word probably altered to explicit] & too
 for your consideration
liberal to lay aside without sending you a copy of it ^ _ I remained an extra day in
 London purposely to see Col: His conversation was as open & as candid as the letter
 plain & placed
 herewith enclosed is ^ ingenusses _ I shall only add were I a young man ^ under
 either embraced or
 similar circumstances, I should chuse to know every particular of this affair before I ^
 abandoned it _
 one word before I I ~~must~~ [crossed out word] let not of mine
 [Crossed out illegible words] conclude ~~let me~~ [crossed out word] it: ^ this letter ^
 impose ~~upon~~ you
~~draw you into~~ any discussion _ I neither look for it _ expect it _ or wish for it _ It is
 your happiness _ your ~~business~~ the interest _ your concerns that are at stake _ & your
 must meet [crossed out illegible words] the question
 feelings _ your prudence & your judgment ~~must examine & decide the question~~

decide and
~~must & ought to~~ direct your conduct

With affectionate regard I [? remain]

Edited draft letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to the Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, undated (HA, C4/958/11/2)

to your wishes to you
 I have now in opposition ^ to the request contained in your letter repeated my
 views_ it has been
 opinion as a parent & a friend _ If I have done it so ^ from an anxiety for your
 welfare, & from a determination to releave myself from all future compunction; &
 from any wish revive any
 not ^ to urge you to [crossed out word, probably renew] any former discussions _ If
 Sh^d
 you are determined to adhere to your expressed opinions, to me say so ^ you sh^d
 to Colonel
 begin to doubt the wisdom of those opinions, apply ^ your self, or authorize me to
 clear which
 apply to the Col for the full ^ & ample information he offers you _ Without that
 nothing of any sort or kind you must
 nothing can be attempted ^ ; but enable me to make write to the Col in the course of a
 few days _

Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Milan, 3 October 1841 (HA, Bundle 1426)

Milan
October 3^d
1841

My Lord _

I have heard of the visit of The Marquis. –

It seems he has left behind him a most favorable impression _

I am not sorry under existing circumstances that we were out of the way during the interview

The result now is in the hands of those most nearly concerned in the matter _
They must be the best judges how far it is probable that a further intercourse may ripen into warmer feelings _ which may end in mutual affection _

M^{rs}. Stepney Cowell who is in constant correspondence with the illustrious person wishes to write to The Duchess but does not at present know her address & requests me to forward the enclosed to send to Her Grace _ At the same time should it be of any use to your Lordship to know where a letter may find us I give my address Poste Restante N[?]y[?]ya [probably Noyaya] _ where we are going for the health of my Son who is in the Guards

The illustrious Lady alluded to talks of coming there & waits only at her Château a visit from Prince Metternich _ when after paying one herself to The Queen of Bavaria at Munich she will in all probability bend her course to where we are _

I have the honor

to be

Your Graces

obed humble

Sert

Stepney Cowell

Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Nice, 29 October 1841 (HA, Bundle 1426)

Nice

October 29th.

1841

My Lord —

On my arrival here I received your letter of the 14th. Ult: _

The Ladies in question left Mannheim for Munich on the 12th. on their way here by the Brenner Pass so to Milan & Genoa. they probably will reach this in about a fortnight from the present date a House having already been engaged for them _

I presume from your letter this is what you wish to be made acquainted with _

I perfectly coincide in all your Graces views on the subject in question particularly as to the delicacy necessary to be observed in the matter & should one of the parties arrive here _ on hearing the other had already done so _ I should rather have wished we had not been at Nice _ however this now cannot be helped All I can say is that unless M^{rs}. Stepney Cowell or I am addressed on the point by the Marquis we should not think of alluding to the matter at all to him _ altho we are ready to be of any use in our power. _

What I most fear should any thing further be intended on the Marquis s part – that absence may be mistaken for neglect or want of inclination which after the favorable impression made by him already (should such be mutual) would be a pity _ however this is his own Affair & nobody elses, as nothing more can now be done by third parties _

Nice this year will be very full _ The Duchess of Bedford _ Duke of Manchester Lady W^m. Bentinck are already arrived _ The Duke & Duchess Bernard of Saxe Weimar _ La Duchesse de Tallyrand L^d & Lady Granville & The Duke of Devonshire are coming _ The Marquis's arrival therefore would appear nothing extraordinary

I remain

My Lord

very faithfully yours

S: Cowell

Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Nice, 25 November 1841 (HA, Bundle 1426)

Nice Nov^r 25th. 1841

I received your Graces letter of the 13th ult: & in reply inform you of the arrival here, some time since, of the illustrious persons in whom you are interested but am sorry to add that I am unable to give you any tidings whatever concerning a Young Nobleman who was said to be passing this way to Rome _ This is most unfortunate just now as he has been looked for _ expected _ & even hoped for. _ In my last letter to you I said "I feared that a delay in the parties meeting might be attributed to a feeling of indifference or disinclination on his part" _ which in spite of the favorable impression made by his good looks & manners might not facilitate his suit or render it as easy as I could have wished _ It appears his visit last summer was of short duration & that his attentions to the young Lady were less than to others of equal rank around her that after taking his departure to visit a place at no great distance a most gracious message was conveyed to him hoping he did not find his sejour there so pleasant as that which he had left & should that prove the case he had better return _ however he did not do so altho he remained a month at the last of these baths _ These are the circumstances as represented to me by the parties who like yourself wish that all this had been otherwise. _

Thus far you see all seems uncertain. _ Many former Offers have been made to the Lady & rejected _ in the mean time two more recently have been proposed _ one of which coming from a person in every way entitled to claim her hand has been also refused. The other the illustrious Mother of the Lady has not as yet given a final answer to _ altho with the exception of herself & daughter every branch of her family are anxious for her to accept it particularly as it holds out the prospect of her daughter becoming not only the wife of a handsome Young Prince but a future reigning Queen In consequence of which I was very glad to have it in my power to shew your Graces last letter to me & I must say nothing can be more fair or just than the manner in which the Communication has been received _ Out of delicacy I was commanded not to communicate to Your Grace the proposals pending in another quarter for fear it should appear to hasten the arrival of the young Nobleman when

his own wishes might not tend that way _ I must say from myself however that with every preference that has been & still is given to him that it is impossible to wait upon an uncertainty nor can a decisive reply to the proposal made be much longer delayed _ I do earnestly hope therefore he may soon arrive when the matter must be determined one way or other

It is now more than two years since it was first mooted by me on my own responsibility & rely on it I shall do all in my power consistant with propriety to aid your Graces views Nobody now however has any power in the matter except the Marquis himself In the mean time while time presses as well as suitors _ The Marquis delays _ which at least is not felt complimentary _ Altho I am aware that your Grace can do nothing more in the matter still you may wish to know how things really stand for which reason I have detailed these circumstances I need not add under the seal of secrecy as that is implied Perhaps it may be as well before I close my letter to allude to the circumstance of fortune The illustrious Lady has it in her power to bestow upon her daughter the sum of £80,000 English _ What provision you might be disposed to make on the Marquis's part _ or what eventual rent roll the Marquis might hereafter be heir to _ (should things turn out as we wish) I leave to your Graces discretion to inform me of _ as it is a question likely to be asked _ The Sister in law of the illustrious Lady has just expired at Munich by which most of the first reigning houses of Europe are placed in mourning from near relationship. I now my Lord must close this somewhat long epistle _ by assuring you that I have this matter as much at heart as if the parties were relations of my own _ I might be asked _ how can all this concern me My answer is _ I originated the whole affair from a conviction of the fitness of things & a national pride in seeing Royal Houses of the Continent allying themselves to those of our English Nobility & having once taken a thing up I always do my best to carry it through _ besides many years have we been intimately acquainted with the Ladies family & I believe a marriage in England to which the young Ladies tastes tend _ will afford her greater real happiness than any other Alliance however great that she may make elsewhere _

Beli[e]ve me

My Dear Lord

Yours

very sincerely

& faithfully

Stepney Cowell

Copy of letter from the 10th Duke of Hamilton to Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell, dated Hamilton Palace, 6 December 1841 (HA, Bundle 711)

Copy –

H. P. Dec^r 6th 1841

My dear Sir _ Your letter of the 25th of last Month is just arriv'd _ & adds another to the many obligations I am under to you, for the friendly part you have taken in an Affair that has so long, & so warmly engaged my hopes & wishes _ I will not lose a moment in forwarding my reply, lest a moment lost may never be able to be recalled. Most anxious am I, & always have been, that the Alliance in question should take place; were it to fail, owing to accidental circumstances, I should sorely lament it; should the parties themselves, upon further communication, not be satisfied with one another, the failure, in that case, however painful to me, would at least find some alleviation from the cause that produced it; but it would distress me beyond all bounds were minor considerations to obstruct so desirable an object _ In answer to your observation concerning a Young Nobleman who was expected at Nice & was not arrived, I should tell you that the said young Nobleman is I believe, as far as I am inform'd of his Motions, upon his road there; & probably will precede this letter _ what may be the issue of his journey I wish I could predict _ it is out of my power to direct his proceedings or sentiments; but I scruple not to add that nothing would afford me greater satisfaction than not only to hear of his arrival, but to learn that the interchange of the reciprocal sentiments of the parties had produc'd an interchange of reciprocal affection. This would crown all my hopes, altho' I must repeat what I have invariably declar'd, that unless there exists a feeling of mutual sympathies, to unite their destinies would be to endanger their future happiness. As you have mention'd the sum of £80000 as belonging to the Lady & advert to what may be the inheritance of the gentleman, I have no difficulty in informing you that, upon his Father's demise, ~~his income will depend upon circumstances~~ he will succeed to a rental of £60000 independant of the personalty of the family. Until the demise of his Father his income will depend upon circumstances &^c &^c _ You observe I make, & never have made any Mystery; if you examine all my correspondence you will find the same candour to prevail, & I have only to repeat that there is not a line that you

have receiv'd from me that you are not at liberty, nay that you are not requested to lay before the parties concern'd ___ I have given you this proof of confidence in return for your communication concerning the lady's affairs. I only wish that such mutual confidences were not premature. It would afford me no small joy were circumstances to call for such details _ but this must depend upon the parties themselves who must now judge & act for themselves _ In repeating my Acknowledgements let me subjoin that I remain

Copy of Duke's Letter

to Col. Cowell Dec^r 6th 1841.

Note: Bundle 1426 contains two very heavily crossed out and revised drafts for this letter.

Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Noyiya, Maritime, 14 March 1842 (HA, Bundle 1426)

Noyiya
Maritime
March 14th.
1842

My Dear Lord. _

In compliance with your request & my promise & in fairness to all parties, I now write you the result or rather no result of the Visit of a certain young Nobleman to this place _ No doubt he himself has communicated either with you or the Duchess on the subject more fully than I am able to do as to his feelings _ his views _ & his wishes _ on which points he has left all here interested as profoundly ignorant as they were previous to his long delayed arrival. _

The best way to explain what has taken place, as far as I myself am aware of the circumstances, is to detail what occurred _

After the idea of his intention to come at all had almost been given up, he at last arrived &, the day after, paid a visit to the illustrious personages.

In due course he was asked to the house _ We purposely abstained from going there as well as elsewhere, for fear of embarrassing him by our presence _ I heard that he was most attentive to the young person & seemed pleased with his reception _

A general invitation was given him to frequent the house of which he failed to avail himself. _ For the nine days he spent here they constantly met at the Duke of Devonshires & other houses _ At times he was most attentive & empressé _ at others, as suddenly the reverse _ this manner Alternated till he announced his intention of departure when, the evening before it an expression of regret was intimated to him at his stay having been so short _ _ _ _

But he left without further taking leave or indicating on his part one way or other any thing that could lead any one to judge what was his determination _ under existing circumstances it had been almost better had he refrained from coming at all _ as there was no necessity for his so doing beyond his own good will _ [Annotated by the 10th Duke of Hamilton in pencil: a promise is held sacred by D so he went _]

In speaking of the young person to third parties he always expressed his admiration & approval of her & visited an artists here to endeavour to see her portrait _ all which seems inexplicable & inconclusive _ He might have remained as long as he choze

every opportunity consistent with propriety & dignity would have been given him to form his own judgement of character &c by which an opportunity of judging him would also have been afforded _ without however shewing anything like distaste, but on the contrary, & without giving time to develop any feeling _ he abruptly quitted Nice. _ [Annotated by the 10th Duke in pencil: perfectly honorable consistently w^t his feelings]

Now whether all this proceeded from Shyness _ delicacy _ nervousness _ indecision [Annotated by the 10th Duke in pencil: yes, above the word indecision but the Duke has underlined delicacy, immediately above, in pencil] _ or disinclination _ it is hard to say _ If the first it might be explained _ If the last it certainly cannot so easily _ as not coming at all _ or merely passing through or a more immediate departure would have explained the thing better & at once

I must say his manner partook more of shyness & indecision than of the other conjectures I have alluded to _ but I may be wrong. _

In this very delicate & somewhat difficult relation of Affairs I beg on my own part most distinctly to deprecate any view _ intention or inclination to put any construction but the most favorable one on anything L^d. Douglas has done or failed to do _ [Annotated by the 10th Duke in pencil: indeed!!!] Of course he alone must [be] the best judge in so momentous a case _ as that which concer[ns] the future happiness of his li[fe] _ [Annotated by the 10th Duke in pencil: How good of Col: C. to admit this !!]

In conclusion My Lord I am charged [? by] the illustrious Ladys Mother to say [to] Your Grace _ “That notwithstanding these circumstances she will always remember with pleasure “les rapports”] in which she has [be]en with your Graces family & that should you come on the [co]ntinent it would give her the most lively satisfaction to receive you & The Duchess of whom “elle conserve le plus agréable souvenir”

believe me My Dear Lord with sincerety to be _

very faithfully

Yours

Stepney Cowell

Lieutenant-Colonel Stepney Cowell to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 24 October 1842 (HA, Bundle 1425)

13 Grafton Street.

Monday 24th. Oct^r.

1842

My Dear Lord _

Many thanks for your letter from Hamilton – Mrs Stepney Cowell & my family arrived here about three weeks since & we are now established for the minute in the above abode as my son Murray is come to join his Regt. the Coldstream _

We left Bonn the 15th. Sep^r. last at the conclusion of the reviews _ Every thing appeared to go on prosperously before we quitted & having performed our part in bringing the young people together the rest could not be left in better hands than those of your Duchess _ who has both tact & talent to carry all things through _ besides from personal communication she can judge better than any one else could of all that is right & proper to be done _ the responsibility of which could not possibly be placed in better hands. _ besides now L^d Douglas will be able more fully to appreciate the qualities of one _ whose partiality has already been not only declared but proved for him _ & in a person possessing as he does so much good feeling & good taste _ I have no fear for the result _ I would willingly were it in my power pay you a visit & perhaps if you will allow me I might be able to do so later _ but at present I am unable – Mrs. Cowell had a letter only a few days back from Mannheim – saying that the long looked for Hero was about to present himself there _ & all seems going on well _

[Small loss to letter]d not write to you because having so long left the scene of action I thought you would have heard recent intelligence of circumstances than I could afford you _ & with every hope & belief that all will end as you wish _

bel[ie]ve me

My Dear [illegible word:? Lord]

Yours very sincerely

Stepney Cowell

[...]

The date of the following letter is unclear and it has therefore been left to the very end of the series

William, Marquis of Douglas and Clydesdale, to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated London, 14 8bre [i.e. October] (HA, Bundle 1426)

Londres

le 14 8^{bre}

Ayant le projet de partir au commencement de la semaine prochaine, mon tres cher Papino, je vous ecris ces peu de mots pour vous faire savoir combien je regrette ne pouvoir vous faire une visite a Hamilton avant mon depart pour le continent, mais ayant resté en Allemagne avec Mamina plus longtemps que je n'en avais eu l'intention en quittant l'Angleterre je me trouve maintenant vicinissime del inverno per il viaggio in Italia Je pars en vous assurant de mon devouement, et de mon attachement tendre, restez bien persuadé cher Papino, que si il ne m'a pas été accordé assez d'ambition pour suffire aux esperances bien naturelles de l'amour propre paternel, la providence vous a donné un fils qui donne pour preuve par ses actions qu'il n'est pas tout a fait indigne de vos boutes pour lui _ Je ne vous parle pas d'un sujet qui doit vous occuper beaucoup tous les deux, en ce moment, mais je me flatte que vous avez assez de confiance en moi pour etre bien sûr que je ne formerai jamais une alliance indigne d'un Douglas et d'un gentilhomme pour ce qui regarde la fortune, peut-etre à mon âge la fortune se laisse pencher un peu par l'amour Je parle du reste bien vâguement, n'ayant aucun projet arrêté mais en meme temps pensant qu'a mon age il est temps de penser a [le/ce] [illegible word underlined], chose pour moi impossible sans l'aide de Madame la Marquise __ J'ai abandonné mes idees de voyage dans le midi de la France, et je compte aller tout droit vers le pays du soleil – Je passe par Paris ainsi faites moi savoir si je peux vous etre utile auprès de Monsieur Soyer ou Deniere _ adieu tres cher Papino –

Votre devoue fils

Douglas

Je donnerai de mes nouvelles à Brown avant mon depart Faites lui je vous prie mes amities

Note: The above transcript follows the original and accents have not been added.

It may be translated:

London

14th October

As I intend leaving at the beginning of next week, my very dear Papino, I am writing a few words to let you know how much I regret not being able to visit you in Hamilton before my departure for the continent, but having stayed in Germany with Mamina longer than I had intended on leaving England, I now find myself very close to winter for the journey in Italy. I leave assuring you of my devotion and my tender attachment. Rest well assured dear Papino that, if I have not been given enough ambition to fulfil the very natural hopes of paternal self-esteem, providence has given you a son who gives you proof by his actions that he is not totally unworthy of your kindness towards him _ I am not talking of a subject that must preoccupy you both very much at this time, but I flatter myself that you have enough confidence in me to be sure I would never form an alliance unworthy of a Douglas and a gentleman with regard to fortune. Perhaps at my age fortune lets itself be swayed by love. I speak at any rate quite vaguely, not having any intended project but, at the same time, thinking that at my age it is time to think about this [illegible, underlined word] a thing which would be impossible for me without the help of the Marchioness. I have abandoned my idea of a journey to the South of France and I intend to go straight to the country of the sun _ I will go via Paris, so let me know if I can be useful to you with Monsieur Soyer or Deniere _ Goodbye very dear Papino _

Your devoted son

Douglas

I shall give my news to Brown before my departure. Give him my best wishes.

Appendix 19: The Acquisition of the Thorvaldsen Bust of *Napoleon Apotheosized*

The first of the five letters printed in this appendix records William Grant's purchase of Thorvaldsen's bust of *Napoleon Apotheosized* at the Cally House sale on 20 January 1846. All the rest relate to the 10th Duke of Hamilton's attempt to obtain the 'receipt' he believed Thorvaldsen had given to Alexander Murray of Broughton, the former owner of the bust, for the payment of the work.

The Duke clearly felt that if he had this 'receipt' he had proof that the Cally House/Hamilton Palace bust of *Napoleon* had been executed by Thorvaldsen.

The Duke wrote to Montgomery Stewart, as the representative of the new owner of Cally, about the 'receipt' on 6 February 1846. Stewart replied to the Duke on 9 February, promising to let him have the receipt, if it could be found, and mentioning that he would see John Brown, Alexander Murray's factor, who either had possession or access to Murray's papers, as soon as Brown got back from Edinburgh (HA, C4/767/1). As a result of this letter, the Duke seems to have asked Robert Brown to write to John Brown. He certainly sent Stewart's reply to Robert Rutherford and asked him to see John Brown, when he went to Edinburgh, and 'endavour to find out whether or not he can procure the receipt of Thorwaldson or whether indeed it exists _ & he will let me have it _' (annotation on C4/767/1).

John Brown showed Robert Brown's note to Thomas Nisbet, the auctioneer who had prepared the catalogue for the Cally sale, and Nisbet wrote to Robert Brown on 13 February (HA, C4/769) to inform him that he had come across 'a letter from a Banker at Rome to the late Mr Murray respecting the Bust in question' which recorded that 'they had received from the Chevalier Thorwaldsen the Bust of Napoleon, that they had paid an additional sum for it in Consequence of its having the Eagle, that they had forwarded it to London, and had drawn upon Mr Murray for the amount'. Nisbet went on to explain: 'Mr Brown never had any direct formal receipt from Thorwaldsen, indeed in the way the bust was paid for that was impossible Mr Murray always stated to his friends that he had got it from the Sculptor about which there can be no doubt.. In the Confusion of the Sale I much fear that the Bankers

letter may be lost at all events it will be difficult to find it, but I am willing to give my affidavit that the above is a true and accurate account of the matter.'

On the 11th Stewart had written to John Brown and on the 14th Brown replied (HA, C4/768), basically confirming what Nisbet had told Robert Brown (although he described the banker as the 'Banker at Leghorn') and undertaking to get the letter on his return to Gatehouse.

Stewart wrote to the Duke on the 16th (HA, C4/767/2), enclosing Brown's letter. He noted that it was 'not as satisfactory as might have been wished', but promised that John Brown and 'our Factor' would search through the 'prodigious pile of Papers locked up at Cally' for anything of relevance.

The series ends at this point and it is not known if the Duke obtained any documentation.

William Grant to Robert Brown, dated Gatehouse of Fleet, 21 January 1846 (HA, Bundle 6313)

Gatehouse of Fleet

Jan^y 21/46

Dear Sir

I beg to inform you that I have been fortunate enough to obtain the Napoleon at 211 G^s.. only & a most splendid thing it is, but I had to make use of out & out Management to do so, so much so that I have this day received an offer of 1000G^s. for it, and can get [this] when ever you feel inclined to Sell it, I have also bought the cannon &c &c_ at prices far, far, below their value _ I have of course informed his Grace, therefore leave it to your judgement whether you should say you have heard from me

I have the honor to be

Dear Sir

Your Most Obd^t. Ser^t.

W.Grant __

To Rob^t. Brown Esq^r..

Montgomery Stewart to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Cally, 9 February 1846
(HA, C4/767/1)

Cally 9 Feb 1846

My dear Lord

I have the honor this day of receiving your Grace's letter of the 6th ____

The receipt from Tordwaldson for the Bust of Napoleon has never been in my possession, but I shall have much pleasure in using my best endeavours to procure it for your Grace should it be forthcoming. ____ M^r. Brown, the late M^r. Murray's Factor, who I believe to be in possession of all M^r. Murrays Papers, or at least to have access to them, is now in Edinburgh, but as soon as he returns, wh may be daily expected, I will see him on this subject and acquaint your Grace with the result. ____ I beg leave to return your Grace my best thanks for your kind inquiry after my Health and those of my family who could still recollect former days. My wife who was the only one who could have recollected the days to which your Grace kindly alludes, has been dead many years, but thank God I am in the enjoyment of good health; which I hope your Grace is now also in possession of. ____ I should have been much gratified with hearing a more favorable report of the Duchess' sight than your Grace was able to give me when I lately had the honor of seeing you at the Palace ____

I have the honor to be my dear Lord

very faithfully yours

M. Stewart

His Grace

The Duke of Hamilton

&c &c & ____

The Duke has annotated the top of the letter:

M^r Rutherford _ read the first of this letter & when you go to Edin^f see M^r Brown, & endeavour to find out whether or not he can procure the receipt of Torwaldson or whether indeed it exists ____ & he will let me have it_

Thomas Nisbet to Robert Brown, dated Edinburgh, 13 February 1846 (HA, C4/769)

Edinburgh

11 Hanover St

13 Feby 1846

Sir,

M^r John Brown has shown me your note to him respecting the Marble Bust by Thorvaldsen bought for the Duke of Hamilton at the Sale at Cally. When I was in Galloway in October last making up the Catalogue & valuation of M^r Murray's effects _ I saw among some papers a letter from a Banker at Rome to the late M^r Murray respecting the Bust in question. _ I do not recollect the exact words but it stated that in obedience to M^r Murray's directions they had received from the Chevalier Thorvaldsen the Bust of Napoleon, that they had paid an additional sum for it in Consequence of its having the Eagle, that they had forwarded it to London, and had drawn upon M^r Murray for the amount. M^r Brown never had any direct formal receipt from Thorvaldsen, indeed in the way the bust was paid for that was impossible M^r Murray always stated to his friends that he had got it from the Sculptor about which there can be no doubt.. In the Confusion of the Sale I much fear that the Bankers letter may be lost at all events it will be difficult to find it, but I am ready to give my affidavit that the above is a true and accurate account of the matter.

I hope that this explanation will be satisfactory. I am

Your obed Servant

Thomas Nisbet

John Brown to Montgomery Stewart, dated Edinburgh, 14 February 1846 (HA, C4/768)

Edinburgh

14 Febr^y 1846

Dear Sir

I was yesterday honored with yours of the 11th respecting Thorvaldsens receipt for the price of the bust of Napoleon _ I never saw any other receipt than the letter of the Banker at Leghorn to Mr Murray, stating that he had, as instructed, paid Thorvaldson the price of the bust, & thirty pounds more on account of the Eagle being added to it _ This letter is among Mr Murrays papers & I shall get it on my return to Gatehouse, Nisbet the Auctioneer saw the letter, & I have requested him to day to inform the Duke of Hamiltons Agents here, of his having seen the letter, & that it will be produced for their satisfaction _ I have also mentioned the circumstance to Mr Russell, I am

Dear Sir

Yours most respectfully

John Brown

The Honb^{le}

Montgomery Stewart

Cally

Montgomery Stewart to the 10th Duke of Hamilton, dated Springkell, Ecclefechan,
16 February 1846 (HA, C4/767/2)

Springkell Ecclefechan

16 Feb 1846

My dear Lord

finding M^r. Brown's return to Gate House very doubtful, I wrote to him to Edinburgh respecting Tordwaldson's receipt for the Bust of Napoleon. His answer received this morning I beg leave to enclose your Grace, and regret that it is not so satisfactory as might have been wished. I think however it is by no means improbable that besides the letter from the Banker at Leghorn referred to by M^r. Brown, a receipt for the Bust may be found amongst M^r. Murrays Papers, being sent with the Bankers other vouchers. There is a prodigious pile of Papers locked up at Cally wh before any are destroyed, M^r. Brown & our Factor will, when they have time, examine together, and I shall request them to be careful to preserve the receipt in question shd they fall in with it. I have the honor to be my dear Lord

very faithfully yours

M. Stewart

Appendix 20: The 11th Duke of Hamilton and Princess Marie of Baden's acquisitions of items relating to Napoleon I and Napoleon III and the 12th Duke of Hamilton's involvement with Napoleon III and the Empress Eugénie

The 11th Duke of Hamilton to Patric Park, dated London, 3 June 1854 (NLS, Acc. 10098/2, 164)

London.

June 3^d. 1854

Sir

I purpose going over to Paris about the 16th of this month & if you were there in Paris I think I might probably be able to bring yr works under the Emperors notice.

I remain

Sir

Yours faithfully

Hamilton & Brandon

P. Park Esq^{re}.

Extract of Patric Park's letter to 'an intimate friend', dated 29 June 1854 (published in *The Building Chronicle*, 26 July 1854, p.53)

MANCHESTER. – Mr Patrick Park, the sculptor, whose fine bust of Sir John Potter now forms so appropriate an ornament to the Free Library, is at present engaged in modelling a bust of Louis Napoleon, and his bust of Admiral Sir Charles Napier, which by the Emperor's desire he carried with him to Paris, has been greatly admired. In a private letter from the artist to an intimate friend, from which we extract a few sentences, he says (June 29): "I began the Emperor to-day – I was introduced by the Duke of Hamilton on Monday last. Napier was prodigiously interesting, as both the Emperor and the Duke knew him, and many of the court. It now stands on a table under a portrait of Josephine. During my work to-day, the grand chamberlain brought me an invitation from his majesty to join him at déjeuner. It was rather trying to a modest man like me to find myself opposite to his majesty, and among twenty ministers of state and two maids of honour. Most of the Emperor's portraits are bad in every respect: he will make an excellent bust and most characteristic. Nothing could exceed the Duke of Hamilton's kindness. – I am to model him too."

The 11th Duke of Hamilton to Patric Park, dated Marienbad, 11 August 1854 (NLS, Acc. 10098/2, 169)

Marienbad

August 11th. 1854

My dear Sir

I am very glad to hear that you think you have been able to make a good likeness of the Emperor - during yr stay in Paris _ I am most anxious to have the bust in marble & beg that you will begin yr work without loss of time. I return to England in about a fortnight & if I can then have an opportunity of giving you an introduction to Lord Eglinton I shall be happy to do so.

Yours faithfully

Hamilton & Brandon

P. Park Esq^{re}.

The 11th Duke of Hamilton to Patric Park, dated Nice, 31 January 1855 (NLS, Acc. 10098/2, 246, between 178 and 179)

Nice

Jan^y. 31st. 1855.

Dear Sir

Altho very sorry to act, as it may appear, harshly towards you, I confess I object to having a cast taken of the Bust of the Emperor which you executed for me In my opinion yr bust would lose much of its value were I to see copies in all the London Shops – I hope when I return to England to have the pleasure of seeing you – I am very glad to hear that Her Majesty & Prince Albert were pleased with yr work - -

Believe me

Yours truly

Hamilton & Brandon

The Busts of Napoleon III by Patric Park

As we have just seen in the extract from *The Building Chronicle*, printed three pages before, the 11th Duke of Hamilton commissioned a model bust of the Emperor Napoleon III from Patric Park in June 1854. By mid August, the model was not only finished but on exhibition at Colnaghi's in Pall Mall East.¹ On 11 August the Duke requested Park to start carving the marble bust as soon as possible (see his letter printed immediately after the extract from *The Building Chronicle*).

Park's bust created considerable interest. The model was shown by the printseller, publisher, carver and gilder Alexander Hill (the brother of the photographer D.O. Hill) at 67 Princes Street, Edinburgh, in late August, and was reviewed in *The Scotsman* on 30 August.² In December C.H. Wilson, the energetic early head of Glasgow School of Art, solicited a plaster bust for display at the Scottish Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures;³ and in early January 1855 Park showed the marble bust of *Napoleon III* to Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at Windsor.⁴ The Windsor showing was particularly topical, because it was just after the battles of Balaclava and Inkerman, when Windsor Castle had been 'fitted up in the most splendid manner for the reception of the Emperor and Empress of the

¹ *Illustrated London News*, 19 August 1854, p.152, with illustration.

² The anonymous review in *The Scotsman* of 30 August 1854 (p.3), headed 'Mr Park's Bust of Napoleon the Third', observed: 'Mr Patric Park's recently modelled bust of the Emperor Napoleon, which has been highly spoken of by many Parisian and London critics, is at present to be seen at Mr Hill's, Princes' Street. It is in many ways an interesting work, and will no doubt attract considerable attention as the portraiture by a Scottish sculptor of our august ally – the remarkable man who fills the throne of France. As a work of art it immediately asserts its claim to rank superior to the ordinary busts of Louis Napoleon, exhibiting an individuality of character as well as of treatment. The upper portion of the face is very finely modelled, displaying all Mr Park's wonted ease of handling and power of giving expression to the clay or marble. The general air and expression is that of dignified strength and ease, with a certain dash of *hauteur* and caring not at all inappropriate. The point at which criticisms will most readily and easily be aimed is the treatment of the mustache and beard, the latter especially being of portentous form and aspect. Mr Park's treatment of hair is almost always more or less eccentric, and in this instance he has not restrained his humour, for instead of softening a feature which it is always difficult to deal with in sculpture, he has chosen to give it unwonted force and prominence. The result is that the Emperor's *imperial* looks less like hair than an architectural ornament of some nondescript order attached to the chin – or had the bust been in stone, we should have said like a bit of the rough material not cleared away. Yet it wants only lightening to make it all that could be desired – the arrangement and expression are fine, but the material had better have been more delicately touched.'

³ NLS, Acc 10098, II, 174, Wilson to Park, 9 December 1854.

⁴ The *Falkirk Herald* for 11 January 1855 notes, under 'General Intelligence': 'A Scottish Sculptor at Court. – The *Court Circular* of Wednesday has the following: – Mr Patrick Park has had the honour to submit to her Majesty the Queen and his Royal Highness the Prince, the bust of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, which he has executed for his Grace the Duke of Hamilton.'

French, whose visit is expected immediately after the war assumes a more favourable aspect.’⁵

All this is clear, but after this confusion sets in because Park actually carved two marble busts of Napoleon III: the one displayed in the Tribune of Hamilton Palace and another one which has been in the Victoria and Albert Museum since 1856 (2637-1856).

The bust in the V&A is signed on the back: PATRIC PARK / RSA / JANY 1 ST / MANCHESTER / 1855. According to the Museum records, it was purchased from the Paris International Exhibition of 1855 for £150 and is therefore synonymous with exhibit number 1161 in the Fine Arts Division of the British Section of the Universal Exhibition – ‘Buste de l’empereur Napoléon III’.⁶ This was the first on the list of four busts by Park and was displayed in a prominent position by the sculptor John Bell.⁷ The exhibition ran from 15 May to 15 November 1855.

In his entry on Park in the old DNB, based on information from the sculptor’s son Patric Park Junior, J.M. Gray says that the bust of Napoleon III was ‘damaged on its way for exhibition in the Salon; but, skilfully repaired, is now in the South Kensington Museum, while another version is in Hamilton Palace.’⁸ The damage to the bust is confirmed in the Royal Commissioners’ accounts of the Exhibition.⁹

All this suggests that the Hamilton Palace bust could have been a replacement, but this is open to question.

Christie’s 1919 sale catalogue entry implies that the Hamilton Palace bust was dated 1855,¹⁰ but the exact form of inscription is unknown. Park exhibited the

⁵ *Times*, 1 January 1855, p.6.

⁶ *Paris Universal Exhibition, 1855. Catalogue of the Works exhibited in the British Section of the Exhibition* (London, 1855), p.180. Park also exhibited busts of W. Fairbairn, J. Whitworth and J. Platt, and gave his address as 104 King Street, Manchester.

⁷ Bell reported: ‘The staircase to the upper gallery, on the British side, was also granted for the arrangement of busts; in consequence of which I placed on the centre of the first flight of four or five steps facing the entrance, a bust of His Majesty Napoleon III. by Mr. Park, and on the centre of the next landing a bronze bust of Her Majesty Queen Victoria, by Mrs. Thornycroft, and a few other busts and two reliefs on other parts of the staircase leading to the gallery of British water-colours, engravings and architectural drawings and models; just within which room I placed a case of medals’: Royal Commissioners for the Paris Universal Exhibition of 1855, *Reports on the Paris Universal Exhibition* (London, 1856), I, p.86.

⁸ S. Lee (ed.), *Dictionary of National Biography* (London, 1895), XLIII, p.223.

⁹ ‘Park, Patrick: Damage to work of art [£]150 0 0’: *Reports*, III, Appendix A, p.425

¹⁰ It was included in Christie, Manson and Woods’ sale of ‘The Remaining Contents of the Palace’ on 13 November 1919, as lot 324: ‘Napoleon III.: a bust in statuary marble, life-size, by Patric Park,

model at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1855,¹¹ but it is currently unclear whether the *Napoleon III* he submitted to the Royal Academy that same year was a model or a marble bust.¹²

The model of *Napoleon III* was donated to Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, Glasgow, by the sculptor's son, Patric Park Junior, in 1906 and appears to have been destroyed as a result of the German bombing of Clydebank in March 1941, when a landmine was dropped near the Museum.¹³

Manchester, 1855'. Robin Lee Woodward believed that the bust passed into the collection at Dalmeny House, West Lothian, but Lady Rosebery doubts whether it was ever in the family's possession.

¹¹ The model was exhibited at the Royal Scottish Academy in 1855 as '747 H I M Louis Napoleon III, Emperor of the French – the original model executed at ... St Cloud during the summer of 1854, for a marble[.] Lent by the Duke of Hamilton': C.B. de Laperriere, *The Royal Scottish Academy Exhibitors 1826-1990* (Calne, 1991), III, p.415.

¹² The catalogue entry simply states: '1467 Napoleon III.'

¹³ Letter from Hugh Stevenson, 12 November 2001.

Princess Marie of Baden to the 11th Duke of Hamilton, dated Nice, 11 December [1857] (HA, Bundle 2834)

[...] I found y^r two letters from the 4. & 5.th I cannot understand why Hancock sent in such a large Bill. It is true that I said you were to pay half of the Emperor's Desk, which certainly was an expensive thing. But my friend Hancock is a regular thief, & I shall never order anything f^r: him. [...]

Note: The envelope is addressed to the Duke of Hamilton, Hôtel Bristol, Place Vendôme, Paris, and is clearly franked 14 December 1857. 'Hancock' must be the silversmith Charles Frederick Hancock (1807-91), who left the Hunt and Roskell partnership in January 1849 and opened his own shop at 39 Bruton Street, London, in April 1850. Hancock's exhibits at the 1851 Great Exhibition included an ebony-inlaid silver table and a dressing-case, with a box of Coromandel wood inlaid with silver. Amongst his display at the 1855 Paris Universal Exhibition were two silver statuettes of Napoleon I crossing the Alps and Napoleon III on horseback. The horses were modelled by Henry McCarthy and the figures by Louis Frerêt: see *The Illustrated London News*, 15 September 1855, pp.331-2, and 20 September 1856, p.299, illustrated.

Princess Marie of Baden to the 11th Duke of Hamilton, written in Mannheim and the envelope franked Mannheim, 1 July 1860 (HA, Bundle 2837)

Sunday. Mannheim

My dearest Douglas,

I Could not write yesterday I am really quite knocked up. It was Such a business all day long on my feet, to choose all the different things, _ I was quite ill, & then between it to receive people, & besides all that, the great misery of the Sad recollection, being all Day long in mama's rooms. I have got two enormous pictures of the Emperor & Empress of the French, _ copies en pied of Winterhalters and a beautiful one of the Emp: Napoleon 1st : (smaller) I think they ought to go to Hamilton, & I have ordered them with the third mine by Stieler, which mama left you to direct them to Arlington Street.

These first three not belonging to the Baden collection, I can send them to England. I gave M^cCracken's Direction there, for please dearest Douglas, send there that they should not be spoiled as they are very fine.

We hope to finish today & to return to night to Baden _ I have got too a very fine fur, quite beautiful

God bless you Dearest,

Ever y^r. most aff^{te}

Mary

Note: The artist referred to as Stieler is Joseph Karl Stieler (1781-1858).

The Emperor Napoleon III to William, 12th Duke of Hamilton, dated Wilhelmshöhe, 17 September 1870 (HA, Bundle 754)

Wilhelm's höhe 17 Sept. 1870

Mon cher Duc

Je vous remercie bien de l'offre que vous me faites de vos châteaux en Ecosse. Je [? fait past] à l'Impératrice de votre gracieux proposition quant a moi il me fait impossible d'en [? jouir] mais je vous suis très reconnaissant de cette preuve d'amitié et je vous prie de croire a tous mes sentiments

Napoleon

[Wilhelmshöhe 17 Sept. 1870

My dear Duke

I thank you kindly for the offer of your castles in Scotland. I shall pass your gracious proposal to the Empress. As for myself, it would be impossible to take advantage of it but I am very grateful for this proof of friendship and I pray you to believe in my best wishes.

Napoleon]

Note: The Emperor Napoleon III surrendered to the Germans after the French defeat at the Battle of Sedan on 1 and 2 September 1870 and was held captive at King Wilhelm's summer palace at Wilhelmshöhe, outside Kassel, from 5 September. He first heard from his wife, the Empress Eugénie, on 17 September – the day of this brief note – when three of her letters arrived together. Eugénie had fled to England on 8 September and was soon established at Camden Place, Chislehurst, in Kent. She visited her husband at Wilhelmshöhe on 30 October and stayed three days. Following his release, Louis Napoleon arrived at Camden Place on 20 March 1871. It was there that he died, on 9 January 1873, following three unsuccessful operations to crush and remove a large stone from his bladder.

Princess Caroline Murat, *My Memoirs* (London, 1910), pp.214-5

[...]

The Empress and my sister had both sent their most valuable jewels to Mr. Gladstone for safe keeping long before the fatal 4th of September; but many of their personal possessions had been left behind. The Duke of Hamilton offered to go to France. He crossed in his yacht, the *Thistle*, and applied to General Trochu for permission to rescue from the Tuileries some of the Empress's things. Trochu sent one of his officers with the Duke, and they were able, notwithstanding the upside-down condition of everything and everybody in the palace, to pack furs, laces, fans, jewels, knick-knacks, and a large quantity of her wardrobe, with which Hamilton arrived at Camden Place.

[...]

Princess Caroline Murat, *My Memoirs* (London, 1910), p.327

[...] One day in particular, I remember, some one of them [the Empress's *dames de palais*] more venturesome than the rest (who were wise enough to confine their incivilities to the younger members such as myself) dared to be discourteous to Princess Marie de Bade, Duchess of Hamilton. She wrote asking the Emperor to come and see her. She afterwards told us that she had complained of the disrespectful attitude of the *entourage* in general – and she added that if the Emperor chose to allow his family to be put under the Empress's slipper she, for one, had no intention of submitting to such treatment. “My dear Marie, what would you have me do?” exclaimed the Emperor. “I give her my family to govern, as I cannot give her the State.” The State followed, however, for shortly afterwards the Empress was present at all Cabinet councils.

[...]